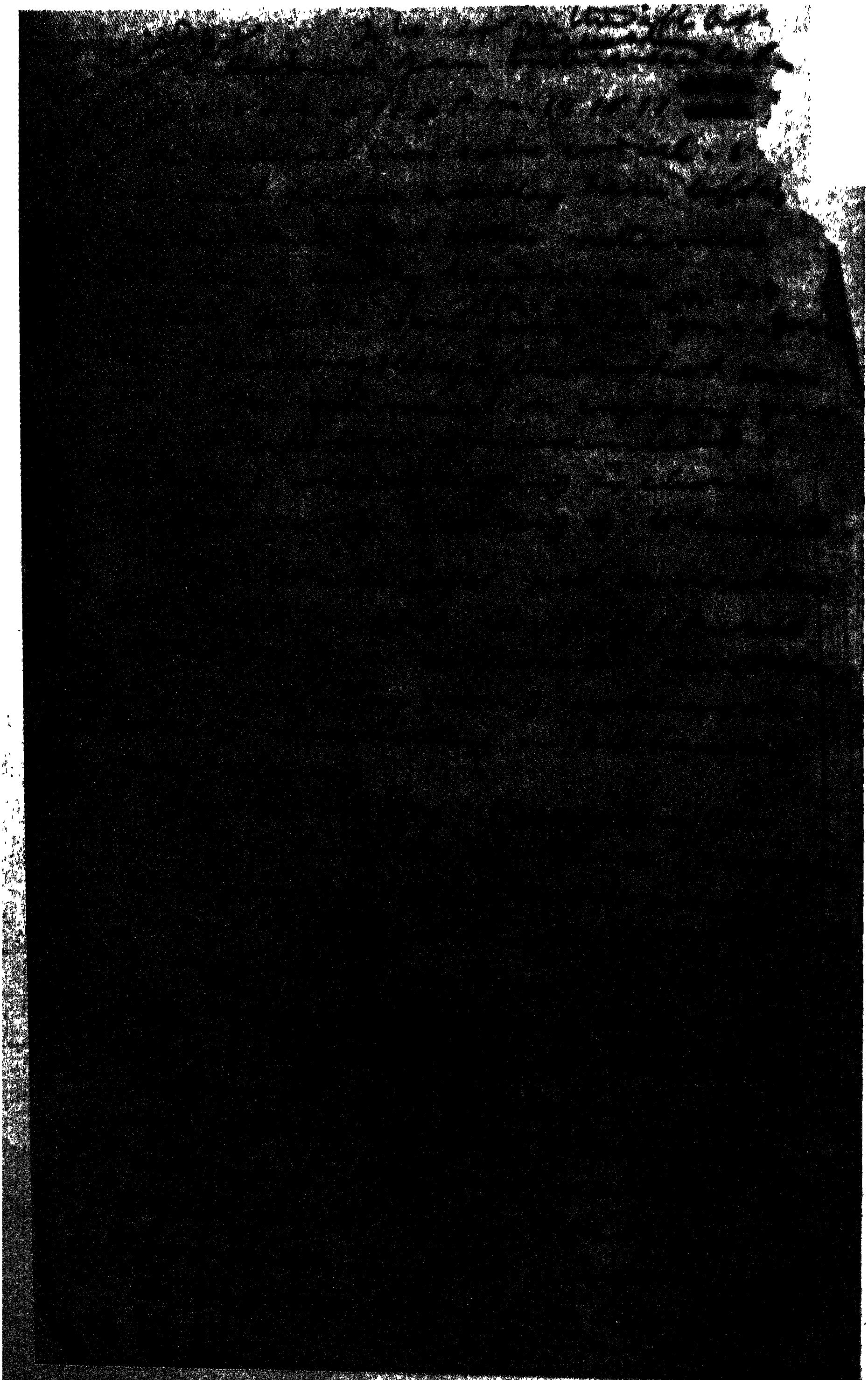


ABSTRACT, IN GANDHIJI'S HAND, OF INTERVIEW WITH SMUTS ON APRIL 19, 1911

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

XI

(April 1911 - March 1913)

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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PREFACE

This volume covers a period of two years, April, 1911 to March, 1913. It begins with the negotiations (which had been in progress since March) for a settlement promising to bring the long-drawn-out struggle to a successful issue, and ends with signs of an approaching storm, some judicial pronouncements in February and March of 1913 on the status of Indian women having called into question the validity of Indian marriages. There had been, meanwhile, Gokhale's historic visit to South Africa in the autumn of 1912 which evoked such mutual goodwill that it gave rise to the hope that all would soon be well, so that Gandhiji could think of returning to India "in six months" (p. 449).

On April 1, 1911, the Government of India officially notified that emigration of indentured labour to South Africa was to cease with effect from July 1. This was a triumph not only for Gandhiji in South Africa but for his supporters in India, notably the South African League in Madras; it indicated a new awareness on the part of the Government of India of its obligations to Indians abroad.

Gandhiji was in Cape Town during practically the whole of April, meeting Members of Parliament, canvassing support for the improvements he sought in the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill and, in the midst of a busy schedule, keeping in overall touch with events in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape. Ritch was in Johannesburg, in charge of the British Indian Association office there, while Polak was active in Durban; thanks to the complete understanding which prevailed between Gandhiji on the one hand and these two on the other, the delicate negotiations in progress in Cape Town were conducted with the backing of the entire Indian community in South Africa.

The Bill seemed to concede the Indians' basic demand for the removal of the racial bar from the immigration law of the Union, but it retained the racial discrimination embedded in the Orange Free State legislation. While some other issues relating to the existing rights of Indians presented no insuperable difficulty, General Smuts could not, or would not, prevail upon the Free State members to fall in line with the trends in the rest of the Union and agree to a removal, in theory, of discriminatory requirements in their state. He seemed eager to get his Bill through the Parliament before the session came to a close, for the Coronation

was approaching and he would rather have peace for the celebrations. Gandhiji urged on him an alternative solution which would help him bypass the Free Staters and also raise fewer problems with regard to the existing position in Natal and the Cape; this was to drop the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill and to amend the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act, since the satyagraha campaign had in view only the legislation in that state. But Smuts would not agree to this, fearing that the resulting position would not be acceptable to the whites. On the horns of a dilemma, Smuts placed his difficulties before Gandhiji (pp. 31-4). The Bill might have to be postponed but Smuts wanted passive resistance to cease. Gandhiji, considerate and generous as ever, appreciated Smuts' predicament and offered to suspend satyagraha in exchange for an assurance from the latter that legislation would be passed in the following session repealing the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act, subject to the reservation of the rights of minors, that existing rights would be maintained, that passive resisters otherwise entitled to registration would be allowed to register and that educated passive resisters then in the Transvaal but not registrable under the Asiatic Act would be allowed to remain under special authority pending the forthcoming legislation. This was on April 21. The next day Smuts gave the required assurances and added that, in the legislation to be passed during the following session, there would be provisions giving equality to all immigrants. On the 27th, a meeting of the British Indian Association decided to suspend satyagraha but made this "conditional upon fulfilment of the pledges given by General Smuts" (p. 57). An exchange of letters and telegrams between April 29 and May 20 ended with the Provisional Settlement.

Very wisely, however, Tolstoy Farm, the satyagraha camp, was kept going, for there were other wrongs to be righted and the Indians had reserved the right to agitate over them. But meanwhile there was peace, and Gandhiji laid aside the concerns of political life, more or less, and turned his attention to things of higher moment for him, to the urge for an ever sterner discipline of the self, to contemplation and experiments in education.

Writing on May 8 to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, he said: "If I can get some time during the next six or eight months, I propose to give my attention to farming or weaving. . . I see that I can make at least £200 if I forget all else and only practise. But I am resolved not to have anything to do with that. Most of my work will go to Ritch. I have given him a seat in my own office and he has already started work" (p. 67). The same letter mentions a desire to have

a building put up for a school at Phœnix. On May 4, in a letter to A. E. Chotabhai, he had declared his intention to hand over Phœnix to a Trust. While he was thus preparing for the next decisive step in his *sadhana*, he had to face a tragedy in his domestic life which was to wring him with agony for many years and which could be resolved only by a progressive renunciation of all human attachments. His eldest son, Harilal Gandhi, who had for some time joined the ranks of satyagrahis and served a term of imprisonment, decided to leave the parental home in protest against Gandhiji's seeming lack of solicitude for the worldly interests of those nearest to him. Gandhiji's burning love for their spiritual progress was beyond the young Harilal. After an argument with Gandhiji, in which Harilal was all politeness, the latter left for India "with a calm mind" (pp. 77-8). Gandhiji wanted him "to grow up in freedom" (p. 94) and "live in any way" that suited him (p. 484). But things were never the same again between father and son.

While on the Farm, Gandhiji corresponded regularly with Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, G. K. Gokhale, Maganlal, Chhaganlal, Harilal, Manilal and later with Jamnadas Gandhi. Active in the school on the Farm, he gave the pupils readings of stories from the *Mahabharata* with the zest of a discoverer. He also wrote, from time to time, to the Ministry of the Interior on the working of the Settlement, or on other matters pertaining to immigration and domicile. In *Indian Opinion*, he commented, though less frequently than in the past, on important issues affecting Indians, like the £3 tax, the attempts of municipalities to shift Indians from established Locations and the anti-Asiatic agitation carried on by the whites.

Towards the end of 1911, the term of the Provisional Settlement expired. A new Immigrants' Restriction Bill was drafted and shown to Gandhiji. When, however, it was published in the *Gazette*, Gandhiji discovered some alterations; he found that the clause requiring a declaration on oath from educated Asiatics entering the Orange Free State that they would not farm or trade in the state was retained. Following an exchange of letters, General Smuts as usual met some of the difficulties and gave assurances regarding others. On June 24, Parliament was prorogued when the Bill had passed only its second reading, and on July 19 Gandhiji was informed that the Provisional Settlement would continue, pending the passage of legislation, and that six educated Indians, to be named by Gandhiji, would be admitted during 1912 too.

On October 22, in response to pressing invitations from Gandhiji, Gokhale landed at Cape Town "with the knowledge of the Indian Government but entirely on his own initiative

. . . to investigate the whole Indian question in South Africa for himself" (p. 335). South Africa—white as well as Coloured—welcomed him with almost royal honours, at wayside halts and at ceremonial receptions in City Halls. He met and spoke to leaders and individuals from all sections of the population, had discussions with the Union Ministers, Botha, Smuts and Fischer, and luncheon with the Governor General.

Gokhale's visit did much to focus attention in India on the South African problem, and in South Africa raised the morale of the Indians still higher, while it created, in the words of Lord Ampthill, a "spirit of reasonableness and conciliation and goodwill" (p. 495). Lord Gladstone's minute to the Imperial Government on the subject of his meeting with Gokhale (Appendix XXII) sums up the results of the visit.

Though the vexed question of immigration and domicile seemed to have been laid to rest, harassment and persecution of Indians continued from other directions. The Gold Law and the Townships Act were used to destroy the hitherto tacitly accepted practice of equitable ownership and use by Indians of property nominally held by friendly whites. One by one, in the townships, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort and Vrededorp, white owners of Stands were served with notices under the Gold Law to evict their Coloured tenants. Traders were refused transfers of trading licences. The Transvaal Draft Municipal Councils Ordinance gave municipalities complete control over hawkers' licences and the power to play about with Asiatic Locations. Thus a concerted attempt was made to put an end to all Indian businesses, either by securing their termination on the death or retirement of the individual trader or by displacing established businesses from their Locations and shifting them to new and inferior sites. Then again the £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians continued to be an oppressive exaction.

In the actual working, the Provisional Settlement itself was, it became clear, violated in spirit. The immigration law was administered at the ports, particularly in Natal, with increasing harshness. Women and minor children of domiciled Indians were disallowed landing; impossible proofs of relationship and of rights of entry were demanded; and the only remedy lay in obtaining Supreme Court interdicts. Justice Wessels' ruling in the Supreme Court, in the case of Bai Rasul, that an Indian could bring in "only one wife. . . and that must be a woman who actually was a wife" shook the entire community. Shortly after, another Mahomedan wife, Fatima Jussat, was refused entry and Smuts declined to intervene.

To cap it all, the Registrar of Asiatics turned down two out of the six names of educated Indian entrants submitted by Gandhiji for the year 1912. On this flagrant breach of the Provisional Settlement, Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale, "The ministers are certainly not carrying out their assurances" (p. 460), and warned the Government not to precipitate a resumption of satyagraha.

Finally, in early 1913, came the greatest shock of all—the judgment of the Cape Supreme Court declaring, in the case of one Bai Miriam, that marriages solemnized according to Mahomedan custom did not satisfy the immigration laws. The Natal Supreme Court, too, questioned the validity of another Mahomedan marriage. Evidently, the spirit of conciliation which seemed to have informed Smuts' interview with Gandhiji in April, 1911 (pp. 31-4) had evaporated. Gandhiji was forced to take notice of the change of attitude on the Government's part and soon he was preparing the community for a fresh struggle on a larger scale than ever.

This unexpected change from hope to disappointment and frustration could not disconcert Gandhiji. During his stay on Tolstoy Farm, he had built up a reservoir of inner strength which was to serve him superbly through all the stormy vicissitudes of his political life. The surface interests of this "retreat", we find recorded in the Diary for 1912. The real issues that engage his enthusiasm are different; his present preoccupations are the doctrine of physical work, health-giving food that also induces the right moral temperament, education through one's own language—all of which add up to a contact with concrete reality as a means of inner renewal. He is now the "principal" of a school, with no fighting to do but helping young people to grow. The punctiliously written up accounts in the Diary reveal the frugality, in Thoreau's words, the "reduced sensory environment", of the new life. Leather, bought for Kallenbach's classes where he imparts the skill of sandal-making he had learnt from a Trappist monastery; sugar, the surrogate for salt; stamps for innumerable personal letters—few of which we have; the price of milk fetched daily from Lawley station; train fares paid for visitors who came to the Farm with their problems; these are the things that figure in the statement of accounts day after day.

"Next year the Press will incur a loss"—so reads a brief but sad entry for December. Money for Tolstoy Farm, for Phœnix, for the New Education; money is a problem, which Tata's munificence and Dr. Mehta's untiring generosity could only partially

solve, because the votary of truth could no longer hold a brief for the sake of a livelihood.

In his 1911 letters to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, Gandhiji mentions more than once his idea of returning to India. After Gokhale's visit, it haunts him with increasing urgency. On November 26, 1912, he says he assured the master that he would not return to India until he had found someone to replace him; Polak would probably be chosen for the task. On December 1, he records having worn Indian dress. He cannot resist the call of the homeland; the departing mood is already upon him.

NOTE TO THE READER

The letters and representations addressed to various authorities, communications to the Press, and resolutions adopted at meetings, which are included in this Volume, are attributed to Gandhiji on grounds similar to those explained in the Preface to Volume I. Where there are special reasons for the inclusion of particular items, these have been set out in footnotes. Gandhiji's unsigned writings in *Indian Opinion* have been identified on the strength of his general testimony in his autobiographical writings, the opinion of his associates, Chhaganlal Gandhi and H. S. L. Polak, and other available evidence.

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text spelt out except in handwritten letters and memoranda of a personal nature. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Passages quoted from English have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Reports of speeches in indirect speech and passages which are not by Gandhiji have also been set up in small type.

While translating from the Gujarati, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. In translating Gandhiji's Gujarati renderings, the English original, whenever available, has been consulted.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. In the case of certain personal letters, the originals of which carry the date according to the lunar Vikram calendar, the corresponding date of the Gregorian calendar is shown in square brackets, the year being deduced when necessary from internal or external evidence. The date appearing at the end of an item alongside of the source is that of publication.

References in footnotes to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* and *Satyagraha in South Africa* cite only the

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1. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 1, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

FREESTATERS[1] NOW CONSIDERING. FINAL DECISION PROBABLY TUESDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S. N. 5397

2. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Chaitra Sud 3 [*April 2, 1911*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL[3],

I had asked Dr. Mehta[4] about his view and in reply he has given me permission to send you and another person to England

[1] Members of Union Parliament from Orange Free State; they were considering the African Indians' demand that the six educated Asiatics allowed yearly to enter the Colony under the Gandhi-Smuts compromise should have free domiciliary rights in the Free State, which were being denied to them by the proposed Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 467-8, 477-8 & 495-6.

[2] This is the first of a series of Gujarati letters in this volume in which the date lines bear the day and month of the Gujarati calendar but mention no year. It was in 1911 that Maganlal's going to England was discussed seriously; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 78-9. In that year *Chaitra Sud* 3 corresponds to April 2.

[3] Maganlal Gandhi (1833-1928); a cousin of Gandhiji's and Chhaganlal Gandhi's brother; in 1908 he suggested "sadagraha" as a Gujarati equivalent for "passive resistance" which was the basis of Gandhiji's own term "satyagraha"; manager of the Phœnix settlement after Chhaganlal's departure for England, and later, of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. Gandhiji dedicated his *Autobiography* to him.

[4] Dr. Pranjivan Jagjivan Mehta, M.D., Bar-at-law, who took Gandhiji in hand soon after his arrival in England in 1888 and "taught him English etiquette"; remained a lifelong friend till his death in 1933, evincing great interest in all of Gandhiji's enterprises including the Tolstoy Farm and the Champaran satyagraha; generally an invaluable source of funds for public activities. Through him, Gandhiji met poet Rajchandra from whom he learned to "see God in all his daily acts". *Vide* Vol. IX and *An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. XIII & XIV, Part II, Ch. I and Part V, Ch. XVI.

immediately. We cannot avail ourselves of it just yet. I, however, write this in order that you may keep it in mind. There will be, I think, some delay if Chhaganlal[1] goes to . . . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5626. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

3. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
April 3, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

GOOD MEETING[2] YESTERDAY. SEVEN RESOLUTIONS[3] PASSED FORESHADOWING PASSIVE RESISTANCE, FAILURE REMOVAL RACIAL BAR, SUPPORTING TRANSVAAL, HONOURING RITCH[4], WHO LEFT TODAY WITH SON. ARRANGE THEIR BREAKFAST.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S. N. 5406

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi; a cousin of Gandhiji's and a founder member of the Phœnix settlement; Editor of Gujarati *Indian Opinion* after 1908; was sent to England in 1911 to study for the Bar as part of Gandhiji's scheme to train members of *Indian Opinion* staff for increased responsibilities.

[2] & [3] This meeting held by Cape Indians demanded the following changes, among others, in the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill: (1) proof regarding domicile from wives and children of domiciled Asiatics be left to courts of law; (2) Immigration Officers' decisions be made justiciable; (3) the less severe education test existing in the Cape be retained in the new law; and (4) educated Asiatic immigrants be allowed to enter and reside in any Province of the Union. Failing this, they demanded that the Cape and Natal laws be retained in their existing form and that the Transvaal immigration law be suitably amended. *Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911.

[4] L. W. Ritch; Theosophist and manager of a Johannesburg commercial firm before he joined Gandhiji as an articled clerk; passed his Bar examination in London, *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 67 & 86; Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee (Vol. VI, p. 228) of which he eventually became the "moving spirit"; in March, 1911, helped Cape Indians to organize against the whittling down of Asiatic rights in the Immigrants' Restriction Bill; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 417-8, 438 & 445. In the same month British Indian Association asked him to act on its behalf at Cape Town, *vide* Vol. X, p. 437, but Smuts refused to accept him, "an entire stranger", as their representative and would not see him, *vide* Vol. X, pp. 443, 450 & 452; was virtually in charge of BIA's legal work after he took over as solicitor in Gandhiji's office in April, 1911 (p. 25).

4. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*[1]

CAPE TOWN,
April 4, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

MINISTER THINKS IT WILL BE WELL BUT SUGGESTS MY STAY UNNECESSARY. I THINK I SHOULD LEAVE THIS WEEK. BILL FAR OFF.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S. N. 5407

5. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
Tuesday [*April 4, 1911*]

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have now got Evir's cert[ificate][2]. Saw Lane[3]. He thinks it will be well but the Bill may not come up for two weeks. He suggests my not waiting. I am now trying to see all the members[4] I can. Have wired[5] today and await some instructions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5408

[1] In reply to BIA's telegram of April 1, 1911 which read: "Strongly advise you remain Cape Town until matter settled." S. N. 5399.
[2] Birth certificate which had been asked for by Ritch
[3] E. F. C. Lane, Private Secretary to Smuts
[4] Members of Union Parliament
[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

6. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
April 5, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

SECRETARY ASKED FOR ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS WRITING. SUBMITTING SAME TOMORROW. ALTERNATIVE IS AMENDMENT TRANSVAAL LAW.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5411

7. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MAUD POLAK*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 5, 1911

. . . There is another matter which is likely to cause the greatest distress in the Transvaal, if not ruin to hundreds of Indians; the Gold Law of 1908 (Transvaal)[2] Section 130 provides that no right under it can be held by or sub-let to an Asiatic or Coloured person. It has been discovered that many townships are affected by this law. Klerksdorp Indians have received notices to vacate premises occupied by them.[3] The notices have been served by the owners,

[1] This was forwarded to the Colonial Office on May 5, 1911 by Maud Polak, sister of H. S. L. Polak and Assistant Honorary Secretary of the SABI Committee in London.

[2] The Transvaal Precious and Base Metals Act 35 of 1908

[3] At Klerksdorp, the Public Prosecutor had issued notices to European Stand-holders under Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908 against subletting Stands to Coloured persons. The European holders had accordingly asked their Indian tenants to vacate. In May, 1911, Klerksdorp Indians petitioned the Minister of the Interior appealing that the law be repealed and the Prosecutor's notices withdrawn, but the Acting Secretary for the Interior replied in June saying that the questions raised were of a "purely legal character" and that the Minister could not move Parliament for altering the law. The issue was then taken up by the BIA. *Indian Opinion*, 20-5-1911 & 10-6-1911.

who in turn have been notified by the Government that they are committing a breach of the law by allowing Asiatics to occupy Stands registered in their names. There is a Supreme Court case which says that Asiatics who have leases cannot be disturbed during the period of their leases, if their leases were entered into prior to the passing of the law. This will not protect existing rights, for very few have long leases. Monthly tenants will therefore be ruined. The legal opinion has been sent to you; it shows that, if the law is carried out, the whole Asiatic population of the mining districts in the Transvaal will be cleared out. Johannesburg is included in this plan, and Johannesburg contains the largest Indian population. I am sure that when the Imperial Government sanctioned this legislation they could not have contemplated such an untoward and disastrous result.

Cd. 6087; also *Indian Opinion*, 27-4-1911

8. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
Wednesday [*April 5, 1911*]

MY DEAR RITCH,

Saw yesterday Dr. Hewart, the Opposition whip, and Sir Bisset Berry. J. W. Jagger[1] I meet this afternoon. And so I shall continue till I have seen all I want to see and all who would see me. The members I saw yesterday were introduced to me by Alexander[2]. They have promised to support Alexander. They themselves had not much time but agreed that the point was

[1] Member of the Union Assembly

[2] Morris Alexander; Jewish member of Parliament from Cape Town; was sympathetic to the African Indian cause and opposed many provisions of the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill as affecting Indians.

very simple. General Botha's[1] dispatch[2] to Lord Crewe[3] does the trick. I feel sure that if the Bill comes up at all, General Smuts[4] will not dare to bring it up without the amendment[5] we are asking for. I think he has dropped the charge of bringing a new point.[6]

[1] Louis Botha (1862-1919); "an Afrikander, Natal-born and Transvaal trained . . . a Liberal in the old republican days, bilingual, genial, boundlessly tactful" (Eric Walker, *A History of South Africa*, p. 535) and one of the moderate Boers "familiar with all the intricacies of agriculture . . . there was hardly anyone in Europe . . . as good a judge of sheep as he was" (*Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. II); outstanding Dutch commander during the Boer War; in 1904-5 founded the Het Volk party pledged to conciliation and self-government (Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-6); accepted proposal for self-government under the British although extreme Boers were sceptical and managed to get through "drastic anti-Asiatic Bills" (*ibid.*, p. 519); first premier of self-governing Transvaal in 1907, and in 1910 became first Union Premier; opposed educated Asiatics' entry in Gandhi-Smuts Conference following the compromise of January 1908; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 332.

[2] Of December 20, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, p. 485.

[3] Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe-Milnes, 1st Marquess of Crewe; Liberal statesman and writer; Lord-Lieutenant for Ireland in 1892-5 cabinet; Secretary of State for Colonies, 1908; succeeded Morley at India Office in November, 1910; quitted active party politics in 1922 but became Secretary of State for War in 1931; author of *Stray Verses* and other literary miscellanies.

[4] Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950); Gandhiji found him "as able a general and administrator as he is a lawyer", but mentions that he was warned that "slim Janny", as Smuts was known, was a "trimmer"; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXV. After a brilliant academic career at Cambridge, Smuts was admitted to the Cape Town Bar in 1895; commander-in-chief of rebel commandoes in the Cape during Boer War; in 1902 urged compromise with the British at the Vereeniging peace negotiations; strongly opposed Milner's policy, especially the importation of Chinese coolies for the gold mines; founded in 1904, along with Botha, the Het Volk party; after Responsible Government became Transvaal's Colonial Secretary; an advocate of Union along with Lionel Curtis (Vol. VIII, pp. 226-7) and an author of the South Africa Act of 1911; in 1910 became Union Minister for Interior, Mines and Defence; in 1912 took over the treasury, retaining Defence; in 1916 during World War I, accepted Imperial command in East Africa; joined War Cabinet and initiated unification of the flying services; after Armistice, wrote his Memorandum, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion*, which subsequently became the covenant of the League. Speaking of his controversy with Smuts over the 1908 compromise, Gandhiji says, "Even today, I look upon the incident as a breach of faith...not perhaps...an intentional breach of faith"; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXV.

[5] On March 10, 1911, Indians had requested that, in the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill, an amendment be made exempting educated Asiatics from provincial registration laws and protecting the rights of wives and minor children of registered Asiatics; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 448-9.

[6] Smuts made this charge in his telegram of March 21, 1911 (Vol. X, p. 482) in response to Gandhiji's request (Vol. X, pp. 467-8 and 476-8) that educated

Sorabji[1] has been writing to me that I should go to London for the Imperial Conference[2]. I do not know. If the struggle ends, it may be worthwhile. The Gold Law business worries me. It is such a damnable business. One might be able to do something in that connection. If the struggle does not end, it seems to me that I cannot leave at all. Let Sorabji discuss the thing with you. I have instructed Maud about the Gold Law, suggesting that she should copy my remarks and forward [them] to the Colonial & India Offices.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5419

Asiatic immigrants be exempted from Orange Free State registration laws as well. *The Transvaal Leader*, under its new editorship, also shared the view that the demand was a new one. Polak wrote to the editor pointing out that "the limitation of the number of educated Indian immigrants" was accepted by Gandhiji only for the Transvaal, and that "Natal Indians cannot be expected to permit themselves to be deprived of rights that they already possess". Ritch also wrote saying that, while it was true that the immigration bill would "repeal the Transvaal immigration and registration laws of 1907, it virtually re-enacts the Free State law which is . . . specifically insulting to Indians". He gave the assurance that "if the objections raised . . . are met by amendments to the bill. . .the 'agitation' to which you take exception will automatically end . . . the racial bar must . . . not apply to any part of the Union." *Indian Opinion*, 15-4-1911.

[1] Sorabji Shapurji Adajania; "as much of an Indian as a Parsee", he laid the foundation of the "second phase" of the campaign in South Africa and, entering the Transvaal many times to test educated Indians' rights, "suffered the longest terms of imprisonment" in 1908 and deportation in 1909; was sent by Gandhiji to England in 1912 at Dr. Mehta's expense to qualify as barrister; while in England was invited by Gokhale to join the Servants of India Society; but returned to the Transvaal, did public work among Indians and died in Johannesburg at an early age. *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXIX.

[2] Originally scheduled to meet on May 22, 1911 ("Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 27), it was held on June 19, 1911.

[3] She did this; *vide* the preceding item.

9. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
Wednesday [*April 5, 1911*]

MY DEAR RITCH,

Your wire[1]. I shall not run away hastily. I wrote a short note[2] to Lane saying I was staying for some time to see the other members. He sent a note in reply asking me to see him at once. On going to him he gave me the message from J. C. S. to the effect that I should reduce to writing my two proposals. He added that Smuts did not want me to go away empty-handed and said that the matter must be settled during this session. Our friends may derive what hope they can from this.

Have been lobbying the whole afternoon. More tomorrow. I have to submit my proposal tomorrow after 10-30 a.m.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5417

10. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
April 6, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

SETTLED DRAFT PROPOSAL[3]. NOTHING NEED BE TAKEN AS CERTAIN.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5421

[1] Dated April 5, which read: "Strong feeling here that you should remain unless no likelihood Bill this session". S. N. 5412.

[2] Not available

[3] Asked for in writing by Lane; *vide* the preceding item.

11. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
Thursday [April 6, 1911]

MY DEAR RITCH,

Have seen Farrar[1], Chaplin[2], Jagger, C. P. Robinson[3], etc. Farrar was the most sympathetic. They all agree that the Free State contention must be granted.

Had nearly half an hour with Lane. He looked at my draft, suggested certain alterations[4]. I hope to type the thing tonight and post it to him and copy to you.

Going to the meeting of the Committee of the Union[5].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5423

[1] Sir George Farrar (1859-1915); Chairman, East Rand Proprietary Mines; a leader of the Progressive Party; one of the "Labour importers" who, "in the face of organized opposition" from the Boers and other interests, agitated successfully for the implementation of the majority Report of the Labour Commission of 1903, which sought to introduce Asiatic workers in the Rand mines since Native workers were unavailable; member of the Transvaal Legislative Council both before and after Responsible Government; member of Union Parliament

[2] Drummond Chaplin; a member of the House of Assembly and of the Progressive Party, who sympathized with the Indians in some of their grievances against the Transvaal immigration law; was the chief Opposition spokesman in the Legislative Assembly in favour of the Indians' Relief Bill of 1914.

[3] A candidate for Union Parliament

[4] Evidently in Schedules A and B of the following item

[5] The Cape British Indian Union; *vide* Vol. X, p. 433.

12. *LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*

FINAL COPY[1]

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET,]
CAPE TOWN,
April 7, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

In accordance with the conversation[2] between us, I reduce to writing my suggestions for bringing the Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal to a close.

A

The new clause tabled by General Smuts to follow clause 27 in the present Bill should be amended as follows:

> Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal and Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Constitution, a person who, by complying with the conditions described in paragraph (a) of section four of this Act, has been permitted to enter the Union shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal and to Clauses 1 to 6 of the said Chapter XXXIII.

(The words underlined are the additions suggested by me.)

Subject to such amendment and subject to unequivocal protection of existing rights, especially of wives and children of lawful residents and immigrants, the bill will be acceptable to the passive resisters. I offer no comment on the special objections that the Cape and Natal Indians have naturally raised, and which I think ought to receive careful and favourable consideration.

B

As an alternative solution, I suggest as follows:

(1) The present bill be dropped.
(2) A bill to amend Transvaal Act 15 of 1907[3] be introduced and thereby

[1] These words are in Gandhiji's hand.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 8.

[3] This is the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act which came into force in January, 1908, without, however, superseding the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907, and against which the satyagraha campaign of 1908 was directed; for text of the Bill, *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 492-6 and for the text of the Act which is somewhat different, *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 487-9.

(a) The Transvaal Act 2 of 1907[1] be repealed "except so far as it is applicable to the registration of minors lawfully resident in the Transvaal". (The wording is taken from the first schedule to the present bill. My reading of the reservation is that minor children of registered Asiatics, no matter where they may be, shall be free to enter the Transvaal and be liable to and entitled to registration on reaching the age of 16.)

(b) The education clause of Act 15 of 1907 may be replaced by sub-clause (a) of clause 4 of the present bill in order, if necessary, to make the test more severe.

(c) Sub-clause 4 of section 2 of Act 15 of 1907 be repealed.

(d) General Smuts' new clause 28 be added *mutatis mutandis* to Act 15 of 1907, without of course the addition suggested by me and which addition is necessary for the present bill but NOT for the alternative solution.

In my opinion the alternative solution is the simplest; it raises no question as to the Free State and its acceptance by General Smuts will not only close passive resistance, but I feel sure will meet with the entire approval of the Indian community.

This, however, does not mean that the community waives its right to move for an amelioration of its position in many other matters.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 15-4-1911; also photostat of typewritten copy: S. N. 5434

[1] The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act which was passed by the self-governing Colony of the Transvaal on March 22, 1907, and received Royal assent on May 7, 1907. It was virtually a re-enactment of its precursor, the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, which had been disallowed by the Imperial Government on protests made against it by the Gandhi-Ally deputation of 1906. Both the Ordinance and the Act envisaged, among other things, the compulsory registration of Asiatics and the affixture of their finger-impressions on their certificates.

13. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET,
CAPE TOWN,]
April 7, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

Please tell Miss Schlesin[1] that I have had no letters from there during the last two days. I take it she did not write on Monday & Tuesday. I have just a suspicion that the letters may have miscarried.

Herewith my letter[2] to Lane. I had a long chat with Lane yesterday. He suggested alterations in the draft I had taken. The copy I am sending you is the result. You will be pleased to learn that the typing has been done by me. I have borrowed Hiranand's typewriter. I am finishing this letter in Lane's office. He suggested the dropping of the last sentence[3] which he thought meant a threat. I told him it could not be dropped and I told him plainly that I could not rest so long as women were taxed, Indians could not hold landed property in the Transvaal, &c. I told him pretty plainly that if the Gold Law prosecutions[4] in Klerksdorp were proceeded with, I would not hesitate to advise & raise passive resistance. We have been talking to each other with the utmost freedom. You will see the revised letter signed by me. In it there is no material change. The second copy was typed in Lane's office. He tells me quite confidentially that the alternative solution will be accepted though he adds that J. C. S. is still in treaty with the Free Staters. He was most eagerly

[1] Sonja Schlesin; a Jewish girl "with a character as clear as crystal and courage that would shame a warrior"; joined Gandhiji as a steno-typist at the age of 16 and was his Private Secretary for many years; made herself useful to *Indian Opinion*; was ardently interested in the Indian cause. "When during the satyagraha days almost everyone . . . was in jail, she led the movement single handed. She had the management of thousands, a tremendous amount of correspondence, and *Indian Opinion* on her hands, but she never wearied"; an "ardent suffragist" and the "heart and soul" of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association. *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXIII and *An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XII.

[2] Of April 7, 1911, a copy of which Gandhiji had promised to send Ritch in his letter of April 6, p. 9.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

[4] *Vide* also "Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 4-5.

waiting for my letter which I brought to him somewhat late as I was engaged last night with Smartt[1] who gave a very patient hearing. In the morning Campbell Anderson interrupted me. Up to the time of writing this, I am sanguine of the 2nd proposal[2] becoming law in the course of a few days.

As I made mention about the approval of the whole community, I have wired you for approval,[3] though really the thing has been approved already there and here & [in] Natal. Natal went out of its way to wire approval of the Cape resolutions.

In the circumstances I am not leaving at all for the time being. As a matter of fact I could not have, even if I had your permission, until I had finished seeing the members.

I enclose [a] cutting[4] from *The Times*. You will notice Smuts already foreshadowing a new solution.

I hope I shall get the English mail[5] tomorrow noon.

Abdurahman[6] introduced me to Smartt. They two seemed to be rather intimate. I met Col. Crewe also though the former did not stay for the interview.

I take it you will explain the letter to the leaders there.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5428

[1] Sir Thomas Smartt; Minister of Agriculture in the 1920 Cabinet; member of the Unionist Party which later merged in the South Africa Party

[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Office", p. 14.

[4] Not available

[5] Letters presumably received from England at Tolstoy Farm and redirected to Gandhiji at Cape Town

[6] Dr. Abdurahman; of Malay descent, a well-known physician of Cape Town; President of the African Political Organization and member of the Cape Town Municipality and of the pre-Union Cape Legislative Assembly; in 1909 went with the deputation of Coloured people to England, *vide* Vol. IX, p. 273; in February 1910 opposed, in the Cape Town Municipal Council, proposal to welcome the Prince of Wales, declaring he would "look upon it as a day of mourning"; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 165 & 167, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. II.

14. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 7, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

MY LETTER[1] SECRETARY ACCEPTS AS SATISFACTORY AMENDMENT TRANSVAAL LAW, REPEALING ASIATIC ACT 1907, PROTECTING MINORS, EXEMPTING EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS FROM OPERATION ACT 36 OF 1908[2]. SEE KACHALIA[3] OTHERS. WIRE APPROVAL. NOT LEAVING BEFORE NEXT WEEK.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5431

15. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 7, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

CHRIS BOTHA HAS TABLED AMENDMENT SAYING NOTHING IN BILL SHALL REPEAL ANY SECTION 33 ORANGIA. THIS SIGNIFIES ALTERNATIVE[4] LIKELY ACCEPTANCE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5435

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

[2] The Transvaal Asiatics Registration Amendment Act born of the Gandhi-Smuts compromise of 1908. The Indians, however, continued their opposition to it since it did not incorporate the compromise proposals as understood by them.

[3] Ahmad Muhammad Cachalia; originally an interpreter, hawker and trader with "a working knowledge of English", he first addressed a public meeting of Indians, held on June 30, 1907, to protest against the Asiatic Law Amendment Act; in September, 1908, succeeded Essop Mia as Chairman of the BIA; "sacrificed his all for the community's sake" and allowed his flourishing business to be auctioned in order to pay off his creditors who refused to deal with a satyagrahi merchant; died in 1918, "serving the community till the last"; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 16, 40-1 & 157-8, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XVI.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

16. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

7, BUITENSINGLE [STREET,]
CAPE TOWN,
April 8, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have now heard in reply to my wires to Durban[1] and Johannesburg[2].

The Durban wire from the Congress says:

> Thanks if Bill withdrawn and Transvaal law altered. Effect settlement, Natal Indians entirely satisfied.

The Cape Indians have already suggested the alternative solution.

The Johannesburg wire from the British Indian Association says:

> Your wires received and discussed. We take it that provision also made for right of entry some educated Asiatics; if so, fully acquiesce in settlement.
>
> Don't leave till all settled.
>
> CACHALIA
> CHAIRMAN

I have naturally assumed all along that, whichever proposal is accepted, a certain number of Asiatics not exceeding six in any one year will be allowed on account of the Transvaal to pass the education test and to enter the Union or the Transvaal, as the case may be.

I observe that Mr. Chris Botha has tabled a drastic, and from an Indian standpoint, an impossible amendment[3] to the Bill.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 15-4-1911; also photostat of typewritten office copy: S.N. 5440

[1] Not available

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Office", p. 14.

[3] *Vide* the following item.

17. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET,
CAPE TOWN,]
April 8, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letter. I hope you are comfortably fixed up at Mountain View[1]. I hope, both you and Harold[2] will do a bit of gardening—Harold specially.

I will try to pass a day at Kimberley on my return. I shall speak to Nooroodeen about the Konkanis.[3]

Here is Botha's amendment[4]:

> Nothing in this (28th) section or in any other section of this Act contained shall repeal any of the provisions of Chapter XXXIII of the Law Book of the Orange Free State Province.

Fancy this, after all his assurance to me! However, I am glad. This amendment kills the Bill and General Smuts will be bound, if he wishes to settle the question, to amend the Transvaal Act.

I have not been able to see any members today. Rev. Allmett of Lahore has taken up my morning. He is Bishop Lefroy's man and did something when Polak was in India.

As you will see from the enclosed[5], I have made use of the BIA wire as also the Natal Congress wire.

Sorabji again returns to the London visit. If I go at all, I feel sure, I ought to be accompanied by a Mahomedan. It has a threefold purpose. It will be a source of satisfaction to the community here, it will give added weight to the representatives in London and it will have a far-reaching effect in India. And fourthly, if you like, it would be good training for Mr. Cachalia who is certainly one of the rarest among the Mahomedans. But if the Bill is not brought up next week, I do not see how I can go at all. I should be in London at least a week before the

[1] Kallenbach's Johannesburg house

[2] Ritch's son

[3] At Kimberley the Konkanis, a Muslim community from the Western coast of India, did not cooperate with the Indian Political Association. Gandhiji asked Nooroodeen, apparently a Cape Town Konkani leader, to intervene.

[4] *Vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Office", p. 14 and the preceding item.

[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

date of the conference[1]. Unless I am to rush, not to go to Phœnix at all and possibly not even come to Jo'burg, I think the visit is impossible. Please consider all these practical difficulties.

Have you yet had any legal work? Have you taken your oath as solicitor? Have you notified the Law Society?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5437

18. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
April 8, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

ONLY SLIGHT PROSPECT MATTER[2] COMING NEXT WEEK.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5439

19. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
Sunday, April 9, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I had a funny experience after I posted the letters[3] to you and Polak[4]. I thought, I would stroll down to the House just to

[1] The Imperial Conference; *vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 7.

[2] The Immigrants' Restriction Bill

[3] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 16-7. The letter to Polak, however, is not available.

[4] Henry Solomon Leon Polak; assistant editor of *The Transvaal Critic* who joined *Indian Opinion* (Vol. IV, p. 326) after Gandhiji had struck up a "casual" acquaintance with him in the Johannesburg vegetarian restaurant; "had a wonderful faculty of translating into practice anything that appealed to his intellect"; he took to life in Phœnix "like a duck takes to water" and "we began to live like blood brothers," says Gandhiji who was also best man at his wedding; became editor of *Indian Opinion* in 1906 during Gandhiji's absence in England and a full-fledged attorney in 1908 after having served an apprenticeship with Gandhiji; was arrested after the Great March into the Transvaal in 1913; visited India and England to help the African Indian cause. *Vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XVIII, XXI & XXII and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXIII & XLV.

see what was going on. After reading the order paper[1], I thought, I would go away. But, on second thoughts, I decided to send my card to Duncan[2]. He came and said, "Perhaps it would be better for us not to talk lest it might be thought that you were influencing me." I said, "Not [at] all. I have been informing Lane about all my movements. He knows whom I see and talk to." "But", he said, "you need not worry. I think you will get what you want. It is high time the thing was over." "But", I said, "do you know anything of the latest[?]." "Yes", he said. "General Smuts showed me your letter[3] to him. I think, we shall drop the present Bill and adopt your alternative solution. But you will not bring in anything more." I said, "How can you say that, Mr. Duncan? You have yourself stated our proposition very fairly." "Yes", he said, "I notice you have been quoting me. But you have not always brought that point forward. I thought at times you kept it in the background." "I could not help giving that appearance at times," I said, "we had to give prominence to one point or another as occasion required unless we were to overload every speech and letter with details. It is General Smuts who has always raised new points and each time granted less than our demands, etc." He then wanted to know what I wanted about children, whether I wanted them to get in without giving proofs, etc. I assured him on that point. But I could not help noticing how unfortunate it was that Smuts had seen him before I, and how fortunate it was that I saw him yesterday whilst his talk with Smuts was fresh in his mind. After this experience, I have decided to stick here until the Bill is through or I am certain that nothing is to be done. One may consider it to be pretty certain that the general bill is doomed, and I am more than ever hopeful that the alternative proposal will be accepted.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5441

[1] Giving notice of Chris Botha's amendment to retain Ch. XXXIII of the Orange Free State Constitution in the proposed immigration legislation

[2] Patrick Duncan; member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly; Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, 1903-6, while it was still a self-governing colony; initiated in 1906 the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance in the face of Indian opposition; the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion* (1914), however, mentions that he had since become more sensible of "the Imperial issues involved" in the Indian question and had "advocated measures of redress" for Indians.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

20. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
Monday [*April 10, 1911*]

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have not yet been out today (2 p.m.); have been simply writing letters.[1]

I have your 3 letters.

You may depend upon it that anything that the good General gives is bound to be a mock-concession. It will be for us to turn it into a reality. He will put nothing into my hands so long as he can help it.

I hope that you have arranged with Titus about fees.

If the Klerksdorp friends have not come to you, you should write and invite them to see you.

It will be a great pity if Mr. Phillips[2] goes away and I am unable to see him before he does. I hope there will be Mr. Cachalia and others to see him off.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5442

21. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 10, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

TAKE PRESENT BILL AS DEAD. UNCERTAIN WHEN TRANSVAAL BILL COMING.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5443

[1] Only this letter and the two following items written on this day are available.

[2] Rev. Charles Phillips; Congregational Minister for the Transvaal and "an energetic and persistent sympathizer of the Indian cause"; sometime Acting Chairman of the European Committee of Sympathizers. He was then "leaving for England on a health trip".

22. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
Chaitra Sud 12 [*April 10, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am a bit tired, having written many letters today with my right hand. Hence this with the left.

I wonder why my letter[2] regarding diet reached you so late.

I am not upset by the picture you have drawn of Durban. Hindus as well as others, especially the former, do not generally go abroad so long as they stick to their religion. We rarely find persons going abroad for the good of others. We ourselves were not inspired by high ideals when we left India. If our outlook happens to be somewhat pure, we must have to our credit some good deeds done in the past. The Hindus here are in a debased state as their way of life has fallen into complete disorder. Both the communities make a distinction between the Hindu and the Mussalman and that is why persons like Anglia Sheth[3] raise the question you mention. However, you must have seen that the work can be carried on if there are two or three good workers.

Please read *Gulliver's Travels* some time if you have not already done so. How is your Tamil progressing?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5627. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Gandhiji's preoccupation with diet, which is mentioned in para 2 of the letter, began in 1911. In that year, *Chaitra Sud* 12 corresponds to April 10. This assumption is borne out by a further reference to *Gulliver's Travels* in his "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 77.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 446-7.

[3] M. C. Anglia; a leading Durban Muslim and Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress; suffered deportation and imprisonment in the satyagraha campaign against the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act; in 1909, went to England as a member of the Natal Deputation; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 484 and Vol. IX, pp. 338 & 344.

23. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET,
CAPE TOWN,]
April 11, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have nothing to report today. I have your wire about Madras. I am just now going to Lane and [will] then decide upon the answer to be given.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Nothing to be known before next week. That is Smuts' answer[1]. More tomorrow.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5450

24. *TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
April 11, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

SECRETARY WRITES NOTHING WILL BE KNOWN BEFORE END WEEK. CABLE MADRAS. MATTER OCCUPYING GOVERNMENT. CABLING FURTHER LATER. AM STAYING TILL THING FINISHED.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5453

25. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 12, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I thought that I would ask Lane whether he could give me definite information for cabling to Madras. Smuts was not then in. Lane therefore went over to the House and sent me a letter[2]

[1] & [2] *Vide* Appendix I.

as per copy. I hope you understood my wire[1] sent to you thereafter. So that now we must wait the whole of this week. From Friday, there will be no work till Monday. The House meets again on Tuesday. I think we are bound to get definite information next week. Smuts is in no hurry. He certainly would like to prolong the agony if he could. We can but wait. I am not now seeing any member. I think that I have seen the principal ones and that now it would be better to refrain.

I am anxiously waiting to know how you are getting on there. You do not seem to have got any work yet.

Please ask Miss Schlesin to send me Dr. Mehta's manuscript. He says he had sent a certain speech, &c. I should like to have it here. I want also Finot's *Race Prejudice*. I think that book is among Polak's books. I want it at once for Canon Allnett who is here but who is leaving for England shortly.

How is Harold keeping in health? The weather here is most oppressive. How do you manage for cooking, &c.?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Please ask Miss S. to send the enclosed to Mr. Barrett of Pretoria, whose address she knows or ought to, telling him that the letter unfortunately went by mistake to England from where it has only now been returned. She should add that I would do my best to send him something as soon as I was free.

M. K. G.

[PPS.]

From Friday to Saturday I am not wiring as there will be holidays during that time.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5458

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

26. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 12, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

NO FURTHER PROGRESS. WILL NOT WIRE TILL TUESDAY UNLESS REQUIRED. WHEN PHILLIPS LEAVING.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5459

27. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
Thursday [*April 13, 1911*][2]

MY DEAR RITCH,

Nothing new. I won't say much, as I am off to Dr. Gool's[3] dispensary whose floor I have undertaken to stain and putty. I have replied by wire[4] regarding the proposed meeting. A public meeting should not be convened except to pass [a] definite resolution

[1] Phillips and Cartwright left Johannesburg on April 10 and sailed by the *Carisbrook* from Delagoa Bay on the 12th; *vide* also "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 19.

[2] This letter is undated but Ritch, writing to Gandhiji on April 17 (S. N. 5469), acknowledged two letters from him, both written on Thursday, one mentioning the staining and puttying of Dr. Gool's dispensary floor and the other discussing the subject dealt with in the following item. Evidently, therefore, both these letters were written on Thursday, April 13, 1911.

[3] Abdul Hamid Gool; a Cape Town doctor who took his medical degree in England in 1910; became, on his return, honorary Joint Secretary of the Cape British Indian Union, which was formed by the merger of the two rival Indian bodies in that Province; in 1911, became President of the Union, which office he resigned later that year; Gandhiji was constantly persuading him to take up public work and suggested to Ritch that the young doctor should be more closely associated with Cape Indian affairs; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 372, 399 & 417-8.

[4] Not available

electing a deputation. No public meeting should be held for a mere discussion.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5126

28. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
Thursday night [April 13, 1911][1]

MY DEAR RITCH,

I hope you understood my wire[2].

I think that we ought not to have a public meeting unless the matter has been informally but thoroughly decided. A public meeting discussing the matter of a deputation and then deciding against it may be misinterpreted.[3]

I am quite sure that a Mahomedan must accompany any such deputation. Remember, this time the deputation is not to go on a clear-cut issue. The special interests of merchants will be considered. And a merchant and that a Moslem must be on it if it is to carry weight. That it should be Mr. Cachalia, I have not the slightest doubt. If the community chooses a mischief-maker out of weakness, it will do it harm in the long run. It should be prepared by this time to say to weak men, 'You are weak and therefore you cannot represent the community'. It is my firm conviction that the struggle has been prolonged because the community has shown weakness and has been afraid of mischief-makers. Nor should there be any haggling regarding expenses. The community will have to subscribe liberally and that at once, if the deputation is to go. Upon my return there, I shall have precious little time left. Every time money has come at the eleventh hour. And I suggest that the whole sum is put down now. I do not want you or anybody afterwards to have to worry about collecting.

Will you please forward this to Henry[4] as I am not duplicating the thought in my letter[5] to him.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 23.

[2] Not available

[3] To this, Ritch, in his letter of April 17, 1911, replied: "Your meaning as to the meeting was quite well understood; the project has been abandoned. The reasons you point out are to me sufficiently convincing." S.N. 5469.

[4] H. S. L. Polak

[5] Not available

Parliament is sitting on Saturday and Monday too!

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5427

29. RITCH IN JOHANNESBURG

Mr. Ritch has started legal practice in Johannesburg.[1] We have not come across a single Indian who has not acknowledged his valuable services. Felicitating him is of course a way of recompensing him for his services. Another way is to seek and follow his advice. Now that he has started practice, it is also the community's duty to extend to him their patronage. We trust all those who need the services of a lawyer will engage Mr. Ritch and so show their readiness to encourage him.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 15-4-1911

30. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 15, 1911
11 a.m.

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

TALK PASSING GENERAL BILL REVIVED. FREE STATERS MAY CONSENT. NOTHING KNOWN BEFORE WEDNESDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5465

31. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK

[CAPE TOWN,
April 15, 1911][2]

GENERAL BILL MAY PASS. KNOW DEFINITELY PROBABLY WEDNESDAY.

From a photostat of Polak's letter to Ritch: S.N. 5464

[1] Ritch arrived in Johannesburg on April 5, 1911 and commenced practice at Gandhiji's Office, 21-24, Court Chambers, Rissik Street.

[2] Writing to Ritch from Durban on April 15, Polak quotes the telegram which he has just received. S. N. 5464.

32. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 15, 1911

UNREVISED

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letters. I hope you will read up some S. A. cases on libel & slander & look [up] Van Zyl for your summons.

Our question is passing thro' many ups & downs. Lane told me today that they were bound to fix up two things before the end of the session: minors'...[1] & Immigration. He added that J. C. S. was conferring with Lord Gladstone[2] and the Free State members. He naturally wants to pass his measure. He sees much beyond the Free Staters. So that we may still have the general bill. My latest bulletin is—a close race between the two proposals. If the general bill goes thro', the Free State bar will be removed. Lane told me he might give me some definite information on Wednesday.

As to the London visit[3] the following was the train of my thought in the morning. What is a deputation to do in London? The Imperial Conference will be concerned with general principles, not details. If p[assive] r[esistance] be closed, our question will largely consist of details. It is possible to do something with the Colonial Secretary. But has that time yet arrived? May it not be better to await developments here? On the other hand, may not a deputation prevent the threatened Gold Law measures, &c[?]

Thus, there are arguments for and against. It seems to me that if a deputation is to be sent, we should send the following cable[4]:

> Cable Lord Ampthill's opinion regarding small deputation proceeding view Imperial Conference although passive resistance may end other local grievances serious specially threatened action Gold Law.

[1] Some words are illegible here.

[2] Herbert John Gladstone (1854-1930); 1st Viscount Gladstone; English statesman; Member of Parliament, 1880-1910; successively Financial Secretary, War Office, Under-Secretary, Home Office and Secretary of State for Home Affairs; in 1910 was appointed the first Governor-General and High Commissioner for South Africa which post he held till 1914.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 7.

[4] Evidently to the SABI Committee, London

I am of opinion that such a cable should be sent only after the community is ready to send a deputation in the event of an affirmative reply.

Now for the dates. The conference meets on the 22nd May Monday. I cannot leave next Wednesday the 19th, hardly on the 26th. There then remains the last & the only date, the 3rd May. That will bring the deptn. to London on the 20th May? It could hardly make any impression on the Conference. The 22nd will be merely a formal affair.

As to Cape Town, not a penny need be expected. They will support. They have neither the men nor [the] money. Of Durban, I know nothing. If they find [the] money, they would want to send their own delegate. So that the Transvaal alone will have to find the funds but the work will have to be for all.

My instinct decides against any such deputation.

Mrs. Ernest is anxious to learn from Miss Knudsen[1].

I shall write to MacIntyre[2].

I am writing to Joseph[3] & Quinn[4] who are to be discharged on the 18th.[5]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5466

[1] A Johannesburg masseuse who had offered to train a few young Indian women

[2] W. J. McIntyre; Scottish Theosophist and solicitor's clerk articled to Gandhiji

[3] Joseph Royeppen; born in Natal of indentured Indian parents; barrister-at-law and graduate of Cambridge University; was one of the five student-signatories to a representation to Lord Elgin against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance (Vol. VI, pp. 78-80 & 109) and generally helped the Transvaal Indian Deputation (1906) during its stay in England; later, on his return to South Africa in 1910, repeatedly suffered imprisonment and deportation; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 149, 259, 261, 263 & 297 and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXX.

[4] Leung Quinn; "leader of the Chinese residents of Johannesburg" and Chairman of the Chinese Association and the Cantonese Club; a signatory to the "compromise letter" to Smuts in 1908, *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 40-2; burned his registration certificate in protest against the Asiatic Registration Act (Vol. VIII, p. 456) and suffered imprisonment in 1909; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 234-6.

[5] If Gandhiji wrote these letters, they are not available.

33. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 17, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letter. I did not write to you yesterday. There was nothing to write about. I have written a leaderette[1] in the Guj. columns of *I. O.* showing how the public can, if they wish to, appreciate your work. It should have been printed last Saturday.

If Lane is right, we should have the definite result known this week. Though Smuts would like to do it, I cannot imagine the thing being carried over to the Coronation time. However, it is no use speculating. If there is disappointment again on Wednesday, we should still know the worst before many more days have gone by.

I do hope that Gregorowski[2] will be able to go to Bloemfontein.[3] It will be very sad if he cannot. In that event it would be better to ask Lapin to send whom he likes. If there is anything definite on Wednesday, I propose to ask for relief for Mrs. Sodha[4]. This will be in your hands on Thursday. I may therefore wire[5] tomorrow regarding this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5408

[1] *Vide* "Ritch in Johannesburg", p. 25.

[2] R. Gregorowski; a Johannesburg lawyer whose opinion Gandhiji frequently sought on legal and constitutional matters; later, he appeared as counsel for satyagrahis in law courts; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 413-4 & 425.

[3] For the appeal in Rambhabai Sodha's case. Gregorowski did go but the appeal, heard on April 22, was dismissed with costs.

[4] Rambhabai Ratanshi Sodha, wife of R. M. Sodha, a passive resister. Gandhiji decided to maintain her at Tolstoy Farm with her three children for the duration of her husband's absence in jail, but she was arrested while crossing into the Transvaal in November, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 349 & 351-3. A Johannesburg magistrate sentenced her to a fine of £10 and a month's imprisonment which the High Court, on appeal, reduced to a simple fine; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 392-5 & 423-4. A further appeal was then filed with the court at Bloemfontein.

[5] The telegram, if sent, is not available.

34. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 18, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I am sorry I have nothing yet to report. I am somewhat impatiently looking forward to tomorrow 10.30. It seems to me that disappointment awaits me again. Lane will tell me he has nothing definite to tell me. What is likely to happen is that at the last moment Smuts will rush his measure thro' whatever it may be. That will mean that he will give us the letter and we will have to force him to fulfil the spirit.

I have asked for information about the Sodha appeal. If Gregorowski cannot go, I hope that you will have fixed up some decent counsel.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Please tell Miss Schlesin that I have duly received Finot and Dr. Mehta's speech.[1]

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5471

35. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
April 19, 1911

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

[SMUTS] WISHES PASS GENERAL BILL REMOVING FREE STATE BAR BUT CONSIDERS POSSIBLE HE MAY NOT THIS SESSION. MEANWHILE DOES NOT WANT AGITATION. IF SODHA APPEAL UNSUCCESSFUL DOES NOT WANT IMPRISON HER.[2] AM STAYING IF BILL NOT PASSED.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 22.

[2] *Vide* the following item and "Abstract of Interview with General Smuts", p. 34.

CONSIDER ENGLISH VISIT[1] ESSENTIAL. SITUATION REQUIRES CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5475

36. LETTER TO GENERAL SMUTS

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 19, 1911

DEAR GENERAL SMUTS,

After having thought over our conversation[2] of this morning, I feel that I should place the position frankly before you.

If the question is not settled during the present session, the prospect of passive resisters remaining totally inactive is too appalling to contemplate. There are men on Tolstoy Farm with their families who are pecuniarily ruined. There are others outside in the same position. If they are not to court arrest or are to avoid it, their movements must be hampered. They cannot for instance go to Natal and return without being challenged at the Border. Some who are traders cannot trade because they will not produce their registration certificate[s] so long as the struggle lasts. I should have nothing to say about all this misery if we were conducting an active campaign. But, to continue using military terms, our conversation contemplates a truce for a year or longer, i.e., until the Parliament meets again. I do not know how this is to be done. As you know the campaign has cost us heavily, and our monthly expenditure for supporting families, &c., is naturally great. If we are to again start begging, we must agitate here, in India and in England. There are men from Natal. They have broken up everything. Are we to keep them for months in a state of suspense?

I am sincerely anxious to help you, but I do not know how I could promise inactivity on the part of the passive resisters. What you, the Imperial Government and I want to avoid is the ferment. I fear that, in the nature of things, it is well nigh impossible to avoid it if the matter is not closed during this session.

On the other hand, it will be churlish for me not to appreciate your own difficulty, especially at the fag-end of an exhausting session. You have many difficult questions to solve. Indians know at present only one. But I confess that I do not

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 26.
[2] *Vide* the following item.

apprehend the difficulty your legal advisers do as to the alternative solution suggested by me. Seeing that you want some day or other to pass the general bill, there is no reason why the Transvaal Province may not anticipate the education test of that bill. It will keep out not a single white man whom you may want in the Transvaal and it will keep out all the Indians save six highly educated men per year. So far as I have been able to gauge the feeling of the leaders of the opposition, they will not raise any opposition. All will understand that the solution will be tentative and intended to meet the trouble in the Transvaal. The Free Staters will have a long time to consider your general bill and at the next session all will start anew. Is it too much then, sorely tried though you are with many other troubles, to ask you to remove the serious handicap in the way of my countrymen, and enable them to take their humble share in the approaching Coronation festivities[?]

As this letter is of a very personal nature and arises out [of] a conversation part of which you wish shall remain confidential, I will not publish [it] without your authority.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[PS.] As Mrs. Sodha's appeal comes up on Saturday at Bloemfontein, why not now instruct the Attorney General not to arrest her in the event of its being lost by her.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5477

37. *ABSTRACT OF INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL SMUTS*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 19, 1911

UNREVISED

Nothing to be published
To be kept in the safe aft[er] perusal

ABSTRACT OF AN INTERVIEW BET[WEEN] J. C. S. AND G. AT 11.30 P.M.[2] 19-IV-11

The General was extra cordial. S. [& G.] are such friends that they have left off shaking hands. But at this interview there was a hearty handshake.

[1] Where the original is torn, the missing letters are suggested in square brackets.

[2] This is an error for "a.m."; *vide* the preceding item.

"Well, Gandhi, I am sorry for you. You have been long delayed, but what can I do? You will insist on enjoying yourself in Cape Town," commenced G. S. drawing, while speaking as above, a chair near his and asking G. to be seated.

"You, as a lawyer, will understand when I tell you that it is difficult to carry out your alternative suggestion[1]." G. S. turns away from G., appears to [be] looking at something in his basket and continues, "Gandhi my boy, I am sorry for you. You know I want peace." (I suppose he is having a quiet laugh while saying all this.) "But", looking now towards G., "my advisers consider that your suggestion cannot be carried out. How can we keep out whites from the other provinces[?] Parliament will not pass such a bill. I therefore want to pass my bill which I like and which I consider is fair. I shall try but I may fail to pass it during this session. All the members want to go away. And the Free State members are still opp[osed] to admitting any Asiatic. I think I can beat them in the Assembly but the Senate will throw out the Bill. I therefore want to pass the measure during the next session, if I cannot carry it this session. But meanwhile I want peace. I do not want to harass your people. You know that. And I do not want you to bring people from India and elsewhere to fight. I want to help the Imperial Government & they want to help me. I want to help you & you want to help me. Will you not see our point of view?"

"I emphatically do," interposed G. S. continued: "I know you have many leaders. I know you to be high-minded & honest. I have told Imp. Govt. so. You have a right to fight in your own way. But this country is the Kaffirs'. We whites are a handful. We do not want Asia to come in. Now that Natal won't have immigration, I am hopeful of solving this question. But how can we hold out against you? I have read out your pamphlet[2]. You are a simple-living & frugal race. In many respects more intelligent than we are. You belong [to] a civilization that is thousands of years old. Ours, as you say, is but an experiment. Who knows but that the wh[ole] damned thing will perish before long. But you see why we do not want Asia here. But as I say the Natal difficulty being out of the way, I shall cope with the problem here. But I want time. I shall yet beat the Free Staters. But you should not be aggressive. The whole question as you know will be discussed before the Imperial Con-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.
[2] *Hind Swaraj*; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-64.

ference. You should therefore wait. Now just think it over and let me know." He paused and continued: "I do not know how your people spread. They go everywhere. I have now more petitions against dealers. My difficulty of the future will be regarding them. I do not want to disturb them. I want to let things remain as they are. But I do not know what will happen. You are too hard." After changing the subject, S. said: "Gandhi, what are you doing for a living?"

G. I am not practising at pr[esent].

S. But how then are you living? Have you plenty of money?

G. No. I am living liking [*sic*] like a paup[er], the same as other passive resisters on Tolstoy Farm.

S. Whose is it?

G. It is Mr. Kallenbach's[1]. He is a German.

S. (Laughing) Oh, old Kallenbach! He is your admirer, eh? I know.

G. I do not know that he is my admirer. We are certainly very great friends.

S. I must come and see the Farm—where is it?

G. Near Lawley.

S. I know—on the Vereeniging line. What is the distance from the station?

G. Ab[ou]t 20 minutes. We shall be pleased to see you there.

S. Yes, I must come one day.

So saying he got up to say good-bye. G. did likewise and said:

"You say you cannot amend the Transvaal Imm. Act. I must confess, I do not see any difficulty."

S. Yes, there is. The whites won't have it unless you adopt my suggestion.

G. And that is [?]

[1] Hermann Kallenbach; a prosperous German architect of Johannesburg with "a vein of other-worldliness" who, when challenged to a duel by a Volksrust European for his Indian sympathies, declined, saying that he had "accepted the religion of peace"; himself a satyagrahi, he gave his 1100-acre Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg for the maintenance of satyagrahis' families; taught on the farm carpentry, gardening and sandal-making, the last of which he had learnt at a Trappist monastery; Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association for a time during the absence of Gandhiji and Polak; associated in dietetic experiments with Gandhiji who describes him as "a man of strong feelings, wide sympathies and childlike simplicity". *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa* and *An Autobiography*, also "Address to H. Kallenbach", p. 132 and "Reception to Mr. Kallenbach", pp. 134-6.

S. To give the Governor the power to make regulations setting a different test for different people. The regulations must only refer to Indians. And this I know you won't like. But you think the whole thing over & let me know what you think. You know I want to help you. If there are any individual cases of hardship, you can always come to me.

G. I shall think over the whole thing, but if you want peace, do you want to persecute Mrs. Sodha[1][?]

S. I do not indeed.

G. Do you want to imprison her?

S. No. I know nothing about this case as you know.

G. The appeal is on on Saturday. We may lose it. Then she must go to gaol or pay £10. She won't pay the fine, & must therefore go to gaol.

S. No, I do not want her to go to gaol. But you have brought many into the Transvaal illegally. Now you won't.

G. I do not admit having brought anybody illegally. I certainly did not bring Mrs. Sodha illegally. I gave due notice to the Registrar. And I brought her because her husband like many other passive resisters had to break up his home.

S. Alright, you let me know the result of the appeal and I shall see to it that she is not arrested. Let me know at once will you?

G. Thank you I will.

During the conversation, he said the Free State matter was confidential. The interview lasted nearly 40 minutes.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5476

38. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[CAPE TOWN,]
April 20, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

The enclosed has been sent to me by Chhaganlal with a request to give it to you. The extract is good for reproduction in *Indian Opinion*, but can we?

I hope you were successful in your case. When you want any cash, I assume you have been taking it from Miss Schlesin.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 28 and "Telegram to Johannesburg Office", p. 29.

Anyhow, the extract should go to Henry to read.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5487

39. TELEGRAM TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

CAPE TOWN,
April 20, 1911

TO
BIAS
JOHANNESBURG

INTEND RETURNING ON KNOWING DEFINITELY. RESULT NOT STILL HOPELESS. SUGGEST INSTEAD MEETING CACHALIA SORABJI OTHERS GOING OUTSIDE PLACES EXPLAIN POSITION AND COLLECT. NO TIME SHOULD BE LOST. NO CABLING INDIA ENGLAND TWO DAYS.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5482

40. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

Thursday, April 20, 1911

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your two wires to which I replied yesterday in anticipation.[1] But I have replied by wire[2] also today. I am not quite without hope, and propose to stay for a conclusive reply if he would deign to give one.

If you think that Maud should have a copy of my personal letter[3] to Smuts, and I think she should have it, please make a copy at your side and send one to her. I have seen no one today. Last night I saw Sir David[4] at Anderson's house and had a long chat with him. I do not think that he can exercise the slightest influence in this matter. I am going to see Alexander tomorrow

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Office," pp. 29-30.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to General Smuts", pp. 30-1.
[4] Sir David Hunter; member of Union Parliament from Durban, and a friend of the Indian community; sometime General Manager of the Natal Government Railways. *Vide* also Vol. V, pp. 182-3.

to see if a question cannot be put in the House. But I want to await S.'s reply before taking drastic measures.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5488

41. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[CAPE TOWN,
April 20, 1911][1]

DEAR MR. LANE,

I wired yesterday the gist of the conversation with General Smuts to the Congress at Durban and the Association at Johannesburg.[2]

The following wire has been received from the Congress:

> Congress disapprove stopping agitation Transvaal trouble. Should be settled this session. According Government promise matter should be completed before Coronation, even if prolongation session necessary.

The Association wires as follows:

> Your wire 19th. Committee resolved continue agitation unless law altered this session and to cable England and India immediately.

I have been discussing the matter with the Cape Indian leaders too. They unhesitatingly state that suspension of the agitation in the manner suggested by General Smuts is impossible.

As I have now gathered from the General that he has definitely decided to drop the general bill for the present session and that he will not adopt the alternative solution[3] suggested by me, I have dissuaded any public announcement or the sending of cablegrams to India and England.

I still hope that, if the Free State members cannot be conciliated, the alternative solution which, in my opinion, can offer no difficulty, will be acted upon during this session. In any case, may I know General Smuts' definite decision as soon as possible?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1911; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5489

[1] It is evident from the reference to the telegram to the BIA, Johannesburg (pp. 29-30) that this letter was written on April 20, 1911.

[2] The wire to the Durban Congress is not available; for the other, *vide* "Telegram to Johannesburg Office", pp. 29-30.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane," pp. 10-1.

42. *LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[CAPE TOWN,]
Friday [*April 21, 1911*]

MY DEAR RITCH,

Got an official reply[1] from S. at 2.30 p.m., went to Lane at 3 p.m. Left him at 4.45 p.m., went over and saw Alexander and then went to the telegraph office and it is now 5.45 p.m. Not much time to write to you at length. Lane showed me the confidential correspondence with the G[overnor-]G[eneral], showing that the bill could not possibly be brought up this session whether we stopped passive resistance or not.[2] I thought therefore that we could suspend p[assive] r[esistance] if certain assurances were given. I have told of what I want. I intended to leave tomorrow by the Limited Express at 9 a.m. So Lane telephoned to S. whether he could give assurances, and he said "yes" to the last two but not [to] the first. But I am staying. Anyhow, I am writing a letter[3] to take to Lane in the morning. We have a chance of getting loaves & fishes for the passive resisters and I am trying. If the written assurance be given, I certainly think that the best thing will have happened. We are bound to get a general bill next session.

I have not the time to give you copy of General Smuts' letter[4]. I have much work before me for the evening. Will pass a day at Kimberley so that I should be there on Wednesday morning.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5492

[1] From Lane; *vide* Appendix II.
[2] For the Union Government's reasons for dropping the bill, *vide* Appendix III.
[3] *Vide* the following item.
[4] *Vide* Appendix II.

43. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET,]
CAPE TOWN,
April 22, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

I beg to acknowledge your letter[1] of the 21st instant.

I regret that General Smuts finds it impossible to settle the Transvaal Asiatic trouble during this session. I am, however, grateful for the statement contained in your letter that the matter will engage General Smuts' attention during the recess with a view to bringing about a settlement during the next session.

I share General Smuts' anxiety that passive resistance may now be brought to a close.

May I then suggest the following for his consideration so that the suspicion that is sure to be roused among my countrymen owing to a postponement of the solution may be allayed?

An assurance should be given that:

(a) legislation will be passed next session repealing Act 2 of 1907 subject to the reservation of the rights of minor children in terms of the Chotabhai judgment[2] and restoring legal equality

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

[2] A. E. Chotabhai, domiciled in the Transvaal since 1899 and registered lawfully under Act 36 of 1908, brought his minor son aged 15, whose name appeared in his father's registration certificate, in January, 1910. On the boy's attaining majority, his application for separate registration under Act 36 of 1908 was rejected by the Registrar of Asiatics. Chotabhai appealed to Magistrate Jordan who dismissed the appeal and ordered deportation. Chotabhai then moved the Provincial Court where Justice Wessels in Chambers dismissed the application but restrained the order of deportation pending appeal to the higher Court. The Full Bench of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal with a dissenting judgment by Justice Mason. Finally on January 25, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa ruled that, although Act 36 of 1908 provided only for registration of minors resident in the Transvaal at the commencement of the Act or born within its boundaries, it did not follow that minors entering lawfully after that date were to be excluded from the registration provided for under the earlier Act 2 of 1907, and that it appeared improbable that the Legislature would allow Asiatic minors free entry into the Transvaal but allow the Registrar no discretion to permit them to remain in the country on their attaining majority. The appeal was upheld. The case, in its various stages, was reported in several

as to the immigration of Asiatics into the Transvaal and maintaining existing rights. If the racial bar in the present Immigration Act of the Transvaal is removed by a general bill, such bill should naturally be free from a racial bar throughout the Union;

(b) passive resisters who but for their resistance would have been entitled to registration should now be so entitled notwithstanding anything to the contrary in Act 36 of 1908;

(c) educated passive resisters who are now in the Transvaal but who are not registrable under the Asiatic Act should be allowed to remain in the Transvaal as educated immigrants in anticipation of the forthcoming legislation, their number not to exceed six. They may have special certificates in order to enable them to move to and fro without hindrance.

If the above assurance be given,[1] I do not anticipate any difficulty in persuading my countrymen to suspend passive resistance.

I trust General Smuts will recognize that, in asking for the above assurance, I am simply requesting ratification of what he has so often publicly stated.

I am sure that the Indian community will be deeply grateful to General Smuts for consenting not to imprison Mrs. Sodha in the event of her appeal failing.[2]

I am thankful, too, for the verbal assurance given by General Smuts that he will be pleased to grant relief in cases of individual hardship.

I need hardly reiterate the statement that, whatever befalls the present passive resistance movement, the Indian community will continue to worry him about the many matters in the different Provinces which have from time to time formed the subject-matter of memorials, etc.

Lastly, I venture to repeat what I have said so often that those who have the privilege of guiding the Indian community in South Africa have always been anxious, and will continue, to help the authorities and to study and appreciate the European standpoint

issues of *Indian Opinion* between August 1910 and April, 1911; *vide* also Vol. X, pp. 310, 325, 359-60 & 402.

[1] It was; *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 28 and "Abstract of Interview with General Smuts", p. 34.

consistently with that community's self-respect and interests.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1911; also Cd. 6283 and photostat of type-written office copy: S.N. 5496

44. *SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY*

[*April 24, 1911*]

A largely attended meeting of members of the Indian community, amongst which was a fair sprinkling of Europeans, took place last evening in the Supper Room of the Town Hall, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. M. K. Gandhi who had just arrived from Cape Town, and was on his way up to Johannesburg.

. . . The Mayor[1] briefly introduced Mr. Gandhi to the meeting and Mr. Dawson then read the following address[2] to Mr. Gandhi. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, who had an enthusiastic reception, thanked the meeting for the great welcome that had been accorded him, and the beautiful address presented. He thanked His Worship the Mayor for presiding on the occasion and said that it suggested the harmony of humanity in Kimberley. He could not take the reception as a personal tribute, but he considered it a mark of approbation of the great work which had been done by the passive resisters of the Transvaal. He was glad to be able to inform the meeting that they were nearing a solution of the difficult question that had cost the community over 3,500 imprisonments and untold suffering. He had in his possession a letter[3] from General Smuts which stated that the legitimate demands of the Indian community would be granted during the next session of Parliament. In that letter, the speaker contended, was official recognition of passive resistance as a legitimate form of agitation for the redress of grievances. Addressing meetings in London, he had not hesitated to call [the] Transvaal passive resistance one of the greatest movements of modern times.[4] He knew of no instance in modern history in which a body of people had undertaken self-suffering by way of redress, and that was what the Transvaal movement amounted to.

[1] Councillor W. Gasson, who presided
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[4] *Vide*, for example, Vol. IX, p. 542.

Mr. Gandhi likened the Transvaal passive resistance to the conscientious opposition offered by the Prophet Daniel to the Laws of the Medes and the Persians, which the Prophet considered to be contrary to the demands of reason and holiness. He exhorted his countrymen to be always reasonable in their demands. He contended that the Indian community throughout South Africa had, as a rule, endeavoured to see the European standpoint. Whilst they fought for legal equality, they admitted that there should be differential treatment by reason of the prevalent prejudice, which the Indians would have to wear down by honourable conduct. He asked his hearers not to consider the forthcoming settlement as a victory to gloat over, but merely as a natural consequence of the heroic fight that so many Indians in the Transvaal had put up. He paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Thambi Naidoo[1], whom he considered to be one of the greatest of passive resisters in the arduous campaign. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Dawson, Chairman of the Indian Association, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi which was seconded by Mr. Joshua, the ex-Secretary of the African Political Association. Mr. Gandhi briefly returned thanks and in turn proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which was carried by the whole audience standing.

Diamond Fields Advertiser, 25-4-1911

[1] Thambi Naidoo; a Tamil cartage contractor from Mauritius whom Gandhiji described as "lion-like" and as one of the two most eminent satyagrahis; who but for his rashness of temper "could easily have assumed the leadership of the community in the Transvaal"; had a flair for languages and cooking; became Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society in 1912. *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XX.

45. TELEGRAM TO H. KALLENBACH

[JOHANNESBURG,
April 26, 1911][1]

TO
KALLENBACH,
LAWLEY

MEETING TOMORROW TWO O'CLOCK HAMIDIA HALL DEPUTATION. PRESENCE NAIDOO, SODHA[2], MEDH[3], DESAI[4], ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy signed by Sonja Schlesin "for M. K. Gandhi": S.N. 5509

[1] This meeting mentioned in the text was held on April 27, 1911; clearly therefore this telegram was sent on April 26 presumably on instructions from Gandhiji who had returned to Johannesburg that morning after a month's absence at Cape Town.

[2] Ratanshi Mulji Sodha; an educated satyagrahi who suffered imprisonment during 1908, 1909 and 1910 for defying the Asiatic Registration Act; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 93 & 102 and Vol. X, pp. 250, 252-3, 349 & 393-4.

[3] Surendrarai Bapubhai Medh; a sergeant in Gandhiji's Stretcher-bearer Corps during the Zulu "Rebellion" in 1906; a "stalwart passive resister" who "sacrificed his all" and "covered the community with glory"; among the first batch of Natal Indians to enter the Transvaal, following Sorabji, in order to test educated Indians' right of entry into that Colony; held the record for the longest imprisonment "having been eleven times in gaol" and having "twice fasted for eight days" in protest against the ill-treatment of prisoners; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 237, 346 & 368-9, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XI.

[4] Pragji Khandubhai Desai; "a well-tried passive resister" who fasted in jail in protest against the warders' ill-treatment of prisoners; among the earliest to arrive in Tolstoy Farm, he worked "harder than in jail" to build wood-and-iron structures for the settlers; Gandhiji "requisitioned his services" to teach youngsters on the Farm "who were on bad terms with their books"; wrote regularly for the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 346-7, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXIV.

46. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK

JOHANNESBURG,
April 26, 1911

TO
POLAK
CARE RUSTOMJEE
DURBAN

TELEPHONE INTERRUPTED. RETURN EITHER TODAY OR TOMORROW.[1] REPLY. PUBLISH FULL CORRESPONDENCE[2] EXCEPT PERSONAL LETTER[3] SMUTS' 20TH.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5513

47. LETTER TO APPASAMY NAIKER[4]

[JOHANNESBURG,
April 28, 1911][5]

DEAR MR. APPASAMY NAIKER,

I understand that the few remarks that Mr. Solomon made at the combined meeting yesterday have offended you and some other friends very much. Mr. Naidoo and I are indeed very sorry. We admit that the remarks should not have been made by Mr. Solomon, but we trust that this letter will be sufficient to soothe your feelings and those of others who have felt hurt. Whatever has happened in the past, it must undoubtedly be the

[1] Polak left for Johannesburg on April 27, 1911.

[2] This was accordingly published in *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1911.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to General Smuts", pp. 30-1; the letter was actually dated the 19th.

[4] The letter is followed by a statement, presumably by Solomon, which reads: "I have read the above, and I entirely associate myself with the sentiments expressed. I am indeed very sorry that my remarks should have caused offence to any Indian at all."

[5] The office copy, which is the source of this item, is dated April 27, 1911. This is evidently a slip for the meeting referred to in the text was held on April 27 and the letter itself was therefore written on April 28, 1911.

wish of every lover of India to forget it, and for us to work together for bettering our condition.

Yours truly,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5517

48. INTERVIEW TO "THE STAR"[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
April 28, 1911]

The correspondence which appeared in *The Star* of yesterday gave every promise of a settlement being reached, but did not indicate any exactness in the form of compromise. As a result of a meeting extending to four hours last evening, Mr. Gandhi has been given authority by his countrymen to conclude a temporary arrangement, which will permit of General Smuts advising the Governor-General to extend clemency to passive resisters at present confined. Efforts can also be made by those who have sacrificed their business to re-establish themselves, and the women and children who are living on Tolstoy Farm and [have] become a charge on the Indian community can gradually be restored to their homes. When the final stage has been reached, Mr. Gandhi is passing from public life. He has already arranged for his legal practice to be taken over by Mr. Ritch, who up to now has represented the Indian cause in London. His immediate intention is to provide for the care and education of the children whose parents are now in necessitous circumstances, and then he intends to retire to his farm in Natal, and in the spells of leisure no doubt to come in closer touch with the philosophic musings of Tolstoy and to reap inspiration from the savants of his beloved India.

A representative of *The Star* called on Mr. Gandhi today to obtain an appreciation of the stage to which the Asiatic problem has been advanced. It would appear that the Immigration Bill is finished with and that two alternatives[2] are before the Government. The first is the introduction of a new Immigration Bill from which the colour bar will be entirely eliminated, and to carry which General Smuts will have to bear down the opposition of the Free State. The second course is to practically preserve the *status quo* and to simply amend the immigration laws of the Transvaal. The first course, while meeting the objections raised by the Transvaal Indians, will involve the right of educated immigrants to travel throughout the Union, and will place limitations on the privileges which Indians in other Provinces at present

[1] This was republished in *Indian Opinion*, 6-5-1911, under the title "The Close of a Bitter Struggle".

[2] The reference is to the proposal contained in Gandhiji's letter to Lane of April 7, pp. 10-1.

enjoy. The adoption of such a measure would not bring that finality which is desirable. On this point, Mr. Gandhi states the country is not yet ripe for general immigration legislation, because the policies throughout the Provinces have been distinct, and it would be purely a makeshift to have general legislation in name with actual statutory distinctions for the different Provinces, because it is common cause that the Provincial Asiatic legislation is to remain intact and that movements of Asiatics are to be restricted to the respective Provinces.

[GANDHIJI:] Such being the case, I cannot help saying that it will be sane statesmanship for the present to recognize the situation as it is; and yet it will be possible to administer the Provincial laws by the Central Government. Generally speaking, European immigration will not be affected for the simple reason that the laws are so framed as to ensure practical equality of administration of European immigration.

No Hitch Anticipated

[INTERVIEWER:] You have no doubt now about a solution being reached?

So far as I can see, there ought to be no hitch, because each party has taken all the precautions humanly possible to avoid misunderstanding or ambiguity. Undoubtedly a great deal will depend on how General Smuts carries out his declarations. At last night's meeting, the greatest difficulty that the Indian leaders had to face was the almost ineradicable suspicion the rank and file entertain regarding the Government's motives. They read everything that is hostile to themselves in all that is said or written on behalf of the Union Government. At one time the position was tense, and there was a very heated controversy, but calmness ultimately prevailed, and the meeting decided, with [a] few dissentients, to accept the provisional settlement.[1]

What was your experience in Cape Town?

I must confess that General Smuts was extremely obliging and conciliatory in his attitude, and throughout the negotiations, he evinced a sincere desire to come to a settlement. He more than once declared that he did not wish to prolong the distress which he knew the passive resisters were suffering.

In reply to a further question, Mr. Gandhi said that the present Indian population in the Transvaal was at the outside 8,000, and was about 7,000 below the number of pre-war residents. In conclusion, he requested that his gratitude and that of his countrymen should be acknowledged through *The Star* to the members of the European committees in Johannesburg and London,

[1] For Gandhiji's report of the meeting, *vide* "Transvaal Notes", pp. 56-7.

to Lord Ampthill[1] and Professor Gokhale[2], without whose support "we could not have reached the stage we have".

The Star, 28-4-1911

49. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[JOHANNESBURG,]
April 29, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

Referring to the conversation between us of this morning, we had an overcrowded meeting at the Hamidia Hall on Thursday last. Mr. Cachalia presided, and the meeting lasted four hours. After some heated discussion, a resolution was carried, approving, as hereafter explained, of the provisional settlement set forth in the letters[3] of the 22nd instant exchanged between us.[4]

There were several questions which were asked at this meeting, and are still being asked. I think that it is right that I should draw General Smuts' attention to the most important of them. The acceptance by the meeting is based upon the interpretation of the letters indicated by the following questions put by the meeting:

(1) Will the legislation proposed and designed to meet the objection of passive resisters take away existing rights either in the Transvaal or in other parts of South Africa?

ANSWER: It will not, whether the proposed legislation affects only the Transvaal or the whole of the Union.

(2) Will the passive resisters who are pre-war residents, but who are at present outside the Transvaal, such as Mr. Dawad

[1] Arthur Oliver Villiers Russell, second Baron of Ampthill (1869-1936); Governor of Madras, 1899-1906; acted as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1904; took active interest in the Indian struggle in South Africa and was President of the South Africa British Indian Committee, London. He wrote the introduction to Doke's biography of Gandhiji.

[2] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); Indian statesman; President, Indian National Congress, 1905; founded the Servants of India Society, 1905; member Bombay Legislature and Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1902-15; member Indian Public Services Commission, 1912-5.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 38-40 also Appendix IV.

[4] Here the draft has the sentence: "The smooth working will depend now entirely upon a liberal policy being followed by General Smuts" which appears to have been subsequently deleted.

Mahomed[1] or Mr. Rustomjee[2], be entitled to registration in spite of their having failed to apply for their registration during the statutory period?

ANSWER: Yes.

(3) Will the passive resisters who, although registered, have been deported, be prohibited from entering the Transvaal?

ANSWER: No.

(4) Will the passive resisters who hold Peace Preservation Ordinance Permits but have been deported be similarly protected?

ANSWER: Yes.

(5) Will the educated passive resisters who are to be allowed to remain in the Transvaal under temporary certificates be treated as immigrants for this year, and be free from liability to registration under Act 36 of 1908?

ANSWER: Yes.

(6) Will the standard of education possessed by the persons referred to be set for future Asiatic immigrants?

ANSWER: No. It was explained that only those who are highly educated will be allowed to pass the education test, and that probably all but Mr. Joseph Royeppen out of the six would be rejected if they were to seek admission as new immigrants on merits.

(7) Will educated Asiatics who are registered residents be compelled to give finger-prints or thumb-prints?[3]

[1] One of the earliest traders in South Africa, he spoke English and Dutch well although without any literary education. "Skilful", "intelligent and resourceful", he was the principal contributor to public funds raised in South Africa for Indian causes; Chairman, Natal Indian Congress; erstwhile resident of the Transvaal, he crossed over into the Colony in August, 1908 and refused to give his thumb-impressions at the border under Act 2 of 1907. He thus courted arrest to establish the right of entry of old Transvaal Indian residents and was released on grounds of ill-health after serving five months of his six months' sentence; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 452, 484 & 486 and Vol. IX, pp. 190-1, 298 & 299, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXX.

[2] Parsi Rustomjee; philanthropic and public-spirited Indian merchant of Natal and the "Grand Old Passive Resister", affectionately known as Kakaji, he was first co-worker and staunch friend and later client of Gandhiji's; strong supporter of the Natal Indian Congress.

[3] In thus formulating Question No. 7 Gandhiji may have had the procedure for taking out licences in mind rather than that of registration for he refers to these persons as having already registered. Smuts' telegraphic reply of May 20, 1911 (Appendix VI) makes the point explicit, but in Question No. 8 the reference is clearly to the procedure for registration. Smuts' reply, however, limits the concession to licensing procedure only. Presumably all that the

ANSWER: No.

(8) Will conscientious objectors or well-known Asiatics be similarly exempt?

ANSWER: Yes, from finger-prints and also from thumb-prints, if they can give a well-formed signature.

The last two answers were given on the strength of previous correspondence[1] in 1908 and the dispatches recently published. The matter was not mentioned in the discussion between us because it was quite plain to me.

I am sure General Smuts will not mind my troubling him with the above, as I know he as well as I is most anxious to avoid any misunderstanding.

I find that Mr. Sodha is not a pre-war resident of three years' standing. He resided continuously for two years before the war in the Transvaal, and actually left as a refugee. There is, of course, no doubt as to the two facts. But a strict reading of Act 36 of 1908 requires three years' pre-war residence. May not the strict letter of the law be waived and Mr. Sodha be allowed to register? If he is not, he falls under the category of educated immigrants, as he possesses educational qualifications. He will then, with Messrs Royeppen, Sorabjee, Medh, Desai and Shelat[2] be the sixth educated man. That leaves out a very desirable and highly educated man, Mr. Samuel Joseph, a nephew of Mr. Royeppen and a schoolmaster. He was born in South Africa, and is even now the organist in a Native Protestant Christian Church, and is giving some private tuition.

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telegram did was to safeguard the right of the Transvaal Government to take thumb-impressions from resident Asiatic traders seeking licences if they were not educated or even from conscientious objectors seeking registration. The procedure for registration of uneducated persons could not have been at issue because the bulk of these save perhaps for the thirty mentioned in Gandhiji's letter of May 4, 1911 (pp. 59-60) had registered voluntarily, and it was agreed between the satyagrahis and the Government that immigration of uneducated persons must cease.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 41, 69, & 70-1.

[2] Umiashankar Manchharam Shelat; a sergeant in the Stretcher-bearer Corps formed by Gandhiji in the Zulu "rebellion" of 1906; later, as a satyagrahi, suffered imprisonment and deportation in 1908 and 1909; was one of the "stokers" at the Mass Meeting in August 1908 when Indians burned their registration certificates; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 473 and Vol. IX, pp. 251 & 264, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XI.

May I ask for his protection, by waiving the strict interpretation in regard to Mr. Sodha? We might have thrown out one of the six before named in favour of Mr. Samuel Joseph, but the merits in point of suffering of the others are far greater than Mr. Samuel Joseph's.

I have been asked to mention another case of extreme hardship. That is Mr. Camay's. He was an Indian postmaster in Johannesburg. He is well educated. I believe he had served for nearly ten years in the above capacity when he had to leave because he declined to register.[1] Mr. Camay is a Parsee. He has his family in Johannesburg. He has suffered a great deal during the struggle. I believe that he was very popular as postmaster, and enjoyed the complete confidence of his superiors. In my opinion, he ought to be reinstated.

I have not yet before me a list of Indian passive resisters who being pre-war residents are entitled to registration, but I am getting the names together. I take it that their registration will proceed immediately we agree on the points mentioned by me herein.

You were somewhat surprised when I mentioned the Chinese passive resisters. But they have continued to suffer to the end and their Chairman, Mr. Quinn, was only recently discharged from gaol. There are now, I think, more Chinese than Indian passive resisters in gaol. I am quite sure that General Smuts will not expect Indian passive resisters to desert their Chinese fellow sufferers. They naturally ask for the same protection for the Chinese passive resisters as for themselves. There are, I understand, only about twenty pre-war Chinese passive resisters who were not registered when the struggle was revived in 1908. But I introduced the question of the Chinese in order to mention the somewhat delicate matter of four who are undergoing terms of imprisonment for public violence among themselves. When the struggle was revived, the Chinese became two factions and fought with each other. As a result, some were convicted. Now the two factions are united. They are even preparing a petition to the Governor-General for the exercise of the clemency of the Crown. Will not General Smuts recommend them for favourable consideration?

I have written at great length. But I thought that I could not be too precise or too frank.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 482 and Vol. IX, p. 5.

If you will kindly place this letter before General Smuts, and if he considers it necessary, appoint a day for an interview, I shall come down, and the matter may be finally closed.[1]

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5521

50. *PETITION TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 1, 1911

[TO]
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

THE PETITION OF A. M. CACHALIA, CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

The painful struggle over the legal status of Asiatics, that has gone on in the Transvaal for the last four years, now gives promise of a happy ending. In view, however, of the approaching meeting of the Imperial Conference, the British Indian Association ventures to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the present actual position of British Indians residing in the Transvaal.

The struggle arising out of the passing of the Asiatic Registration Act (No. 2 of 1907) has caused such intense suffering among the Asiatic communities residing in the Transvaal, and has so much occupied the attention of both Asiatics and Europeans, that it has not been possible for the Association to devote much energy to securing a redress of the disabilities which were in existence at the commencement of the struggle and of others which have since been imposed, but to which passive resistance did not extend.

[1] Acknowledging this letter on May 1, 1911, Lane said: "The various points raised by you are now under consideration of the Committee, and further communication will be sent to you in due course." S.N. 5525. Smuts actually discussed the points mentioned in this letter in his letter of May 19 and telegram of May 20, 1911; *vide* Appendices V & VI.

[2] This was presumably drafted by Gandhiji; it was published in *Indian Opinion*, 13-5-1911, under the heading "The Present Position".

THE PRESENT POSITION IN REGARD TO THE REGISTRATION AND IMMIGRATION LAWS

In terms of a letter[1] addressed by the Private Secretary of General Smuts to Mr. Gandhi, and dated the 22nd April, the proposals in which were submitted to a meeting[2] of British Indians on the 27th April, and accepted by a Resolution carried with but six[3] dissentients:

(a) Law 2 of 1907 is to be repealed during the forthcoming session of the Parliament of South Africa, subject to the reservation of the rights of minor children in terms of what is known as the Chotabhai judgment[4];

(b) Legal equality in respect of immigration of Asiatic immigrants with European immigrants will be restored, subject, however, to differential administrative treatment as distinguished from statutory differentiation;

(c) In the legislation to be passed, the existing rights of British Indians will be maintained, that is, if it is Provincial legislation, the existing rights of Asiatics in the Transvaal shall not be interfered with; if it is legislation applicable to all the Provinces, the existing rights in the Provinces as well as in the Transvaal shall be preserved;

(d) If the legislation should be Provincial, not more than six highly educated Asiatics will be allowed in any one year to pass the education test, and be admitted as immigrants to the Transvaal;

(e) Passive resisters who, but for passive resistance, would have been entitled to registration if they had applied within the proper time will be now allowed to register;

(f) Educated passive resisters not registrable under the Registration Act will be allowed to remain in the Transvaal in anticipation of the forthcoming legislation, and will be deemed to be Asiatic immigrants for the current year;

(g) Passive resisters who are suffering imprisonment as such will be recommended to His Excellency the Governor-General for discharge, upon an assurance being given that the community will suspend passive resistance for the time being.

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[2] For Gandhiji's account of the meeting, *vide* "Transvaal Notes", pp. 56-7.
[3] Cf., however, p. 57.
[4] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 38.

My Association takes this opportunity of tendering thanks to the Union Government for the obviously conciliatory and generous manner in which they have met it, and also to His Majesty's Government for their friendly and effective intervention to bring to a happy ending the unfortunate situation.

But the suspension of passive resistance now agreed upon does not mean that the British Indian community in the Transvaal has obtained redress of all its most serious grievances. The British Indian Association, therefore, craves leave to mention the most prominent of these that the community is still labouring under.

Law 3 of 1885

Law 3 of 1885, which was the subject-matter of correspondence up to the time of the outbreak of hostilities between His Majesty's Government and the late South African Republic, still remains on the Statute-Book of the Union, save for the removal of the £3 fee for the registration of those Asiatics who settled in the Transvaal for the purposes of trade; and it excludes British Indians and other Asiatics from:

(a) burgher's rights;
(b) ownership of landed property except in Bazaars and Locations;
(c) residence in towns, except in Bazaars or Locations set apart for their residence.

Owing to the unfortunate prejudice against Asiatics prevalent in South Africa, the Association regards as outside practical politics any demand at present for burgher's rights, i.e., rights for political franchise.[1]

The deprivation, however, of the right to own landed property except in Bazaars or Locations is a very serious disability, and it naturally interferes with the progress of the community, and, strange as it may appear, the absence of building enterprise on the part of the community owing to this disability is used as an argument against the community, and so fosters prejudice. Though residence of Asiatics is restricted under this law to Locations or Bazaars, there being no penalty prescribed for non-residence therein, the Courts have held that Asiatics cannot be compulsorily segregated. The presence, direct and indirect, of rival European traders has, however, virtually driven a number of the poorer

[1] Transvaal Indians had consistently adhered to this position; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 212 and Vol. VIII, pp. 53 & 467.

Asiatics into the Locations already established under the law. It is worthy of note, as an indication of the hostile spirit actuating the Government for the time being of the Province, that these Locations have been so far situated as to make general trade therein practically impossible, and to put Asiatic hawkers, who must every morning go to the public market for buying produce, to very great inconvenience. Moreover, whereas under this law Asiatics are permitted to own landed property in such Locations, the Government permit them only to hold leases of no longer than 21 years of Stands into which such Locations are divided. Indeed, in Johannesburg, they are only allowed a monthly tenure. Here it may be added that, up to the time of the outbreak of the late war, there was a Location in Johannesburg, in which ninety Stands were held under 99 years' lease. This Location, among other areas, was expropriated under a special Ordinance, and since then Asiatics have not been able to hold any landed property in their own names save as above mentioned.

In order, however, to enable British Indians to become virtual owners of landed property, equitable trusts under legal advice were created, whereby Asiatics have been able hitherto to acquire a permanent interest in land, their European friends taking transfer of land for which the Asiatic beneficiaries pay, and the ostensible owner passing a bond over such land in favour of the equitable owner. These trusts have been recognized by the Courts, and the method has been in vogue almost since the time of the promulgation of this law.[1]

GOLD LAW AND TOWNSHIPS ACT (1908)

In order, as it would appear, to defeat such trusts and to bring about effectual compulsory segregation, the Legislature has included in the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act of 1908

[1] The case of Aboobaker Amod's Church Street property in Pretoria was the subject of much controversy. The Boer law of 1885 denied Asiatics the right to hold land outside Locations except for religious purposes but it was amended in 1886 to exempt Aboobaker Amod; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 104. A Supreme Court judgment in 1906 reluctantly acquiesced in this but ruled that the property could not be transmitted to the heirs; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 118. Special provision authorizing the inheritance was made in the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906 (Vol. VI, p. 99) as well as in the draft legislation repealing portions of Law 3 of 1885 suggested by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 104. Since the Ordinance and its variations remained inoperative owing to the Indians' opposition to them, this property was meanwhile held in trust by Polak; *vide* also Vol. V, pp. 231-2 & 267-9. This is the solitary instance of land held by an Indian individual in the Transvaal; *vide* Vol. V, p. 391.

certain subtle provisions[1], which, on the face of them, appear to be comparatively innocuous (though still highly offensive), yet which are obviously designed to accomplish the object above indicated. The Association has made this discovery only lately, by accident. In the town of Klerksdorp, European owners of Stands occupied by, and in some cases equitably owned by, British Indians have been notified by the Government that they are committing a breach of Section 130[2] of the said Gold Law, and that, if the British Indian occupants be not removed by the 30th April (last), proceedings will be taken against them.[3] The penalty for non-compliance is a fine of £50 and an additional fine of £5 *per diem* so long as the breach continues. These notices have created consternation among British Indians. The community has received legal opinion to the effect that the combined reading of the two laws above referred to means that every Indian residing within mining areas in this Province runs the risk of being dispossessed of his occupation of Stands therein and having his equitable ownership completely destroyed. The latter object is attained by a section in the Townships Act aforementioned which provides for forfeiture to the State, without compensation, of land occupied by British Indians and other Asiatics, although, as before explained, they may be virtual owners of such Stands. The only protection of existing rights granted under these drastic laws is in respect of leases directly held by Asiatics and entered into before promulgation of the Gold Law. Many important towns, including Johannesburg (which accommodates nearly one-half of the total Indian population of the Transvaal), are affected by these laws. If, therefore, they are to be strictly enforced, virtual ruin of the Transvaal Indian community must almost certainly follow and that oft-declared policy of prominent members of the present Ministry of the Union, viz., the starvation of British Indians out of the Province, will be effected at a stroke of the pen.

Had such an attempt been made by an open and plain amendment of Law 3 of 1885, instead of by an obscure interpolation in statutes covering hundreds of sections and ostensibly dealing with matters of quite a different nature, the Association feels cer-

[1] Gandhiji must have had in mind Sections 104, 113, 114, 122, 127 and 128; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 200-1, 293-5 & 490-1.

[2] Section 130 (Sec. 127 in the D aft Gold Law, Vol. VIII, p. 491) prohibits European owners of Stands in "proclaimed areas" from subletting any rights to Coloured persons and the acquisition of any rights whatsoever by the latter in such areas.

[3] *Vide* footnote 3 on p. 4.

tain that such a measure would never have received His Majesty's sanction. The Association naturally lays the greatest emphasis upon this part of the petition, and hopes that His Majesty's Government will not fail to grant relief.

FOOT-PATHS BY-LAWS, ETC.

The Association is loth to bring before His Majesty's Government by-laws and regulations needlessly interfering with the personal liberty of the community represented by the Association, in view of the fact that material interests of the community are, as shown above, hardly recognized or respected; but there can be no rest for Transvaal Indians so long as the Statute-Book of the Province remains disfigured by legislation preventing the use by them of foot-paths and tram-cars.[1] These pinpricks will not be stopped so long as British Indians continue generally to be bracketed with the natives of South Africa.

THREATENED LEGISLATION

The Association further begs to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the promise of the Union Government to deal with the question of trading licences granted to British Indians. The Association is aware the various Chambers of Commerce of this Province, largely composed of rival European traders, have promoted and sent petitions to the Union Parliament, containing highly coloured and inflammatory statements prejudicial to Indian interests, and praying for the restriction and even extinction, of Indian trade licences.[2] The Association fervently hopes that, as the Indian population in the Transvaal is comparatively small, and is not to be in future at all materially added to, no restraint of Indian trade will be countenanced by His Majesty's Government. The Association humbly suggests that the objections, mostly exaggerated, made in the petitions above referred to, to the habits of the Indian community as to insanitation, etc., in so far as they are based on facts, can be, and are, easily met by general municipal health regulations.

In conclusion, the Association trusts that His Majesty's Government will take such steps as may be necessary and expedient to safeguard the existing rights of British Indian subjects of the Crown, resident in the Transvaal, to ameliorate their position

[1] The British Indian Association had time and again taken up the question of these disabilities with the local authorities, and the Colonial and Imperial Governments; *vide*, for example, Vol. IV, pp. 147-8 and Vol. V, pp. 335-44.

[2] *Vide*, for instance, Vol. VIII, p. 210.

in respect of the matters hereinbefore referred to. And for this act of justice and mercy your Petitioner shall, as in duty bound, for ever pray.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: 551/22

51. *SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG FAREWELL*

[May 1, 1911][1]

A large gathering of local Indian sportsmen met at the Hamidia Islamic Hall, Vrededorp, to wish good-bye to Mr. Joseph Royeppen on the eve of his departure for his home in Durban, after the conclusion of his part in the Transvaal Passive Resistance movement. Mr. Gandhi was in the chair. . . .The chairman opened the proceedings and naturally touched on his own pet game of passive resistance. He said there were many games. In some they won, and in others they lost, but there was a game in which they must always win, and that was passive resistance. He referred to the long and dreary game that had been played by them for the last four and a half years, and trusted that the winning point was now scored. A community which could play the game of passive resistance so honourably as they had done could play any other game equally well. . . .

The Star, 4-5-1911

52. *TRANSVAAL NOTES*

Tuesday [May 2, 1911]

An overflow meeting was held at the Hamidia Hall on Thursday, the 27th ultimo. Mr. Cachalia presided. Probably 200 men had to stand outside the Hall. The proceedings lasted over four hours. Messrs Kallenbach and Ritch were also present. The discussion was at times heated, if not actually stormy, and throughout there was intense distrust as to the intentions of the

[1] A report appearing in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 13-5-1911, states that this function was held on May 1, 1911 under the auspices of the Bande Mataram League. *Vide* also the following item.

Government. Mr. Gandhi explained the whole of the correspondence, and advised acceptance of the proposals made therein. After Mr. Coovadia and Messrs Royeppen, Solomon Ernest, Thambi Naidoo, Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, Sorabjee, Sodha and others had spoken in favour of acceptance, Mr. Abdul Rahman of Potchefstroom moved that the proposal as to suspension of passive resistance be accepted conditional upon fulfilment of the pledges given by General Smuts. The proposition was somewhat crudely worded, but it sufficiently expressed the sense of the meeting. Mr. Shelat seconded. There was a counter-proposition to the effect that the proposal might not be accepted until the intentions of the Government were carried into practice. The original proposition was carried with but five dissentients.

It was also decided at this meeting that the proposal to send a public deputation to England consisting of Messrs Cachalia and Gandhi should be withdrawn, and that the funds collected be devoted to sending Mr. Polak to England, in order to enable him to rejoin Mrs. Polak, as also to take up such public work as may be found necessary during the Conference and after. According to the programme at present arranged, about the middle of October, Mr. Polak will leave with Mrs. Polak for India, and there attend the meeting of the National Congress in December, and remain there up to the time of the passing of the Bill that is to be introduced during the forthcoming session of the Union Parliament, in terms of General Smuts' letter of the 22nd ulto. Telegrams in support of the meeting were received from Klerksdorp and Pietersburg, and delegates attended from Germiston, Boksburg, Heidelberg, etc.

* * *

The Chinese have also held meetings, and have passed resolutions accepting the proposed settlement, asking Mr. Gandhi to attend to certain difficulties of their own. The one very satisfactory result, so far as the Chinese are concerned, that has been achieved is that the two parties into which they were unhappily divided after the renewal of the struggle in the middle of 1908 have now reunited.

* * *

Mr. Gandhi is now in further correspondence with General Smuts, and final letters may be exchanged during the week.

* * *

Mr. Polak arrived last Saturday evening, and was received by Mr. Cachalia and other members of the community, and he left for London last Monday by the *Imperial Mail.* He was seen

off by nearly one hundred Indians and Chinese, including Messrs Kallenbach, Ritch, Isaac, Van Weenen and Miss Schlesin. He was garlanded by Mr. Cachalia, and was the recipient of several bouquets. Flowers were showered upon him, and as the train was about to steam out, Mr. Camay, in a few well-chosen words, thanked Mr. Polak for his great services, wished him a happy time with Mrs. Polak and his family, and hoped that whatever public work he might do would be crowned with the same brilliant success that had attended his efforts in India.

* * *

A reception was held by the Bande Mataram League in honour of Mr. Joseph Royeppen, on Monday night. Refreshments were served, and the tables were laid for nearly 50 guests, among whom were Messrs Cachalia, Quinn, Fancy, Thambi Naidoo, David Ernest, Bawazeer, Sorabjee, Medh and others. Messrs Kallenbach and Isaac were also present. Mr. Gandhi was in the Chair. Several speeches were made,[1] all more or less dealing with the passive resistance struggle.

* * *

The British Indian Association is sending a petition[2] addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dealing with grievances arising out of the operation of Law 3 of 1885, the Gold Law, and the Townships Amendment Act, and several other matters.

Mr. Ritch has already appeared in the Courts in several cases with success.

* * *

Mr. C. Ramasamy has sent a box of vegetables to the Farm.

Indian Opinion, 6-5-1911

[1] For a report of Gandhiji's speech, *vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 50-6.

53. *LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*[1]

May 4, 1911

DEAR MR. LANE,

With reference to the interview[2] with General Smuts, I have conferred with Mr. Cachalia and other leaders. It seems to be no easy matter to give you a complete list of the names of those who as passive resisters would be competent to apply, and, in any case, the preparation of the list will take some time. But I think I can easily describe the classes who may be permitted to apply. I do not deal with those who are in South Africa, for General Smuts, I understand, does not anticipate any difficulty about them.

There are no Chinese passive resisters outside South Africa.

Those Indians who may be in India should fall under one or [the] other of the following sub-heads:

(a) Those who, after the 1st of January, 1908, were deported under the Registration Act 2 of 1907 or Act 36 of 1908, and have not yet applied under either of the Acts;[3]

(b) those who, though not deported, left South Africa owing to the struggle some time after the 1st day of March, 1907.[4]

The onus of proof of deportation under (a) and of leaving under (b) should fall on the applicant.

[1] On May 5, 1911, Lane acknowledged this letter saying that it was being forwarded to the Minister for consideration (S. N. 5529) and on May 19 the Acting Secretary of the Interior wrote to Gandhiji recording the Government's final acceptance of the satyagrahis' demands. The Minister trusted that this acceptance would be regarded by the Asiatic community as "a final settlement of the questions involved"; *vide* Appendix V.

[2] This does not appear to be the interview of April 19, 1911 (pp. 31-4) for none of the issues discussed in this letter figured in that meeting. Gandhiji, however, mentions in his letter of May 8, 1911, to Polak (p. 63) that he went to Pretoria to see Smuts and met people on Thursday and Friday. It would be natural to suppose that these days were May 4 or 5. If this meeting did take place as is strongly suggested by the letter to Polak, no record of it is available.

[3] A batch of 16 Indians was deported for the first time on April 14, 1909 and by June 5, 1909, about 29 had been deported.

[4] In August 1907, H. O. Ally left the Transvaal since he wished neither to join the satyagraha campaign nor to register under Act 2 of 1907. Several others left about the same time for the same reasons.

By adopting the above method, General Smuts' fear that the door may be opened to applicants who may have left South Africa for India years ago and may now set up a fictitious claim is set at rest.

I understand that not more than thirty Indians are likely to fall under (a) or (b), and that not more than 150 are likely to apply from South Africa.

It follows from the correspondence between us that those who have applied to the Registrar for registration under either the Act of 1907 or that of 1908, and have been rejected, cannot now reapply. But there are some in South Africa who applied for voluntary certificates before the Act of 1908 was passed, but who, having been rejected by the Registrar, did not apply after the Act of 1908.[1] These men will now apply under the Act so as to be able to avail themselves, if necessary, of the right of appeal reserved under the Act of 1908.

Of the Chinese in South Africa, there are not more than 30, of whom all but two are in the Transvaal, these two being in Delagoa Bay.

I take it that registration will proceed at once. I venture to suggest that applications be not received after, say, the 31st December next.

May I point out the desirability of finally closing this matter, as some passive resistance prisoners are still in gaol who are to be recommended for discharge, and as I am most anxious, if I can, to close among ourselves further discussion of the interminable points that crop up pending a final announcement.

Yours etc.,

[M. K. GANDHI]

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand, in which the last paragraph is missing: S. N. 5529a

[1] In his reply dated May 19, 1911, the Acting Secretary of the Interior estimated their number at 180, including Chinese and Indians; *vide* Appendix V.

54. LETTER TO A. E. CHOTABHAI

May 4, 1911

DEAR MR. CHOTABHAI,

I am much obliged to you for your note of the 3rd instant enclosing [a] cheque for £300 in connection with your son's case[1]. As I have already informed you, I do not desire to make any personal use of your generous gift. It is my intention shortly to make over the Phœnix Farm, together with the machinery and the Press Buildings, which have been valued at £5,000, to trustees in trust for public purposes; and I propose, if I can induce our wealthy men to follow up your gift, to devote the money towards building a substantial school at Phœnix. Should, however, such support not be forthcoming, I propose to retain the sum to use, if required, for the objects of passive resistance, should its revival next year unfortunately become necessary.

Thanking you for your promise of co-operation in public work,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 13-5-1911

55. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

May 8, 1911

MY DEAR POLAK,

Herewith your plate, also Mr. Cachalia's authority[2], draft for £116/9/-, and copy of a translation of Harilal's letter. Pater's letter will be, I take it, sent you by West[3]. You will have noticed that

[1] For details of the Chotabhai case, *vide* footnote 2 on p. 38.

[2] The reference is to Cachalia's letter to Polak authorizing him to represent African Indians in England, following the decision of the BIA meeting of April 27 to send him on deputation instead of Gandhiji and Cachalia.

[3] Albert H. West. It was in Isaac's vegetarian restaurant in Johannesburg, where Gandhiji met so many European colleagues of his, that he met West also. The latter in fact sought him out offering to nurse plague patients. Instead Gandhiji asked him to take charge of the printing press at Phœnix offering himonly £10 a month for the task. From then on, this "God-fearing humane Englishman.... remained a partner of my joys and sorrows" until Gandhiji left South Africa in 1914. He put the press at Phœnix, of which he became joint

he did not understand your telegram. Cordes'[1] address is John H. Cordes Junior, 68 gr. Bleichen, Hamburg. I see that your passage to London will come to over £45, including what was paid on the luggage at Park. This does not include the expenses during the voyage, including gratuities. I, therefore, put down your passage at £55 as far as Waterloo. Here then is my estimate:

Passage to London	£ 55
May 20—Oct. 15 at £50 per month	£ 250
Passage to Bombay for you, Milly, Celie and the boys	£ 100
Stay in India Nov.-March at £25	£ 125
Cable expenses, etc.	£ 100
Passage from India to South Africa	£ 60
	£ 690

I, therefore, estimate £700 as the expenses. There may be a saving if you return earlier. Of the above amount, £44 has been spent here roughly for your passage, and £200 has been now sent to you on account of the deputation. I have deliberately calculated £50 for the expenses there, because during your stay the activity of the Committee will be greater, and so I have put down £25 instead of £18 per month, and that may enable Maud not to worry; and I have put down a larger amount for your private expenses also because of your being there, and that will be, I should say, £25. I think that you should be able to manage without unnecessary stinting. At the same time, if you find that the amounts are not enough, you can fall back upon the £100 for cables, etc., because my estimate is only rough, and you are by no means bound down to it. I have not got your account ready yet. It will be sent next week. The £16/9/- included in the draft represents the balance of the purses after deducting £20 sent to Milly, and £5/1/- your subscription to the Theosophical Society, to the Law Society, and £2 taken in Durban. But, if I have misunderstood your instructions, please let me know. I think that you told me that

manager, on a secure foundation. Though not detailed for satyagraha work, he was arrested in 1913 for sheltering striking indentured Indians at Phœnix.

[1] A German Theosophist who gave up a lucrative post to become a member of the Phœnix Settlement; was in charge of the school at Phœnix and also looked after the nursing work in the Colony; was at this time doing a year's course at the Theosophical Society in Adyar under Mrs. Besant whom he greatly admired; later went to India to join Gandhiji at Sevagram where he died in 1960.

from the amount of the purses I should deduct the amount of the draft sent to Milly and the expenses incurred thereafter.

The Gold Law business will tax your energy and ability. I send you under separate cover the Statutes of 1908 and the amendment to the Townships Act, 1909. The Klerksdorp people have put down, among only three of them, £150 towards your expenses. You will, therefore, realize their anxiety, as also the need for prompt work. Please give me details of all you do regarding the Gold Law for publication. You will be somewhat angry with me that I have not yet got the Natal petition[1] ready. I could not manage it. I had to go to Pretoria all of a sudden to see the General, and, as you may imagine, Thursday and Friday were spent in interviewing people here. Smuts told me that he was going to give a favourable reply on all the points as soon as he was satisfied with reference to the number of passive resisters falling under question 2, that is, pre-war residents. He thought that my answer permitted of 300,000,000 applications from India, and his apprehension was not ill-founded. I have, therefore, defined more accurately whom I consider to be passive resisters outside South Africa. You will see my definition from the copy enclosed.[2] The interview was long and apparently cordial. He was eager to meet us on every point. He certainly mentioned that there would be an unperceived diminution of the rights hitherto enjoyed by the Cape, that there would be a stringent education test for the Cape and Natal also. He is greatly desirous of passing a general Bill, and asked me to help him to solve the Free State difficulty. I can see no way out of it without first passing the provincial legislation. I hope to be able to tackle the Natal petition today. You have, I take it, Gregorowski's opinion on the Gold Law. Khota's case[3] you will find reported in *I.O.* on page 148, Vol. 1909. What we want is an amendment of the Gold Law, and suspension of operation of Section 130 thereof meanwhile.

Yours sincerely,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5531

[1] *Vide* "Memorial to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 70-4.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 59-60.

[3] Messrs Khotas & Co. had since 1898 been trading on a stand sublet to them by a white in Nigel, a mining area. In 1909, the Receiver of Revenues refused to renew their trading licence by virtue of Sections 92 and 130 of the Gold Law which forbade Asiatics from residing or trading in proclaimed areas. On appeal, the Transvaal Supreme Court disallowed the Government's interpretation and ordered the Receiver to issue the licence.

56. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
Vaisakh Sud 10 [*May 8, 1911*][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

Your two letters reached me this week.

I have held since 1899 the same views that you do about Theosophy. They pressed me hard that year to join the Society but I refused in no uncertain terms, saying that, though the Society's rule respecting brotherhood appealed to me, I had no sympathy for its search for occult powers. I do not think that Mrs. Besant[2] is a hypocrite; she is credulous and is duped by Leadbeater. When an Englishman suggested to me to read Leadbeater's *The Life after Death*, I flatly refused to do so as I had grown suspicious of him after reading his other writings. As to his humbug, I came to know of it later. All the same, I have drawn from Theosophy the lessons which seemed to me worth drawing. Blavatsky's[3] *Key* had made a good impression on me. Theosophy sent many Hindus inquiring into their own religion. It has performed the same service as Christianity has. Moreover, Theosophists believe in the same basic principles as we do and therefore it is easy enough to come across good persons among them. Though there is no dearth of crooks at all levels from the highest to the lowest among the Vaishnav and other sects, we do find gems like

[1] The gift of £300 mentioned later in this letter was received by Gandhiji on May 4, 1911 (p. 61). In that year *Vaisakh Sud* 10 corresponds to May 8.

[2] Annie Besant (1847-1933); an associate of Charles Bradlaugh; free thinker and a radical socialist, became president of Theosophical Society in 1907; founded Indian Home Rule League of which she became President in 1916; President of Indian National Congress, 1917, and interned for a time by Lord Pentland; advocated the cause of extreme nationalists in India after the Montagu Reforms; her works include: *Autobiography, Religious Problem in India,* and a translation of the *Gita*, etc. In a letter to Lord Chelmsford, Gandhiji ranked her "among the most powerful leaders of public opinion" in India.

[3] Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-91); born of aristocratic Russian parents, founded the Theosophical Society in 1875. The Society's headquarters, set up at Adyar in 1879, addressed itself to the task of promoting a universal brotherhood and to studying comparative religion. She was a controversial figure and many questioned "the spiritual phenomena she exhibited". May 8, the day of her death is, however, commemorated by her many followers the world over as "white lotus day".

Narasinh Mehta[1] and Bhojo Bhagat[2] amongst them. Ritch was a Theosophist. He urged me to become a member. Not only did I not become one, I helped him to be free from that humbug. Polak is a Theopsophist, but he stays miles away from the practices and writings of Theosophists. The same is true of Kallenbach. When I was in India, I sent Gokaldas to the College[3] at Benares. Then also I was disappointed. Even afterwards, as long as I had not come to see the light, which I have now, that is, as long as I had not outgrown the fascination for modern education, I used to inquire about institutions like the Benares College and even wished to send the boys there, thinking that something was better than nothing.[4] All that is over now. Cordes, at Phœnix, is a staunch Theosophist. I have not yet been able to get him out of the hold of Theosophy. In himself, he appears to be a sincere man. He has gone to Adyar at present, against all persuasion. Being honest, he will see the the fraud that is there and turn his back on it, unless he is taken in. It is worth ascertaining what humbug prevails there safe under the cover of Mrs. Besant's goodness. Her desire to pass off as the "Master" is understandable. One who runs after occult powers cannot but become so intoxicated. It is for these reasons that all our *shastras* have looked upon occult powers and Yogic attainments as unworthy pursuits. And that is the reason, I think, why *bhaktiyoga*[5] is regarded as superior to *hathayoga*[6].

Please read the accompanying letter[7] from Harilal[8]. He had told Joseph Royeppen everything and asked him to inform me as well, if necessary. That is how I came to know more about his movements. He is at present in Delagoa Bay, and has replied to my telegram from there. He did not like going to England with your money and under any binding. As Joseph tells me, he wants to go to the Punjab and study there in peace.

[1] A saint and poet of Gujarat

[2] A medieval Gujarati poet

[3] Central Hindu College at Benares founded by Annie Besant

[4] Here Gandhiji uses a Gujarati saying, "It is better to have somebody one can call uncle than to have none at all."

[5] The way of devotion

[6] The way of psycho-physical control

[7] Not available

[8] Gandhiji's eldest son. While still 20, he went to jail as a satyagrahi in the Transvaal campaign of 1908 at his father's instance; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 405-6, 409 & 436. Gandhiji regarded it as a part of Harilal's education; *ibid.* pp. 432-3.

His letter is all ignorance. Even the idea of going to the Punjab, in the absence of more details, seems no better. But I shall know more in a couple of days. He did a lot of thinking in gaol. Moreover, he witnessed a great transformation in my life and saw my will as well. All these things have, it appears, influenced his mind unconsciously. I think his morals are sound. I have, therefore, no fears on his account. I have told him that he ought not to have taken the step he has,[1] without my knowledge. I shall give more information next week.

Six educated satyagrahis from Natal have been given permission to settle here. I think we might send them for studies in England for a year at your expense if they would [agree to] spend the remaining part of their life, or at least ten years, in such public work as we suggest. There are two or three of them who would [agree]. Even more might come forward. I want your consent for sending them [abroad]. If the idea appeals to you, cable just "Gandhi—Johannesburg Yes" and I shall understand. Not that they will leave immediately. I am discussing the matter with them. I am inclined to send them if they agree and if I am satisfied. My idea is that, for the present, such persons should be trained at phœnix in agriculture and weaving; they should learn press work also. When they have been so trained it may be possible to send then to India. I feel that a similar programme should be taken up in India, too. It will be, I think, easier to manage it here, though it might prove a little more expensive.

Young Indians are able to exert greater force of character here. The control which Purshottamdas[2] does, and can, exercise over his senses here would certainly be impossible in India. Likewise, the freedom his wife enjoys and her unconstrained manner of living will not, I think, be possible at present among our class in India. I keep thinking that it would be well if a few persons were trained here thoroughly. Those who bind themselves to work for ten years will have to be maintained by us. Please go through the enclosed letter[3] from Purshottamdas. The ideas mentioned in it are being implemented, independently of me. West and others have followed their own judgement in putting these into practice. I worked very hard on Chotabhai's case. He wanted to give me something in return. I refused to take any-

[1] That is, his leaving home without informing Gandhiji

[2] Purshottamdas Desai; for some time in charge of the school at Phœnix

[3] Not available

thing for myself. He has now given me £300 to be spent as I think best.[1] Having had this amount to start with, I intend to go begging for more and, if I get some, to have a building put up for the school at Phœnix.[2] Failing in this, I feel inclined to use the amount for promoting the cause of satyagraha in some manner.

Polak has gone to England. We have started a subscription for him locally and decided to collect as much as £700. With this, he may stay in England up to October, leave for India in the middle of that month, accompanied by Mrs. Polak, attend the Congress, stay on there till the Bill to be enacted here next year is passed and return soon after. By that time, it should be March next year. The expenditure on all this, including the passage, is put at £725. If, while in India, he stays with friends, something will be saved from this. I expect you will invite them to Rangoon for some time. You must have noticed that Mrs. Polak's habits are not as simple as her husband's.

If I can get some time during the next six or eight months, I propose to give my attention to farming or weaving. Purshottamdas has been to a factory to see a handloom. I have given him permission to buy one of the same type. If he does I will ask you to meet the cost. It will be necessary for some time to spend money on all these ventures. I wish to have a free hand, so far as you are concerned.

I see that I can make at least £200 if I forget all else and only practise. But I am resolved not to have anything to do with that. Most of the work will go to Ritch. I have given him a seat in my own office and he has already started work. He is anxious to earn money for the sake of his family. His desire will be satisfied by this arrangement and the community will save £25 which it gives as a monthly allowance to his family.

The final letter from Smuts has not yet been received. But it will come. So I believe.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5084. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Letter to A. E. Chotabhai", p. 61 and "Mr. Chotabhai's Gift", p. 69.

57. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[About *May 8, 1911*][2]

. . . But I also see that . . . was . . . that is why . . . I hardly ever interfere. I propose to visit Phœnix next month. We shall then discuss things further. Please do nothing about the cow for the present. Sam[3] has made a request [to that effect]. The idea of saving an hour from press work is excellent. This is what will have to be done. Everyone should have his working hours in the press cut down, the remaining hours being devoted exclusively to farming. That is to say, if everyone has to devote nine hours to the common tasks, eight of these hours or at the least . . . the rest . . . similarly in other . . . since we have founded . . . shall become shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., and order its affairs as in a village.

Please ask Purshottamdas to take the money spent on painting and debit the amount to the building account. I shall write more later.

Harilal has taken a most extraordinary step. The fault lies with me. Perhaps one may blame the circumstances. In any case, Harilal is not to blame.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5086. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The first few pages of this letter are missing and the only one available is damaged at places. From the contents, however, it would appear that it was addressed to Maganlal Gandhi.

[2] It is in his "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", May 8, 1911, the preceding item, that Gandhiji first mentions that Harilal has left home without informing him. This letter was, therefore, presumably written about the same date.

[3] "Sam" was Govindsami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phœnix and a *shikari*.

58. CABLE TO PRANTIK PARISHAD[1]

May 9, 1911

THANKS. YOU SHALL SEE STRUGGLE CARRIED ON ANY COST MOTHERLAND'S ASSISTANCE.

[M. K. GANDHI]

From the Gujarati translation reproduced in *Gujarati*, 14-5-1911

59. MR. CHOTABHAI'S GIFT

Mr. Chotabhai, of Krugersdorp, whose name has become famous throughout South Africa for the plucky stand he made against the Union Government when they unsuccessfully attempted to drive away his son from the Transvaal, has generously presented Mr. Gandhi with a cheque for £300 for his work in connection with the case.[2] As is his wont nowadays, Mr. Gandhi has declined to make any personal use of the gift. Of his intention to convert the whole of his Phœnix property into a trust, we will say nothing for the time being. But we wish to draw the attention of our readers to Mr. Gandhi's request for donations to supplement Mr. Chotabhai's gift, in order to enable him to build a school on the Phœnix ground. It is well known that in South Africa we have no scholastic institution worthy of the name. We, therefore, trust that our wealthy and liberal-minded countrymen will respond to Mr. Gandhi's call.

Indian Opinion, 13-5-1911

[1] This was sent to acknowledge the congratulations addressed to Gandhiji by the Madras Provincial Conference (presumably the Madras Mahajan Sabha) on the success of his passive resistance campaign.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to A. E. Chotabhai", p. 61 and "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 67.

60. *MEMORIAL TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES*[1]

[DURBAN,]
May 15, 1911

THE MEMORIAL OF DAWAD MAHOMED, DADA OSMAN[2] AND MAHOMED CASSIM ANGLIA, IN THEIR CAPACITY OF PRESIDENT AND JOINT HONORARY SECRETARIES RESPECTIVELY OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

1. Your Memorialists, at a meeting of the Committee of the Natal Indian Congress, representing the Indian population of the Province of Natal, in the Union of South Africa, held on the 28th day of April, 1911, were authorized and instructed respectfully to submit the following humble representation regarding the grievances of the Indian Colonists residing in this Province.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

2. Your Memorialists have read with satisfaction the correspondence[3] issued recently in the Transvaal, announcing the temporary arrangement that has been arrived at between the Indian residents of the Transvaal and the Union Government. Your Memorialists venture respectfully to remind you that the painful struggle that has been carried on during the last four years by the Transvaal Indians has been watched with the closest interest and the utmost sympathy by the Indians of this Province, who have given it moral and material support.[4] The Indians of Natal have cordially shared the determination of their Transvaal brethren to offer the utmost resistance to legislation differentiating against Indians as a race, and they will await the fulfilment of the official undertaking of the Union Government to substitute for the present racial immigration law of the Transvaal a measure applying legally

[1] There is evidence in Gandhiji's letter of May 8 to Polak (p. 63) to suggest that he drafted this.

[2] An Indian merchant of Vryheid

[3] *Vide* letters to Lane, pp. 10-1, 15, 36, 38-40, 46-50 and also Appendices I, II & IV.

[4] In 1908, prominent Natal Indians offered satyagraha and others contributed funds to help the Transvaal campaign; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 216, 452, 481, & 486.

to all races alike, and the repeal of the Transvaal Act No. 2 of 1907, except for the preservation of the rights of minors, in the next session of the Union Parliament.

3. Your Memorialists desire respectfully to express grave apprehension, however, regarding the general Immigration Bill that they understand is to be introduced in the Union Parliament next session, as they have reason to believe that an attempt will be made to curtail the existing rights of the Natal Indian community.[1] Your Memorialists respectfully venture to urge that His Majesty's Government will most carefully watch the progress of immigration legislation in South Africa with a view to the preservation of existing Indian rights, especially the rights of entry into this Province of the wives and minor children of domiciled Indians, and to receive certificates of domicile as a matter of right,[2] where claimants can prove statutory domicile to the satisfaction of the Minister. Your Memorialists respectfully remind you that the present Natal immigration laws define the duration of residence within the Province constituting domicile, but that the Union Immigration Bill that has just been withdrawn contains no definitive provision. In order, therefore, to avoid arbitrary administrative action, resulting in the unnecessary arousing of ill-feeling between the Administration and the Indian community, your Memorialists respectfully submit that the new Union Immigration Bill should define domicile, the period of residence in the Provinces of Natal and the Cape Colony, constituting statutory domicile, being, say, three years, as it is at present in this Province.

4. Your Memorialists respectfully submit further that the new education test proposed, being of an arbitrary nature, will result in the virtual exclusion of Indian immigration into this Province. This, in the humble opinion of your Memorialists, will result in great hardship to the resident Indian community, many members of which conduct important commercial transactions with business firms in India, in which special knowledge is often required. The new education test, however, designed to exclude all except a limited number of highly educated Indians of professional attainments, will prevent the resident Indian community from being able to avail itself of facilities hitherto enjoyed, and your Memorialists, therefore, respectfully request that, before the new Union Immigration Bill comes before the Union Parliament, His Majesty's Government will ask for guarantees that temporary permits, extens-

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 441-3.

[2] This was eventually conceded in the Indians' Relief Act of 1914.

ible from time to time, should be issued to confidential clerks and managers, in order to avoid great injury that would otherwise result to Indian commercial interests.[1] The number of such temporary permits issued may not exceed annually the number of Indian immigrants who last year passed the education test of the present Natal Acts, and your Memorialists venture respectfully to remind you that the extension of such facilities, whilst being much appreciated by the Natal Indian community, will not result in any permanent addition to the resident Indian population. Your Memorialists further note that, as stated in the Parliamentary paper issued during the last session of the Union Parliament, under the education test proposed in the defunct Bill, the number of Indians who were allowed to pass was to be about twelve.[2] As six was the number approximately conceded for the Transvaal, which carries a possible Indian population of 15,000 and a resident Indian population of not more than 8,000, twelve for the whole Union was altogether too small, regard being had to the fact that the Indian population of the Cape is not less than 15,000, and that of Natal not less than 150,000, including indentured Indians. In proportion to the numbers, there should be for the whole of the Union 72 new Indian immigrants of culture, but your Memorialists would be satisfied if it were understood that 50 British Indians of culture in any one year would be allowed to enter under any education test that might be proposed.

DEALERS' LICENSES ACT

5. This Act has proved most mischievous in its operation against British Indian merchants and traders of Natal[3] and, notwithstanding the slight amendment made partially restoring the inherent right of appeal against the decision of Licensing Officers or Boards to the Supreme Court,[4] before any sense of security is given to them the Act will require fundamental alterations. Difficulty is constantly experienced in having trade licences transferred from place to place. The Licensing Officers take up very often an uncompromising attitude and only recently a resolution

[1] The Indians' complaint in this regard was a long-standing one; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 99, 111 & 146-7 and Vol. VI, pp. 108 & 253.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, p. 471.

[3] For Indian grievances against the Dealers' Licenses Act, *vide* Vol. III, pp. 121-5; Vol. IV, pp. 98 & 158-9; Vol. V, pp. 275-6; and Vol. VI, pp. 103, 253-4 & 382.

[4] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 99-100.

was moved by a member of the Natal Provincial Council designed to deprive British Indian merchants even of existing licences.[1]

NATAL TOWNSHIPS

6. Your Memorialists invite your attention to the petition submitted to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council in this matter. Your Memorialists are not yet aware of the decision of His Excellency, but they respectfully trust that a right hitherto enjoyed by the British Indians of Natal will not be now taken away.

INDENTURED LABOUR

7. Your Memorialists take this opportunity of tendering respectful thanks of the British Indian community of Natal for the decision to stop the supply of indentured labour to Natal from India.[2] Your Memorialists welcome this decision not only because the attitude of the Europeans generally in South Africa is hostile towards legitimate Indian aspirations, but also because, in your Memorialists' humble opinion, the system of indenture is in itself inherently bad, and savours of a state bordering on slavery. Your Memorialists feel sure that most of the troubles that British Indians throughout South Africa have had to undergo have been largely due to an artificial increase in the Indian population of South Africa, brought about by the introduction of this class of labour. Your Memorialists respectfully submit that the tax of £3 per year which is exacted from those who have finished their indentures, whether they be males or females, and even their children, is a cruel and tyrannical imposition; and now that the supply of indentured labour from India is to be stopped, there would appear to be no justification whatsoever for the existence of this imposition. Under it men have been persecuted, women's chastity has been at stake, and Indian youths have had their lives blasted. This is a tax which, in the humble opinion of your Memorialists, requires total abolition in the interests alike of humanity and the British Empire. Your Memorialists here desire to remark that the relief that was supposed to be granted by a slight amend-

[1] On April 4, Hulett introduced a resolution in the Natal Provincial Council requesting the Union Parliament to delegate to the Council "the power of granting or withholding all trading licences in the Province". In his own words, Natal ought to have "the right to say who should trade or who should not trade", and his object was to rearm the Natal Government with powers sought to be conferred on it by the new Natal licensing bills (Vol. VIII, pp. 221-2 & 236-8) which had been disallowed by the Imperial Government; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 420.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 170-1 & 395-6.

ment of the Act imposing the tax, in connection with women, has almost entirely failed in its purpose.

CONCLUSION

8. In conclusion, your Memorialists respectfully pray that His Majesty's Government will give that consideration to the matters hereinbefore referred to that they deserve, and that the status of British Indians under the Union will be placed on a just, equitable and satisfactory footing, consistently with the declarations made from time to time by His Majesty's Ministers regarding equality of treatment irrespective of race, colour or creed.

DAWAD MAHOMED
DADA OSMAN
MAHOMED CASSIM ANGLIA

Indian Opinion, 20-5-1911

61. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Vaisakh Vad 2 [*May 15, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Herewith Chhaganlal's letters. Many persons have been agitated in their minds by the Harilal episode.[2] I can well understand the varied feelings surging within you. Please consider this: If Harilal's or Manilal's[3] or Ba's[4] being unhappy with you, or their bitter words, make you think of leaving, you will be behaving as one separate from us and I shall find it difficult to do my duty to them and to you. Suppose you feel that Khushalbhai[5] is better disposed towards Chhaganlal, or suppose he is so in fact,

[1] It was in 1911 that Harilal left his father's home, returned after a trip to Delagoa Bay, and left again after discussing the matter with his father—this time for India. In that year, *Vaisakh Vad* 2 corresponds to May 15.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", pp. 65-6 and "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 77-8.

[3] Gandhiji's second son

[4] Kasturbai Gandhi (1869-1944); taught as a volunteer in a primary school in Indian plantations around Champaran; went to jail several times as a satyagrahi, once in South Africa and, later, twice in India. In his references to her, Gandhiji speaks of her as a spirited and courageous person; for touching incidents in their married life as narrated by Gandhiji, *vide An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. IV & Part IV Ch. X.

[5] Gandhiji's cousin and father of Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi. Gandhiji wrote to him occasionally; *vide*, for example, Vol. VIII, pp. 233-4.

should you leave for that reason? Alternatively, if it appears that he is better disposed towards you, must you leave then and injure Chhaganlal?

If you decide on leaving, Harilal's and Manilal's best interests cannot but suffer. We are engaged in a mighty task. We are seeking the ultimate Truth. I do not claim that we aim at discovering something entirely new. We are only experimenting in the manner of living appropriate for one who aspires to realize such knowledge in his own being. We wish to clear away the layers of earth deposited by the white ants over the years. In the process, we are bound to come up against difficulties. God will assuredly remove them all, our intentions being good. Your duty, at this juncture, is to observe what happens, unconcerned. The responsibility is entirely mine. I alone will be to blame for any false step of mine. It is possible that it may put you in danger for a time. But the fruits of my error will be for me alone to taste. It can do you no harm if you go on doing your duty, placing your faith in me.

Harilal returned this morning. I have always believed that he will never take a step which he knows to be wrong. Now I believe that all the more. I am waiting to see what he does next.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5085. Courtesy Radhabehn Choudhri

62. LETTER TO ACTING PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,][1]
May 18, 1911

THE ACTING PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the provisional settlement of the Asiatic difficulty, will you please place the following before General Smuts?

Pending General Smuts' reply to my letter[2] of the 29th ultimo, passive resisters have to remain in a state of suspense. They have not resumed their ordinary occupation[s]. Mr. Joseph Royeppen is still in Johannesburg awaiting General Smuts' reply, and other passive resisters are similarly vegetating. Those who have purposely remained out of work still continue in the same state. As General Smuts is aware, passive resistance prisoners still remain in gaol although virtually the settlement has gone through.

Moreover, friends in London and India have not yet been informed of the settlement being actually completed. And, in view of the approaching Imperial Conference, we here are anxious to give definite information to the friends in England. May I, therefore, request an early reply to my letter? Could you please telephone tomorrow some definite information?

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5532

[1] As is evident from the last sentence of the letter, Gandhiji was in Johannesburg at the time.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 46-50. The Acting Secretary of the Interior sent two replies to this letter of Gandhiji's as well as to a subsequent communication dated May 4 (pp. 59-60): first a long letter dated May 19, followed by a telegram on May 20; *vide* Appendices V & VI.

63. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Vaisakh Vad 5 [May 18, 1911][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have sent Thakar[2] your letter about him. This happens because your minds are estranged. We know that Thakar is by nature suspicious.

Gulliver's Travels contains so effective a condemnation, in an ironic vein, of modern civilization that the book deserves to be read again and again. It is a very well-known book in the English language. Children can read it with enjoyment, so simple it is; and the wise ones get dizzy trying to comprehend its hidden significance. In Brobdingnag, Gulliver tumbled as low as he had risen high in Lilliput. Even in Lilliput, he has represented the tiny people as possessing a few powers which were superior to his own, that is to say, to those of normal people.

You should now read Carpenter's *Civilization : Its Cause and Cure*; I shall send it tomorrow. Admittedly, Chhaganlal experienced some difficulty owing to his inadequate knowledge of English. Even so, if we know the subject on which we wish to write or speak, we usually find the words. The deficiency in your knowledge of English will never be made good without a visit to England. I see that even the short stay in England has done Chhaganlal a lot of good. He was, moreover, troubled by an illness, so that he had to face further difficulties. The experience he gained will be very useful. I expect to be there now in no more than a few days. I am planning to leave in the beginning of June. I shall be able to let you know more positively if I get Smuts' reply. It is expected any day.

It is just as well that Harilal has left. He was much unsettled in mind. He has assured me that he does not in the least resent the arrangement I had made regarding Phœnix.[3] He bears no ill will towards any of you. He was angry with me, really. He gave vent to all his pent-up feelings on Monday evening. He feels that I have kept all the four boys very much suppressed,

[1] It was in 1911 that Harilal, referred to in this letter, left his father's home in the Transvaal and sailed for India. In that year *Vaisakh Vad* 5 corresponds to May 18.

[2] A worker in the press at Phœnix

[3] *Vide* "Letter to A. E. Chotabhai", p. 61.

that I did not respect their wishes at any time, that I have treated them as of no account, and that I have often been hard-hearted. He made this charge against me with the utmost courtesy and seemed very hesitant as he did so. In this, he had no thought of money at all in his mind. It was all about my general behaviour. Unlike other fathers, I have not admired my sons or done anything specially for them, but always put them and Ba last; such was the charge. He seemed to me to have calmed down after this outburst. I pointed out his error in believing what he did. He saw it partly. What remains, he will correct only when he thinks further. He has now left with a calm mind. He is resolved to learn more about those things on account of which I was displeased [with him]. He is strongly inclined to study Sanskrit. Thinking that, since Gujarati is our language, his education should for the most part be in Gujarat, I have advised Harilal to stay in Ahmedabad. I believe that is what he will do. However, I have left him free. I feel it will all turn out well.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5087. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

64. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Monday [After *May 18, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I send you Chi. Chhaganlal's letter, etc. Dr. Mehta also sent me a copy of what he (Chhaganlal) had written. You need not be sorry because you do not have a good knowledge of English. It is not our language. We may try to express our ideas in that

[1] Mrs. Vogl's Indian Bazaar mentioned in the postscript was held once in 1910 and again in 1911, but from the reference to Harilal Gandhi, who finally left his father's home for India between May 15 and May 18, 1911, (letters to Maganlal Gandhi, pp. 75 & 77) it is clear that the letter was written in 1911. The Thakar incident and Maganlal's projected visit to England are both discussed in this letter as well as in the preceding item. The sequence of events would suggest that this letter was written later. In the May 18 letter, Maganlal Gandhi's knowledge of the English language is discussed in the context of some remark which Chhaganlal Gandhi appears to have made, and Maganlal Gandhi had evidently brought up the subject. In this letter, Gandhiji has heard more of this from Dr. Pranjivan Mehta to whom Chhaganlal Gandhi evidently addressed this remark.

language as best as we can. This is just for your consolation, not to suggest that one should not try to be proficient in it. It is to get that proficiency and the experience of the life there that you have to go to England. Apart from this there is nothing else to be gained [by a visit to England]. We shall fix up your going as soon as you are ready.

I do not write more about Harilal as you will know everything from my letter[1] to Manilal. What does Harilal Thakar say in the enclosed letter?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Please remember that Santok[2] and Ani[3] have to sew something and send it for Mrs. Vogl's[4] Bazaar[5].

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5090. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

65. *LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[6]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 19, 1911

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[7] of even date.

With reference to paragraph "C" thereof if you will re-read my letter[8] of the 4th instant, you will see that the qualifications of the 180 Asiatic passive resisters therein mentioned are not restricted as you have restricted them in said paragraph. The number

[1] Not available
[2] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi
[3] Wife of Purshottamdas Desai
[4] Wife of Vogl, a draper. The Vogls sympathized with the Indian cause and Mrs. Vogl took a keen interest in Indian women, conducting classes for them; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 52.
[5] Opened on November 15, 1911, by William Hosken
[6] The reply to this letter was sent by telegram as requested by Gandhiji; *vide* Appendix VI.
[7] *Vide* Appendix V.
[8] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 59-60.

(180) includes in addition to the class you mention those[1] who never were able to apply under the voluntary system or any of the Asiatic laws. The community will feel grateful for the concession regarding 3 educated Mahomedans.

The absence of any disclaimer in your letter of the interpretation of the provisional settlement as set forth in my letter[2] of the 29th ultimo, I construe to be an endorsement thereof by the Hon. the Minister.

There never has been any request for the release of those who may have been convicted of having, or of having used, forged certificates. Such people have never been claimed as passive resisters.

As the Association has to advise, by cable, friends in England and India as to the situation, may I request a telegraphic reply on receipt hereof?

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911; also photostat of draft in Ritch's hand with emendations by Gandhiji: S. N. 5534

66. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
May 19, 1911

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

I do not know indeed whether, after your cablegram inquiring about the now defunct Immigration Bill, you expected me to write to you regularly. I have always refrained from inflicting letters on you, being personally aware of the many other calls upon your time. Mr. Polak brought my knowledge up to date by telling me that, when he last saw you, you were, if possible, much busier than you used to be when I had the privilege of staying with you

[1] This, as is clear from the reply (Appendix VI) to the letter, refers to those who had acquired domiciliary rights in the Transvaal by virtue of three years' residence before the Boer War. These rights constituted an important issue in the 1908 campaign. These were fervently insisted on by Indians and eventually conceded by Smuts; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 290-2, 306-7, 342-5, 361-3 & 402-3.

[2] The draft (S. N. 5534) from Gandhiji's file, our other source for this letter, has "4th instant". This date, as a note in the margin indicates, was subsequently corrected over the telephone to "29th ultimo"; *vide* Appendix VI.

in Calcutta.[1] But I feel that it is necessary for me to give you a review of the situation here, at periodic intervals. Whilst I naturally consider that without passive resistance during the four years nothing whatsoever could have been done, I am quite certain that the efforts made by the public in India under your guidance and Mr. Polak's wonderful work there and Mr. Ritch's in England have very materially hastened the end of our troubles; but we have to fight such a stubborn enemy, that ceaseless watchfulness is absolutely necessary. I am not unaware of the fact that the gaining of theoretical equality in the immigration legislation will not have visibly altered for the better our material condition here; but the struggle has knit us together in a wonderful manner, and it has undoubtedly secured for us an honourable hearing. The community has gained confidence in itself. We are, therefore, only now free to devote our attention to the existing local legal disabilities affecting not so much our honour as a nation but the material position of the settlers themselves. For instance, the prohibition to own landed property in the Transvaal must be removed; the disability as to using tram-cars is too galling to be tolerated for any length of time; the diabolical attempt being made through the operation of the obscure section[2] in the recently passed Gold Law of the Transvaal must be frustrated at any cost if the Indian traders are to be left undisturbed in possession of their premises and their business. So much for the Transvaal. In Natal, the inhuman annual tax exacted from freed indentured Indians, their wives, and their little children, male and female, is a burden that cannot but oppress the conscience of every Indian who has any knowledge of the tax. The Dealers' Licenses Act of Natal, in spite of the slight amendment made in it recently, is like a cloud threatening to burst upon the community at any moment. And, at the Cape, similar statute threatens the existence of Indian traders; and a clause in its immigration law makes the right of domicile possessed by Indian settlers a mockery by compelling them, in the event of their absence from the Cape, to carry a permit which is really a document giving leave of absence whose breach would cancel the right of domicile. It will be too much to expect you to

[1] Gandhiji stayed with Gokhale in 1901 in Calcutta.

[2] Section 130 under which Europeans were forbidden to sublet Stands to Coloured persons in proclaimed areas. In his representation to the Transvaal Government in 1908 (Vol. VIII, pp. 200-1 & 295-7) against the draft Bill, Gandhiji had not foreseen any difficulties under this clause and was concerned with provisions affecting Asiatics more directly.

read the memorials[1] submitted or being submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in these matters, but perhaps you will ask one of your workers to study them, and then take what steps you may consider necessary. These will be found in *Indian Opinion.*

About the beginning of November, Mr. and Mrs. Polak will be in India, when, of course, Mr. Polak will be able to give you all the assistance you will need. Whilst there is little doubt that the Provisional Settlement will go through, we are yet awaiting a final reply from General Smuts. All the passive resisters are being warned to keep themselves in readiness, in the event of General Smuts' promise not being fulfilled next year. Tolstoy Farm is, therefore, still being continued, but every effort is being made to use the passive resistance funds most sparingly. I am preparing an account to the end of April of disbursements, which I shall embody in a public letter to Mr. Ratan Tata[2], reviewing the position. The expenses of Mr. Polak's tour are being raised locally.

Hoping that you are keeping well,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G.N. 3802

67. LETTER TO KNOX

[JOHANNESBURG,]
May 19, 1911

DEAR MR. KNOX[3],

I must apologize to you for not sending you the article in *Indian Opinion* you wanted. The same week that you telephoned, I had the file of *Indian Opinion* searched, but the article could not be traced. As I do not possess an up-to-date index, it is somewhat difficult to trace it. I endeavoured to get you on the telephone but without success. Since then the matter has escaped me. I have now your reminder. During the two days that Mr. Polak was here on his way to London, I asked him whether he remembered the date on which the appreciation was published. He gave me an approximate date which, however, did not prove correct,

[1] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 50-6 and "Memorial to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 70-4.

[2] Gandhiji did this on April 1, 1912.

[3] A European sympathizer of the Indian cause in South Africa

but he also told me that perhaps the enclosed might suit your purpose. It belongs to Mr. Kallenbach. After use, will you kindly return it to me ?

Yours sincerely,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5535

68. *A WORTHY OBJECT*

We draw the attention of our readers to the brief report in our Transvaal Notes of a meeting[1] of the Hamidia Islamic Society with reference to the proposal to raise funds for supporting the project for erecting a mosque in London and for a Mahomedan University at Aligarh. We need hardly state that both the projects are laudable. The erection of a mosque in London would be but a tardy performance of a sacred duty, and the establishment of a University at Aligarh, if properly conducted, can only advance the cause of unity between the two great sections of the population of India.

Indian Opinion, 20-5-1911

69. *A LICENSING SCANDAL*

We reproduced in our issue of the 6th instant the report of the licensing appeal heard before the Durban Town Council on behalf of the the Natal Indian Traders, Ltd.[2] Our readers are aware that this Company is a joint-stock business, and is composed very largely of Colonial-born Indians. It is an attempt for the first time made by this body of specially deserving men, to whom Natal is the only home and India exists in the imagination as a place from which their parents came. This Company has a

[1] Held on May 14, 1911

[2] Messrs Natal Indian Traders, Ltd., had appealed to the Durban Town Council against the Licensing Officer's refusal to transfer D. K. Patel's trading licence in their favour. The Licensing Officer justified his decision on grounds of expediency and whites' right of self-preservation in the face of Asiatic competition in trade. He argued that while, in consequence, a partnership concern would have perpetual right of succession, a licence issued to an individual terminated at his demise or retiral. The Council upheld the Licensing Officer's decision. *Indian Opinion*, 6-5-1911.

nominal capital of £6,000, and has over 480 registered shareholders. We do not know what future awaits this new corporation, though, if we may state a truism, its future will largely depend upon the corporate ability, energy and, above all, interest shown by the members. Anyhow, its effort to make of itself a success has been checked in so far as it can be by the Licensing Officer for the Borough of Durban. He has declined to transfer an *existing* licence in favour of this Company. There is here no question of adding to the number of already existing licences held by British Indians. The reasons given for his refusal are so preposterous, arbitrary, unjust and heartless that they will bear repetition in this column, although they also appeared in the report we have referred to. The Licensing Officer states:

> In my opinion it would be unwise to transfer an existing licence to a large partnership concern which will not determine, as any privately owned business does with the death or retiral of the principal—this Traders Company will apparently have perpetual right of succession—as members can come and go—most of them appear to have a very small holding in the concern.

What a Licensing Officer could have to say against a perpetual right of succession we fail to see, but, of course, Mr. Molyneux, the Officer in question, is here referring to Indian businesses only, which he has assumed it to be his duty to curtail as much as and whenever he can. He has enunciated also the principle that all Indian businesses must end with the death or retiral of the present owners, thus contemplating a forced sale of such businesses and a consequent heavy loss. In his speech before the Council—by the way, an extraordinary procedure to be adopted by Licensing Officers, to take up a partisan standpoint and to be allowed to speak in defence thereof—Mr. Molyneux sought to justify his despotic action as fair on the ground of self-preservation, that is, of the Europeans residing in the Borough of Durban. Whatever that much misunderstood doctrine may mean, the Licensing Officer has in this instance entirely ignored the fact that, after all, this Company's business is largely connected with Indian custom. I can only hope that the 480 members of this Company will not take lying down this attempt to throttle it on the threshold of its career, and that every member of it will resent it not only as a cowardly assault upon his personal rights, but also upon his honour as a British citizen domiciled within the Union.

Indian Opinion, 20-5-1911

70. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

May 20, 1911

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of even date in reply to my letter[2] of the 19th instant. I beg to express my thanks for the promptness with which my request for a telegraphic reply was met and for the evident frankness thereof.

I am authorized by the Association to signify acceptance of the provisional settlement and, in doing so, to add that the correspondence subsequent to the letters exchanged between Mr. Lane and myself of the 22nd April last is to be taken as not in any way abating the proposals set forth in my said letter[3].

The list of those who will be entitled to relief under the settlement is being prepared and will be sent at an early date.

The following are the names of the passive resisters still undergoing imprisonment : C. F. J. Frank, Lee Kong, Luk Nan Dickson, Ho Loaw, Sam You, Chong Ah Kie, Wo Kim, Ah Wy, Ismail Essack and Louis Benjamin. They are either at the Fort or at Diepkloof. I shall thank you to let me know the dates when they will be discharged so that arrangements may be made for their conveyance.

I venture to submit herewith a form of authorization[4] for the educated passive resisters. You will notice that each applicant has written his own application. An official endorsement at the foot thereof will be sufficient cover for the holder. If necessary, duplicate of the application in the applicant's handwriting may be filed with the Department.

[1] In his reply (S. N. 5539) dated May 22, 1911, the Acting Secretary for the Interior said that the Minister "was in communication with the Minister of Justice with the object of procuring the immediate release of Asiatics named on the list furnished in your letter as corrected by your telephone message in respect of Wo Kim and Ah Wy". He added, "It is understood of course that all Asiatics who have destroyed their registration certificates will not apply for the required duplicates."

[2] & [3] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 79-80.

[4] Not available

In conclusion, I am to convey to the Hon'ble the Minister the thanks of the Association for the conciliatory manner in which he has met the question, and to express the hope that there never will be any cause for a revival of the struggle which has cost the Asiatic communities so much.

I have, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911; also photostat of handwritten draft: S. N. 5538

71. STATEMENT FOR PROPOSED DEPUTATION

[After *May 20, 1911*][1]

THE STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN DEPUTATION TO GENERAL SMUTS

The Deputation welcome the Provisional Settlement of the vexed British Indian question as set forth in correspondence[2] between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, and tender their thanks to General Smuts for his generous and conciliatory attitude.

The Deputation would, however, respectfully draw General Smuts' attention to the following:

(1) Whilst the Deputation are glad that educated passive resisters at present in the Transvaal but not registrable under the Act to the number of six or seven are to be allowed to remain in this Province as permanent residents,[3] it is felt that similar facility

[1] This statement deals with those Indians whose pre-war residence in the Transvaal amounted to less than three years. Their case had not been taken up during the negotiations of April, 1911, and does not figure in the demands conceded by the Minister of the Interior in his communications to Gandhiji of May 19, 1911 and May 20, 1911; *vide* Appendices V & VI. Special pleading was conceivably necessary in their case, and any deputation for this purpose must have been proposed after May 20. We have, however, no evidence that Gandhiji or any official of the BIA sought an interview with Smuts or that an Indian deputation met him. As this document was found among Gandhiji's papers and as he himself personally conducted the negotiations on behalf of the Indians, it is reasonable to suppose that he drafted this.

[2] For letters by Gandhiji to the Minister of the Interior, *vide* pp. 10-1, 15, 30-1, 36, 38-40, 46-50, 59-60, 76, 79-80 and the preceding item and for comunications from the latter, *vide* Appendices I, II, IV, V & VI.

[3] *Vide* Gandhiji's letters to Lane, pp. 39 & 47, "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 79-80 and Appendices IV & V.

should be given to certain educated Indians who may be required as confidential clerks or assistants. In the opinion of the Deputation, this is a crying necessity. Only the other day, a respectable merchant, Mr. Ameer Saheb, was refused permission, pending his absence owing to sickness, to bring in an assistant who was needed for his business.

(2) The Asiatic Act of 1908 enables only those who prove three years' pre-war residence to re-enter the Transvaal. Now that the Government have been pleased to enable pre-war resident passive resisters who can prove three years' pre-war residence to exercise their rights under Act 36, in spite of their having failed to apply within the statutory period,[1] the Deputation request that the claims of those who have lived in the Transvaal before the war for less than three years but who left owing to the outbreak of hostilities may be recognized. This will be an act of justice which will be much appreciated.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S.N. 5557

72. *NOTICE TO PASSIVE RESISTERS*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 22, 1911

The following passive resisters are earnestly requested to send in their names immediately to the Honorary Secretary, Box 6522, Johannesburg:

(a) Those who are pre-war Transvaal residents of 3 years' standing but who have been unable to obtain their registration certificates owing to passive resistance;

(b) Those who are otherwise entitled to registration but have not been registered owing to passive resistance.

Under the Provisional Settlement arrived at with the Government, such persons will be permitted by the Government notwithstanding the lapse of the statutory period of their deportation, to apply to the Registrar of Asiatics for registration, if the application is sent before the 31st December next.[3]

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 46-7, "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 79-80 and Appendix VI.

[2] This was presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

[3] The settlement as accepted by the Government is set forth in Appendices V & VI. Gandhiji's demands on behalf of the Indians are contained in his letters to Lane, pp. 38-40, 46-50 & 59-60.

Those who have at all applied for registration under the Act 36 of 1908 or Act 2 of 1907 during the struggle, and whose applications have been rejected, are requested *not* to send their names.

Those who know passive resisters of the classes above named in India should at once write to their friends advising them to take steps to secure registration before the 31st December next.

Persons sending in their names should send (a) their full names; (b) period of pre-war residence or such other claim; (c) proof of their passive resistance, such as discharge certificates or other proof that they have been passive resisters; (d) all documentary or other evidence in support of their claims; (e) those who applied voluntarily in 1908 should send particulars.

These applications will be framed whenever possible and forwarded to the Registrar free of charge by the Association. Each applicant will have himself to prosecute his application at his own expense during the subsequent stages if such become necessary. Applicants will have the ordinary right of appeal against the Registrar's decisions.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 27-5-1911

73. *INTERVIEW TO REUTER*

JOHANNESBURG,
May 23, 1911

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, stated that the settlement[1] contemplated the introduction next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring legal equality as regards immigration. As a set-off to the suspension of the passive resistance the Government recognizes the right of the passive resisters, numbering ten, to enter the Transvaal by virtue of their education,[2] and reinstates the passive resisters[3] who

[1] The Provisional Settlement as set out in "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 79-80, "At Last!", pp. 90-3 and Appendices V & VI

[2] *Vide* Appendices IV, V & VI.

[3] The 30 Indians who were either deported or left for India during the satyagraha campaign of 1908 as also others who applied for voluntary registration and whose applications had been turned down (pp. 59-60). The latter were accorded the right to appeal to courts of law.

formerly had rights of residence, the Government also releasing the imprisoned passive resisters immediately and pardoning Mrs. Sodha.

The Times of India, 25-5-1911

74. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS[1]

May 26, 1911

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith list[2] of 38 Chinese who, in terms of the settlement or otherwise legally, are entitled to make applications for registration. It will be observed that there are only 26 names that fall under class C in the letter[3] of the 19th instant of the Department of the Interior.

There are 11 who are holders of Peace Preservation Permits, and one is a lad who has only just reached the age of 16, and who is here with his father.

Of the 26 referred to in the list, 2 are in Delagoa Bay.

As for the 3 Mahomedans[4] who are to receive certificates, I am authorized to submit the following names: Mr. Kajee Kalumia Dadamia, Mr. Ismail Essop and Mr. Rasool Sarfudeen. With the exception of the last named, the other two have not received English education. The first named is an Urdu scholar and both the first and the second named are passive resisters, but probably are not strictly pre-war residents of three years' standing, though they are both pre-war residents of the Transvaal. Mr. Sarfudeen will hold a certificate the same as Mr. Royeppen and others.

[1] This was almost certainly drafted by Gandhiji. This letter, along with another draft dated August 21, 1911 (pp. 148-9) on the same subject which is addressed to the Registrar of Asiatics and is, moreover, in Gandhiji's hand, was found among his papers but we have no evidence that they were sent; they were not published in *Indian Opinion* as such letters usually were. In his letter of May 19, 1911 (Appendix V), the Minister of the Interior had asked that the list referred to here be sent to him early. In fact, it seems reasonable to assume that the letters bearing on the Provisional Settlement and on larger issues concerning Act 2 of 1907 or Act 36 of 1908 were drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] Not available

[3] & [4] *Vide* Appendix V.

I shall thank you to let me know when the persons herein described will be able to make their applications. I take it that you will be good enough to afford facility for making application at Johannesburg. Will you please give me two days' notice, so that the men may be got ready in time.

May I ask you to facilitate the discharge of passive resistance prisoners, two of whom were released today by eff[ect] of time. I need hardly assure you that there is no desire to hold a demonstration of any sort on their discharge.

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 5541

75. FOR PASSIVE RESISTERS

We draw the attention of our readers to Mr. Cachalia's notice[1] regarding those passive resisters whose right of residence in the Transvaal may have been forfeited by reason only of their passive resistance. Time is of the essence in this matter. We trust, therefore, that those who are affected by the notice will lose no time in complying with its request. We hope, too, that those who have applied under the Asiatic Acts, but have been rejected, will *not* send in their names.

Indian Opinion, 27-5-1911

76. AT LAST!

A provisional settlement of the Asiatic trouble in the Transvaal has at last been reached, and the Indians and Chinese of the Transvaal are free to resume their ordinary occupations, at least for eight months. The correspondence[2] between the Minister of the Interior and Mr. Gandhi shows that every precaution has been taken to see that the parties understand each other and to leave no room for a misunderstanding. And yet a lay reader will understand from it very little of the settlement. To fairly grasp the many points discussed in it a knowledge of the Asiatic laws is indispensable, though, happily, no such detailed knowledge is necessary in order to know what the settlement really consists in.

[1] *Vide* "Notice to Passive Resisters", pp. 87-8.

[2] *Vide* pp. 38-40, 46-50, 59-60, 79-80 & 85-6 and Appendices I, II, IV, V & VI.

It is necessary to recall that, in the statement made by the Indian deputation that went to London in 1909, but two things were stated to be essential for satisfying passive resisters, namely: (1) Repeal of Asiatic Act 2 of 1907 and (2) legal equality for immigrants to the Transvaal, it being understood that there might be differential administrative treatment in the operation of such immigration law, subject, however, to the guarantee that at least six educated Asiatics in any one year should be able to immigrate to the Transvaal under any test that might be provided in the law.[1]

It was stated on behalf of the community that those who were actually fighting would, if required, forgo their individual rights and cease passive resistance if only the above demands were granted. Messrs Sorabji and others who entered the Transvaal as educated Indians[2] would have retired without claiming any rights for themselves. Those who, owing to the revival of the struggle, could not be registered, would have quietly forfeited their rights and, of course, their means of livelihood.[3] This declaration was made in order to show to the world how entirely impersonal the struggle was and how it was being maintained solely for an ideal—to wit, national honour. In the result, the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth : "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all else will be added unto you"[4] has perhaps never been better verified than in this settlement. General Smuts was at one time reputed to desire to fling the demands of the community contemptuously back in their faces. In that event, the sacrifice above referred to would have been needed. But God willed otherwise. General Smuts reconsidered his position and eventually accepted the co-operation of the passive resisters. He could not carry his legislation during

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 295-6.

[2] Sorabji entered the Transvaal to test educated Indians' right of entry and was tried three times; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 345-7, 354-8 & 376-7.

[3] On February 10, 1908, voluntary registration of Indians commenced after Smuts and the Indians had arrived at a compromise; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 40-2 & 44. The Indians later claimed that Smuts had failed to implement the compromise and decided on May 30 to resume satyagraha; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 272-3. Out of the total Indian population in the Transvaal estimated variously at 13,000, reckoning by the number of permits issued (Vol. VI, p. 1 and Vol. VIII, p. 340), at 10,000 by the census (Vol. VI, p. 1), at 9,000 by Gandhiji (Vol. VIII, p. 340), 8,700 had applied for voluntary registration by May 9, 1908. The reference here is to those who could not, for one reason or another, register before May 9, the last date set for voluntary registration.

[4] "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." *St. Matthew*, Ch. VI, *v.* 33.

the last Parliament and yet, owing evidently to the Imperial Conference and the approaching coronation, desired cessation of passive resistance.[1] The passive resisters then offered to suspend their operations if General Smuts undertook to grant their cardinal demands and to pass them into law next session of Parliament and further promised not to penalize passive resisters for their passive resistance.[2] The correspondence[3] we publish is, as will be seen, largely taken up with what may be termed the non-essential and ephemeral part of the settlement. Whatever intricacy there may be regarding this part of the settlement, there is none as to its main part, viz., the repeal of Law 2 of 1907 and amendment of the present Transvaal immigration law.

But will the promise be redeemed? This question has been asked from many quarters. Ordinarily there can be no doubt about it. General Smuts as a responsible Minister with a Parliamentary majority behind him has bound his Government to introduce the necessary legislation.[4] If the Parliament does not accept it, it will amount to a vote of no-confidence entailing the resignation of the Ministry of which he is perhaps the most important member. But we are free to admit that General Smuts will not take any such heroic steps over an Asiatic question. Nevertheless the remote contingency of the Parliament rejecting his measure could not be allowed to stand in the way of our accepting the olive branch. Our quarrel hitherto was with General Smuts. He was the stumbling-block in the way of our reaching the goal. He has now softened his heart and is pledged to concede what only a few months ago he declared he would on no account give. Such being the case passive resisters properly decided upon a cessation of their activity.[5] This puts General Smuts upon his honour. The same stubborn, calm and dignified resistance that was offered to General Smuts could next year with equal certainty of success be offered, if need be, to the mighty Union Parliament. Passive resistance is a force which is effective against the mightiest opposition even as light is against the deepest darkness. Those, therefore, who express

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 37 and Appendix II.

[2] *Vide* Gandhiji's letters to Lane, pp. 38-40 & 46-50 and Appendix IV.

[3] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911, under the heading, "The Settlement Completed: Final Correspondence between the Minister and Mr. Gandhi".

[4] *Vide* Appendix IV.

[5] At the British Indian Association meeting of April 27, 1911; *vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 46 and "Transvaal Notes", p. 56-7.

misgivings for the future either do not understand passive resistance or do not believe in the sincerity or the strength of the Transvaal passive resisters.

But if the legislature ratifies General Smuts' promise, will passive resistance end for ever? The Union Government in general and General Smuts in particular, as being the Minister in charge of the Asiatic department, can alone answer the question. General Smuts' pledge being redeemed, passive resistance will undoubtedly cease on the question that gave rise to it. If, however, some new anti-Asiatic legislation equally offensive is introduced, striking at the honour or the existence of the community, it may be affirmed with reasonable certainty that South Africa will witness fresh passive resistance. The British Indian Association has rightly acknowledged and appreciated the conciliatory manner in which General Smuts has at last approached the question. If, then, he has reconsidered his attitude towards Asiatics and the statement alleged to have been made by him that he will not rest until he has driven out the last Asiatic from South Africa, and wishes to apply the same spirit of conciliation that he has applied (though somewhat late in the day) to the demands of the passive resisters, there need never be any fear of a recrudescence of Asiatic passive resistance in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 27-5-1911

77. *FOR SATYAGRAHIS*

We draw the attention of every satyagrahi to the notice[1] issued over Mr. Cachalia's signature. It is essential that satyagrahis whose rights were earlier forfeited, but have been secured under the settlement, should send the required information to the Association immediately. If any of them are in India, they should also be informed. We advise those who applied under, and submitted to, the Obnoxious Act[2] or Act 36[3] while the struggle was in progress, not to send in their names. If any Indian conceals the fact of his having so applied and sends in his name regardless, he will only invite contempt both on the community and himself. If the Registrar has already received an application from a person who is

[1] *Vide* "Notice to Passive Resisters", pp. 87-8.

[2] Act 2 of 1907, the Asiatic Registration Act

[3] Of 1908, the Asiatics' Registration Amendment Act

applying now, the fact will soon be discovered and the applicant will not be registered.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-5-1911

78. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
Vaisakh Vad 14 [*May 27, 1911*][1]

CHI. HARILAL,

I have the letter you wrote before leaving Delagoa Bay. It is desirable that Rami[2] grows up under the influence of strictly Indian ideas. Accordingly, I think you have done right in deciding not to send her chocolates. However, I should caution you against taking the line that 'this must be done because Bapu wants it so'. From among the ideas I suggest, you should put only those into practice that appeal to you. I should like you to grow up in freedom. I know your motives are good. Whenever your ideas are mistaken, they will therefore get corrected automatically.

The prisoners have not been released so far but they will soon be.[3]

It appears that the cable[4] I sent you about [the need for] your applying for registration has not reached you. I sent it care of Nanji Dulabhdas.

Keep reading *Indian Opinion* carefully while you are there.

The following Gujarati books are eminently worth reading: *Kavyadohan*, *Panchikaran*, *Maniratnamala*, *Dasbodh*, Chapter VI of *Yogavasishtha*—Hindi translation available—Poet Narmadashanker's[5] *Dharma vishe Vichar*[6], two volumes of Raychandbhai's[7] writings.

[1] This letter, it appears, was written just after Harilal Gandhi left South Africa, and that was in the middle of May, 1911. In that year, *Vaisakh Vad* 14 corresponds to May 27.

[2] Harilal's daughter

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 90.

[4] Not available

[5] Narmadashanker Lalshanker Dave (1833-1889); poet and a pioneer of modern Gujarati literature whom Gandhiji often quotes

[6] The correct title is *Dharmavichar*.

[7] Raychandbhai Ravjibhai Mehta; poet and connoisseur of pearls and diamonds with a "passion to see God face to face"; renowned for his feats of memory as *shatavadhan*; a relation by marriage of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta who introduced him to Gandhiji. This first meeting convinced Gandhiji that Raychandbhai "was a man of great character and learning" whose "burning passion

And, of course, there are *Karanghelo* and other books. *Karanghelo* evidences the maturity of the Gujarati language. Taylor's grammar and his introduction to it are both very good. I have forgotten whether it is a preface or a separate essay on the Gujarati language.

I should advise you to make it a regular practice to read Tulsidasa's *Ramayana*. Most of the books I have listed at the end of *Indian Home Rule* are worth going through.[1] In order to learn Sanskrit well, I would advise you always to start your reading with it. Only then will you remember and understand it all. You won't find it difficult after the first book is properly done. Do not take up the second book before you have mastered the first. Whenever you come across a Sanskrit verse, you should immediately try to understand its meaning in Gujarati.

Please write to me in detail and regularly.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9532

79. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
May 31, 1911

DEAR MR. NATESAN[2],

In my cable[3] advising of the provisional settlement, I asked Prof. Gokhale to inform you of the contents of the cable. I hope he repeated the cable to you. The settlement has gone beyond our expectations. We did not expect to be able to save individual

for self-realization" "cast a spell" over him, and "in moments of spiritual crisis, therefore, he was my refuge" and "the predominant factor" that led to Gandhiji's vow of *brahmacharya*. Gandhiji kept up a correspondence with him till the poet's death; *vide An Autobiography*, Part II, Ch. I, XV, XXII & Part III, Ch. VII.

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, p. 65.

[2] G. A. Natesan; of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, published lives of Indian leaders, and edited, *Indian Review*; Gandhiji maintained a "regular correspondence" with him. *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 105, 113 & 379 and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXI.

[3] Not available

rights. These have now been fully protected. But we are by no means yet out of the wood. General Smuts has to translate his promises into legislation. This, however, there is little doubt, will be done unless General Smuts has no regard whatsoever for his reputation. The danger therefore lies not in the likelihood of his breaking his promise but in his passing other legislation affecting adversely the position of domiciled Indians. His actions, therefore, will have to be closely scrutinized. I need hardly say how much we owe to your wonderful work there. I hope that you will persist in your agitation for securing an amelioration of the condition of those who are residing in S.A. I have no doubt that you are keeping yourself in touch with the columns of *Indian Opinion* in which are reproduced all the petitions[1] recently sent to the Imperial Government.

You have earned the gratitude of every Indian in S.A. by your work on the indenture question also.[2] Having observed the system for nearly 18 years, I have come to hold very strong views on the question of indentured emigration from India. Even if it were possible to secure fair treatment from the masters (which it is not) the system is inherently bad. Indentured men lose terribly in moral fibre. In many cases they improve as animals, they lose in almost every case as men. As a solution of the problem of poverty such emigration has in no way proved helpful. As a nation we lose in prestige by sending our poorest brethren as practically slaves. No nation of free men will tolerate such a system for a moment. I hope therefore that you will with all your might agitate for putting an end to the system, first outside India and then within our own borders. If I could help it, I would certainly not send a single Indian under indenture, say, to Assam.

1. *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 50-6 and "Memorial to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 70-4.

2 On March 1, 1911, a public meeting, held under the auspices of the Indian South African League of Madras, unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government of India to restrain the *sirdars*, who were on their way to India to recruit, on behalf of the Natal planters, indentured labourers on five-year contracts before the Indian Government's embargo on indentured emigration came into effect on July 1, 1911. Supporting the resolution, G. A. Natesan spoke of "the moral evil" of emigration and emphasized "the need to dog the *sirdars* wherever they went and to prevent them from recruiting *coolies* under false information". These *sirdars* lured illiterate villagers with money and fanciful accounts of Natal as a land of gold, and the credulous villagers were made to sign the bond of indenture at their recruiting depot at Madras. Natesan sent round a circular warning all the villages around Madras against the *sirdars*; this circular was published in *Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1911.

As the struggle has only been suspended, Tolstoy Farm will be continued though under considerably modified conditions.

Mr. and Mrs. Polak will be in India about the month of November and they will remain there pending the introduction of General Smuts' Bill next year.

With renewed thanks for all you have done in our behalf,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2224

80. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

21-24, COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
JOHANNESBURG,
June 2, 1911[1]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

This is to introduce to you Mr. R. M. Sodha. As you know Mr. Sodha is one of the staunchest passive resisters. If he travels towards your side, may I ask you please to introduce Mr. Sodha to our leaders there? Mr. Sodha is the husband of the celebrated Mrs. Sodha who was persecuted by the Transvaal Government.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 3422. Courtesy: Revashanker Sodha

81. KRUGERSDORP AGITATORS

From a recent number of the Krugersdorp paper we reproduce, elsewhere in this issue, the report[2] of a meeting held in that town, addressed by Mr. Van Veyeren, member of the Provincial Council. Amongst other questions discussed was the "coolie" question, and it was unanimously decided to form an association, the members of which undertake not to support "coolie" traders. The committee of this association, we learn, has drafted a petition asking the Government not to allow hawkers and pedlars to travel in the

[1] Ratanshi M. Sodha left for India on June 2, 1911, following the Provisional Settlement of April 20. *Indian Opinion*, 10-6-1911.

[2] Not reproduced here

districts, "because these itinerant traders are more detrimental to the welfare of the country than beneficial". This is not the first time that Krugersdorp has broken out in this way. The famous but now evidently defunct "White League"[1] originated at this dorp. Its efforts have not been quite successful, so it would appear. Why do these anti-Asiatic leagues and associations never succeed? Because their foundations are rotten; because the motive is greed and selfishness; and because the members are each seeking their own personal gain. There is not a man amongst them who would not grasp an advantage for himself at the expense of a fellow-member. But when it is the Asiatic who competes, all join together in order to ruin him. These rival traders have the impudence to say that even hawkers and pedlars should not be allowed to travel in the districts. One may be quite sure that the people who live in the outlying places and depend upon these useful traders for many of their wants do not say that they are more detrimental than beneficial. No, the whole thing is too transparently self-seeking on the part of these leagues and associations. They represent none but themselves, and all they are anxious about is that the field of competition should be cleared so that their profits may be larger.

Whilst there may not be much to fear from these agitators, the British Indian Association will no doubt keep a watchful eye upon their movements so that the rights and means of livelihood of respectable small traders shall not be filched away.

Indian Opinion, 3-6-1911

82. *WHAT HAS SATYAGRAHA ACHIEVED?*

A number of Indians sometimes question if satyagraha has achieved anything. All that they can see is that people were tortured in gaol and put up with the suffering, and the utmost that was achieved in the end was theoretical equality of rights in the matter of new immigrants which is unintelligible to most and unavailing in practice. The only outcome of any value is that [a few] highly educated men will enter the Transvaal[2] every year whose services we may have no occasion to use. For the benefit of those who believe this, we enumerate below, point by point, the several gains resulting from the campaign.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 165.
[2] *Vide* Appendices IV & V.

1. The Indian community's pledge[1] has been redeemed. There is a saying among us that if one's honour is saved all else is safe.

2. The Obnoxious Act[2] will be repealed.[3]

3. Public opinion has been roused all over India about our disabilities.[4]

4. The entire world has learnt of our struggle and has admired the Indians' courage.

5. A law has been passed [in India] to prohibit the emigration of indentured labour to Natal.[5]

6. Satyagraha helped bring about whatever improvement there has been in Natal's licensing legislation.[6]

[1] Taken at a mammoth meeting of Indians in the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg, on September 11, 1906, to the effect that they would not submit to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, the forerunner of the Asiatic Registration Act; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 419-24.

[2] The Asiatic Registration Act (Act 2 of 1907)

[3] *Vide* Appendices IV & V.

[4] The Transvaal campaign had wide repercussions in India. For protest meetings held in that country in 1908 and 1909, *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 517 and Vol. IX, pp. 79, 438, 455 & 500.

[5] On December 29, 1909 the Indian National Congress passed a resolution urging the prohibition of recruitment of indentured labour. On February 25, 1910, Gokhale tabled a resolution in the Indian Legislative Council to that effect, and it was unanimously passed. The Indian Emigration Act of 1908 was amended to admit of Gokhale's resolution, and on April 1, 1911, the Government of India issued a notification prohibiting the emigration of labour to Natal from July 1, 1911; *vide* also Vol. X, pp. 170-1, 172-3, 201, 221 & 395-6. Gandhiji had asked for stoppage of indentured Indian immigration as far back as 1895; *vide* Vol. I, p. 226.

[6] The Natal Dealers' Licenses Act (Act 18 of 1897 enacted by the Boer Government) did not allow appeals to courts of law against the decisions of licensing officers regarding renewal of old trading licences. After the Boer War, following representations by Natal Indians to the Imperial authorities that this section of the law was being unfavourably interpreted to their detriment, (Vol. III, pp. 265-9, in fact, Gandhiji returned to South Africa early in December, 1902, especially to discuss the licences problem with Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Imperial Government, who was then visiting South Africa), the Colonial Government in Natal issued a circular to the Town Councils instructing them to interpret the law "in a judicious and reasonable manner" so as to respect vested rights and warning them that, otherwise, "the law might have to be reconsidered"; *vide* Vol. III, p. 443. Thanks to protracted agitation by the Natal Congress, the Government, on November 24, 1909, embodied this concession in a law and enacted an amendment (Act 22 of 1909) to the licence law of 1897, permitting appeals to the Supreme Court on decisions of Town Councils regarding licences; *vide* Vol. X, p. 99.

7. A law similar to the one in the Transvaal, which was passed in Rhodesia, was disallowed.[1]

8. The sinister licensing Act which was passed in Natal was disallowed.[2] Anyone who doubts that this was due to the satyagraha campaign may peruse the reasons which the Imperial Government gave for disallowing the law [in its despatch].

9. Enactment of legislation for the whole of South Africa along the lines of the Transvaal law has been rendered impossible.[3]

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 265, 324 & 336 and Vol. IX, p. 245.

[2] Two bills had been announced in 1908 which sought to discontinue the issue of new licences to Asiatic traders and to dispossess old licence-holders within a period of ten years; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 221-2, 236 & 237. Imperial assent to this legislation was, however, withheld; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 420.

[3] The Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill (Vol. X, pp. 516-28), ready by the beginning of March, 1911, sought to end Asiatic immigration except for an agreed annual quota of educated Asiatics—an outcome of the Transvaal campaign—and repealed the more liberal Cape and Natal immigration laws, the education tests under which were less severe than in the Transvaal; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 344 and Vol. X, pp. 411, 415-6, 431, 442 & 529-30. In the case of the Transvaal, the Bill repealed all the earlier "obnoxious" immigration and registration laws except Act 36 of 1908 (Vol. X, p. 527), while, in the case of the Orange Free State, Chapter 33 of the Constitution, which Gandhiji contended was racial in character and therefore repugnant to the spirit of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill (*ibid.*, pp. 477-8 & 487-8), was nevertheless retained. The Bill, besides, left unprotected the immigration rights of wives and minor children of domiciled Natal and Transvaal Asiatics, and others domiciled but temporarily absent from Natal; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 441-3. Polak was sent to Durban to help Natal Indians (*ibid.*, pp. 418 & 419) to organize against the whittling down of what were, by comparison, almost unlimited rights of immigration which Asiatics possessed under previous laws; Ritch was similarly sent to the Cape to help the divided Indian community in that province (*ibid.*, pp. 417-8), which, in his estimate, lacked the will to defend itself against the projected diminution of its rights. It was at this stage that Gandhiji argued that the satyagraha campaign had been waged for, and on behalf of, the Transvaal alone and that, while he was willing to help with advice, Natal and the Cape should raise the funds and conduct their own campaigns when their rights were threatened; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 438, 457-8 & 469-70. He was, therefore, content to handle the Transvaal problem from Johannesburg and to try and secure the exemption of educated Asiatics from the purview of Act 36 of 1908. He left for the Cape to conduct the negotiations in person only when Smuts refused to receive Ritch as a representative of the Indians; *vide* Vol. X, p. 443. On March 4, 1911, Smuts informed Gandhiji that educated immigrants were free to enter the Union and reside in any Province and were exempt from registration laws; *vide* Vol. X, p. 425. When Gandhiji replied that he had had legal advice saying that these private assurances were not contained in the Union Bill (*ibid.*, p. 425), Smuts recanted and moved an amendment which accorded Asiatic immigrants into the Transvaal legal equality with other races and exempted them only from registration under Act 36 of 1908;

10. Enactment of further thoughtless legislation in the Transvaal has been prevented.

11. The Railway regulations which were promulgated in the Transvaal, making distinctions between whites and Coloureds, were repealed and substituted by regulations of general application.[1]

12. Everyone knows that the Obnoxious Act of 1907 was the first step in legislation aimed against the Indians. They took up arms even at this stage and thus thwarted the designs of the local Government.[2]

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ibid., pp. 466-7 & 530. Gandhiji, who had anticipated this clever move (Vol. X, pp. 464-5), now demanded that the principle of legal equality of races which was conceded to the 1909 deputation in London (Vol. IX, p. 590) and in Botha's despatch of December 20, 1910, to the Imperial Government (Vol. X, p. 485) should extend to the Orange Free State also (*ibid.*, pp. 467-8); that is to say, the Immigrants' Restriction Bill should nullify relevant provincial legislation in the Free State to the extent necessary for securing this objective; *ibid.*, pp. 476-7. Hosken's Committee, coming out in support of the Indian cause, denied Smuts' allegation that this demand was a new one; *ibid.*, pp. 484 & 485. Gandhiji then said he would be content if the Union immigration bill was dropped and the Transvaal legislation alone amended suitably; *ibid.*, p. 495. Smuts thereupon decided, for reasons of his own, that this could not be done during the current session of the Union Parliament. Gandhiji's claim that satyagraha had prevented the extension of the unfavourable Transvaal immigration laws to the rest of the Union should be viewed against this background of facts. In fact, the Secretary of State for India had himself admitted that the Union immigration legislation extended "the Transvaal policy of practical exclusion" to the entire Union; *vide India*, 31-3-1911.

[1] The Railway Regulations, passed by decree and gazetted on December 17, 1909, under the Railway Regulations Act of 1908 (Vol. X, pp. 104 & 125), sought to discriminate between whites and Asiatics denying the latter, among other things, the right to travel by express trains; *vide* Vol. X, p. 114. After a meeting between the railway authorities and Gandhiji and Cachalia, the General Manager accepted the draft regulations submitted by the British Indian Association on April 11, 1910 (*ibid.*, pp. 506-7), but the Central South African Railways' *Tariff Book No. I*, published in February, 1911, retained the old Regulations in complete disregard of the earlier agreement, and only the Cape was exempted from the discriminatory provisions. Following further protests by the BIA and the Natal Indian Congress, the General Manager wrote to Cachalia in June, 1911, assuring him that the regulations which were to come into force in June, 1911, would meet the Indian objections.

[2] The first registration legislation against which the Indians protested massively and unanimously (Vol. V, pp. 400-3 & 419-26) was the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906 gazetted on August 22, 1906, before the Transvaal was granted Responsible Government. Gandhiji himself describes the Gandhi-Ally deputation of 1906 as "the first battle" in satyagraha "waged in the arena of British politics"; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 323.

13. It is impossible that the Committee of European Sympathizers with Hosken as Chairman would have been called into being otherwise.[1] The Committee is now likely to be useful to us in other matters as well.

14. Apart from these, we have also won the sympathy of many whites.

15. The prestige of the Indian community has risen and those who were wont to despise us have now come to respect us.

16. The Government realizes that we have become invincible.

17. The Indian community, once timorous, has now become brave, and those who were too afraid even to make a mild request now speak out in a ringing voice.

18. In Johannesburg, Indian women did not take any part in social activities. Mrs. Vogl has started a class for them and works free of charge.

19. The Indian community, which fought shy of gaol, has almost shed that fear.

20. Though Mr. Cachalia and others have lost their wealth,[2] they know that they have acquired a certain spirit and strength which they could never have had, even at the cost of millions, without the experience that the campaign made possible.

21. It was only through this campaign that the Indian community learned of the men and women[3] of heroic mettle among the Tamils.

[1] The Committee of European Sympathizers was founded in 1908 by Albert Cartwright, then editor of *The Transvaal Leader*. He was the first member of the Progressive Party actively to espouse the Indian cause, and he played a decisive role in bringing about the famous compromise of January, 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 65-7. The Chairman, William Hosken, was a rich and prominent member of the pre-Union Transvaal legislature and at one time a leading member of the Progressive Party. His mediatory efforts in the later stages of the 1908 campaign were not inconsiderable. By 1910, his sympathies had become more active, and he wrote a letter to Smuts supporting Gandhiji and the Indians in their demands; *vide* Vol. X, p. 485. The letter appears to have angered Smuts who sent a "dangerous telegram" in reply; *ibid.*, p. 489.

[2] European wholesale traders of the Transvaal told Cachalia that he would have to pay up his entire dues if he joined the satyagraha campaign and thus obliged him to wind up his business; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 155-9.

[3] Gandhiji must have had the following persons in mind: Thambi Naidoo and Mrs. Thambi Naidoo, Vol. VIII, pp. 423 & 439; Nagappen, Vol. IX, pp. 283, 299, 484, 523 & 535; Narayansamy, Vol. X, pp. 335-6 & 337-8; and Joseph Royeppen; *vide* footnote 3, p. 27.

22. It was thanks to Act No. 36[1], which was enacted as a result of the struggle, that rights of hundreds of pre-War Transvaal Indians came to be protected.

23. The charge of fraud against the Indian community has been disproved.[2]

24. Considering the latest instance, we find that the proposed poll-tax bill[3] in Natal, which was discriminatory, was abandoned in fear of satyagraha.

25. General Smuts and the Imperial Government were obliged to rescind their decisions, the former on three occasions and the latter on two.[4]

[1] The Transvaal Asiatics' Registration Amendment Act. It was the first Act, after the Gandhi-Smuts compromise of January, 1908, to concede the domiciliary rights of the following categories of Asiatics: (a) those resident in the Transvaal for three years prior to October 11, 1899, the so-called pre-War refugees; (b) the holders of Peace Preservation Ordinance permits; (c) those actually resident in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902; (d) minor children of registered residents. The Act also made the decisions of the Registrar of Asiatics justiciable. More than any other law brought up by Smuts following the compromise, it met the satyagrahis' demands. *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 544-51.

[2] The Transvaal Indians, and Gandhiji personally, were accused of organizing large-scale, illicit immigration of fellow-Indians into the Transvaal; *vide* Vol. V, p. 221, Vol. VI, pp. 379, 409, 413 & 417-8 and Vol. VIII, pp. 122-3, 180-1, 307 & 339; on a variety of occasions, Gandhiji refuted this charge at length; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 249-50, 422, 423 & 433, Vol. VI, pp. 3, 5, 53, 119, 209-10, 381 & 411, Vol. VII, pp. 63, 261 & 273 and Vol. VIII, pp. 9, 11, 14, 53, 307 & 339-40.

[3] This poll-tax bill which sought to exempt Europeans alone from this impost was introduced in the Union Assembly by the Finance Minister on March 27, but, following representations by the Natal Indian Congress threatening satyagraha, it was dropped within three days. *Indian Opinion*, 1-4-1911 & 8-4-1911.

[4] Gandhiji possibly had in mind the following occasions when Smuts was obliged to go back on his decisions: (a) when, at the instance of the Gandhi-Ally deputation of 1906, the Imperial Government refused assent to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 262; (b) when, in the 1908 compromise proposals sent through Albert Cartwright to Gandhiji in jail, Smuts undertook to repeal Act 2 of 1907; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 40 & 66 and Vol. X, p. 330; and (c) when he went back on the issue of a limited annual quota of educated Asiatic immigrants who, he had contended, could not enter the Transvaal under the Immigrants' Restriction Act; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 294-5. The Imperial Government went back on its position in the cases of (a) the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906, and (b) the immigration of educated Asiatics, an issue in which Lord Crewe, in conformity with his earlier position that the autonomy of self-governing colonies should not be lightly interfered with, was reluctant to receive the 1909 deputation. Later however, he sent a telegram to Smuts endorsing at least two of Gandhiji's demands; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 416 & 590.

26. Whereas formerly the Government did not pause to think before passing laws directed against us, now it not only gives careful thought to such laws but is also obliged to consider our probable reactions to them.

27. Indians command more respect as men of their word. "Better to lose millions than to lose one's reputation as a man of one's word."[1]

28. The community has demonstrated the power of truth.

29. By placing its trust in God, the community has demonstrated to the world the supreme value of religion.

Theirs alone is victory who follow truth and religion. On further reflection, we shall probably discover many other benefits, but the last mentioned is the foremost among them. A great campaign such as this could not have been waged without faith in God. He has been our only true support. If, through this struggle, we have learnt better to depend on Him alone, that is a sufficient gain in itself, and all else will follow as a matter of course.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-6-1911

83. ABBREVIATIONS[2]

[After *June 5, 1911*][3]

N.N. not noted
N. noted
R. rejected
P. pending

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5526 a

[1] A Gujarati saying

[2] Devised by Gandhiji for classifying applications that started coming in, following the Provisional Settlement, from persons seeking entry into the Transvaal. Found among his personal papers, this list of abbreviations was evidently meant for his personal use in his dealings with the Registrar of Asiatics.

[3] The first application received from Bhagu Bhikha of Durban was dated June 5, 1911.

84. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[Before *June 9, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Please see the enclosed letter from Anandlal[2]. Show it to Purshottamdas also. I have written to Revashankerbhai[3] asking him to give Anandlal the passage money.

I shall not be able to start till June 9 at any rate. On that day a banquet is to be given to the Hosken Committee. I may leave on the 10th perhaps. Please send the enclosed letter to Nayak; I do not know his address.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5089. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

85. ADDRESS TO W. HOSKEN[4]

JOHANNESBURG,
June 9, 1911

WILLIAM HOSKEN, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, on behalf of the British Indian Reception Committee, hereby wish to place on record our gratitude to you and the members of the Committee over whose deliberations you have presided during the past three years that the Committee has been in existence.

[1] The banquet to the Hosken Committee mentioned in the letter was given on June 9, 1911, and this letter was clearly written before that date. Addressed to Maganlal Gandhi in Phœnix, it speaks of an impending visit by Gandhiji after the 10th. The hypothesized date is further supported by the fact that Gandhiji addressed a meeting held to bid farewell to Sorabji Shapurji at Durban on June 16.

[2] Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji

[3] Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri: a friend of Gandhiji and brother of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

[4] This was presented to Hosken at a banquet given to the Committee of European Sympathizers by the British Indian Association; *vide* also "The Banquet", p. 110.

We are aware that it is due to the efforts of your Committee that the provisional settlement of the Asiatic question that has so agitated the country for the past four years has been hastened. Though the question that gave rise to passive resistance is not yet finally settled, it is a matter for satisfaction that we have a declaration from the chief opponent of the demands of the Asiatic communities that they should be satisfied. It was no small thing for you and your Committee to espouse what was undoubtedly an unpopular cause.

It is not in our power to reward you for your labours. We can but pray to the Almighty to reward you, and the other Members of the Committee, for your advocacy of a cause which you believed to be just. We shall pray that you may have long life and health, so as to enable you to continue to serve high ideals as you have done in the past.

[A. M. CACHALIA
V. CHETTIAR
ABDUL KADIR BAWAZEER
SORABJI SHAPURJI ADAJANIA
M. K. GANDHI][1]

Indian Opinion, 17-6-1911

86. ENCIRCLED

The draft Municipal Councils Ordinance to be introduced in the Provincial Council of the Transvaal is a very drastic measure. The British Indian Association of the Transvaal has entered a timely protest against its provisions that bear upon Indians.[2] The most injurious section is no doubt that which gives the Municipal Councils absolute control over hawkers' and other licences.

The effect of the Gold Law, read together with the Townships Act, is to ruin Asiatic store-keepers. The effect of the draft

[1] The names of the signatories, who constituted the British Indian Reception Committee, are taken from the Gujarati version of the address.

[2] This Ordinance in effect consolidated municipal regulations and decrees, most of which Transvaal Indians had objected to at one time or another and which empowered Town Councils to enforce these with the authority of provincial law. For instance, it empowered the Government, in the main, to: (a) shift Asiatic Locations and demarcate new ones; (b) withhold a variety of licences without judicial review; (c) exclude Asiatics from the Municipal Voters' List. The purpose of all these had earlier been served by separate laws and decrees. For the provisions of the Ordinance as affecting Asiatics and the British Indian Association's petition against it, *vide* Appendices VII-A & -B.

Ordinance, if it be allowed to pass in its present shape, will be to crush Asiatic hawkers. It is a well-known fact that the majority of the Indians of the Transvaal depend upon hawking for their bread and butter. And it is evident that the framers of the Ordinance had Indian hawkers in view. Thus a circle is being drawn—it does not much matter whether with or without the knowledge of General Smuts—round the Transvaal Asiatics, although the General intends next year to bring in legislation to give effect to his promise to the passive resisters, and although he has stated that it is his intention to treat the resident Indians with fairness and justice. We fear very much that, if the draft Ordinance is an indication of what is meant by fairness and justice, the Indian idea of these two words is totally different from General Smuts'. We hope, however, that better counsels will prevail among the Provincial Councillors and that the Ordinance will be amended in the direction pointed out by Mr. Cachalia.[1]

Indian Opinion, 10-6-1911

87. SPEECH AT DURBAN FAREWELL TO SORABJI[2]

[*June 16, 1911*]

As a satyagrahi Mr. Sorabji has displayed many fine qualities. He has rightly been described as the greatest of the satyagrahis. From one point of view I place Mr. Thambi Naidoo on par with him. (Applause.) Another person who can match Mr. Naidoo in self-sacrifice is unlikely to be found even in India. To be sure, Mr. Sorabji stands out from the rest because he volunteered for suffering. He came from Natal and was the first from that Colony to join the campaign.[3] Complaints were frequently made against the satyagrahis in gaol, but never against Mr. Sorabji. He is, by nature, a mild and amiable person. That cannot be said even of Mr. Thambi Naidoo. No improper word was ever heard to escape his mouth. He has none of the Parsis' faults but I

[1] *Vide* Appendix VIIB.

[2] The function was arranged on June 16, 1911, by the Natal Indian Congress to bid farewell to Sorabji Shapurji Adajania, who was returning to India on the conclusion of the Transvaal satyagraha campaign.

[3] Sorabji first entered the Transvaal as a satyagrahi to test educated Indians' rights on June 24, 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 318.

have found in him all their finer qualities. Though so well endowed, he is without a trace of pride. Though a Parsi, he is an Indian first. Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike admire him. That he continues firm on his course, having once set it, and that he tries to understand every issue, is his fourth virtue. Mr. Sorabji is without compeer. The best way of honouring such a man is to emulate him. India will prosper only when it produces many more Sorabjis.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-6-1911

88. THE CORONATION

South Africa will be celebrating, on the 22nd instant, the Coronation of King George V. What part are we going to play in the celebrations? The provisional settlement removes the cause of mourning. But the letter[1] addressed to the Town Clerk by Mr. Dawad Mahomed and other leaders, we understand, still remains unanswered. If the Town Council cannot see their way to accord the same treatment to all the subjects of the Crown, on a unique occasion like the Coronation of our Sovereign, if Europeans cannot forget their prejudice at such a time, we consider that it is the duty of the Indian community to refrain from taking any part in the local official celebrations, to refuse to accept any grant that may be made for a separate celebration by us. The community will express its loyalty to the Throne by sending an appropriate message.

We have been informed that the Town Council officials, instead of returning a definite reply to Mr. Dawad Mahomed, are trying to hoodwink the unwary and ignorant or poor Indians to submit to degradation by accepting a miserable grant for a hole-and-corner celebration among themselves. The market master has, we are told, been approaching the stall-holders and asking them whether they would agree to take part in some

[1] In this letter, dated April 18, 1911, Dawad Mahomed and other Natal leaders had expressed the Indians' inability to join in the Durban Corporation's Coronation celebrations so long as the Transvaal passive resistance continued. Should, however, a settlement be reached and the Indian community decide to participate, they would join in "the general festivities" provided they were "enabled to take an equal part therein with any other section of the population". But if the Corporation made distinctions on racial grounds, they would celebrate the occasion independently of it. *Indian Opinion*, 22-4-1911.

tamasha he may arrange for them. We hope that these designs will be frustrated and that the leaders will see to it that not a single Indian in the Borough of Durban has anything to do with the official celebrations.

We would appeal to the Town Council to rise to the occasion. If it boldly decided for the time being to refuse to recognize any racial distinctions, it would perform a service to the model Borough, to South Africa and to the Empire. That brief but happy interruption need not prevent us from resuming our prejudices the day after and setting about quarrelling again. But let the 22nd of June be held as a sacred day on which, at any rate, we may practise Imperial ideals. We are sure that such conduct on the part of the Town Council will be a tangible proof of its loyalty and will please King George much more than any lip-loyalty.

At the time of the late war, on the battle-field, all distinctions disappeared as if by magic. Tommy drank from the same cup—or rather tin—of water as the Indian stretcher-bearer.[1] Tommy shared the same tent with the Indian, and was often glad to have the same food as his Indian brother. There was perfect fellowship between them. We know that incidents like the above gladdened the hearts of the thousand Indians who were on the battle-field. *Punch* was so delighted that it sang, in connection with the incident: "We are sons of the Empire after all."[2] After the close of the war, we know that the fellowship gave place to bitter jealousy, and consequent discord. But the lesson of the war remained and was repeated at the time of the Zulu revolt. The small band of Indian ambulance-bearers[3] met the Colonial soldier-citizen on terms of equality. Captain Sparks and other officers appreciated the corps's services, and the Indians were enabled again to realize that they were "sons of the Empire after all". Is it impossible to repeat the two experiences on the Coronation Day? We appeal to South Africa for an answer.

Indian Opinion, 17-6-1911

[1] For the formation of the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer War and the work done by it, *vide* Vol. III, pp. 129 & 137-41 and Vol. IV, pp. 295-6.

[2] *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. IX.

[3] For the formation and work of the Stretcher-bearer Corps during the Zulu rebellion, *vide* Vol. V, pp. 291, 361-2 & 368-73.

89. *THE BANQUET*

We congratulate the organizers of the Banquet to Mr. Hosken's Committee on the splendid success that attended their efforts. From all accounts received, this banquet was quite worthy of its predecessors. The response from the Europeans to the invitation of the Reception Committee was liberal. The Banquet was the least that the community owed to its European friends and supporters. In the beginning stages of the struggle, when everybody poured ridicule on the heads of passive resisters, it required a great deal of nerve, courage and sacrifice on the part of the European sympathizers to stand by us. We know how Mr. Hosken became the butt of the cartoonist.[1] We can have no notion of what these friends of the cause must have been obliged to put up with in their clubs and their churches. Indeed, theirs must have been at times a lot as hard as, if not harder, than that of our imprisoned countrymen. And yet they never swerved during the four years that the struggle lasted. We echo the sentiments expressed by Mr. Doke, that the European Committee and the passive resisters were true Imperialists, who fought in the teeth of tremendous opposition to uphold Imperial ideals. Let us hope that the happy link established between Europeans and Indians in South Africa will continue to bind the two communities and result in an increase of mutual respect and forbearance. Then will South Africa have set an example worthy to be followed in the other parts of the Empire.

Indian Opinion, 17-6-1911

90. *HOSKEN'S PORTRAIT*

We publish Mr. Hosken's portrait as a supplement to this issue and we are sure our readers will welcome it. It was first published in *The Star*. We have secured it through the courtesy of the paper's proprietors. We should like our readers to have the portrait glazed and to hang it up in their rooms. We have noticed that Indians have on the walls of their rooms pictorial advertisements set in frames, which are issued by wine and tobacco merchants. At other times, we see meaningless pictures stuck

[1] *Vide* illustration facing p. 112.

on walls, and we are often judged by the things with which we surround ourselves. We earnestly hope that every Indian will have in his living-room only the portraits of those who have us in their debt or whose memory we wish to cherish, and that they will be careful about the other things with which they choose to surround themselves.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 17-6-1911

91. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

June 17, 1911

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

This will be presented to you by Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania, one of the greatest of passive resisters. Of all the rich experiences I have gained during the memorable struggle none has been so great as the discovery of men like Mr. Sorabji. I am sure that you will be glad to meet Mr. Sorabji. He proposes to return in time for the legislation that General Smuts has promised to introduce next year.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2247

92. THE CORONATION

Our countrymen throughout South Africa sent their loyal greetings to their Majesties on the Coronation Day. It may seem somewhat anomalous to a stranger why and how British Indians of South Africa should tender their loyalty to the Throne or rejoice over the crowning of Sovereigns in whose dominions they do not even enjoy the ordinary civil rights of orderly men. The anomaly would, however, disappear, if the stranger were to understand the British constitution. British Sovereigns represent, in theory, purity and equality of justice. The ideal of King George is to treat his subjects with equality. His happiness depends upon that of his subjects. British statesmen make an honest attempt to realize the ideals. That they often fail miserably in doing so is too true but irrelevant to the issue before us. The British monarchy

is limited and rightly so under the existing circumstances. Those then who are content to remain under the British flag may, ought to, without doing any violence to their conscience, tender their loyalty to the Sovereign for the time being of these mighty dominions, although, like us, they may be labouring under severe disabilities. In tendering our loyalty, we but show our devotion to the ideals just referred to; our loyalty is an earnest of our desire to realize them.

The genius of the British constitution requires that every subject of the Crown should be as free as any other, and, if he is not, it is his duty to demand and fight for his freedom so long as he does so without injuring anyone else. There is no room for helotry and slavery in this constitution, though both exist abundantly. Largely it is the fault of the helots and the slaves themselves. The British constitution provides a happy means of freedom but it must be confessed that it is not easy of adoption. There is no royal road to freedom. British people themselves have reached what they mistake for freedom through much travail and suffering. Yet they are strangers to real freedom—the freedom of self. They cannot and do not blame the constitution for the disability. Nor can we because we have ours. And we have not even bled for our freedom, real or so called. If, however, we understand the spirit of the British constitution, though we suffer from disabilities in this sub-continent and though we are far from happy in the sacred land of our birth, we are bound heartily to shout

LONG LIVE THE KING!

Indian Opinion, 24-6-1911

93. *CORONATION*

The Coronation of King George V was celebrated all over the Empire. The Indian residents of this country sent congratulatory cables on the occasion thus declaring their loyalty. We, however, find some Indians asking questions: "Why, and to whom shall we show our loyalty? With what face can we take part in the celebrations? We are submerged in a sea of troubles. Conditions in our dear country give us no cause for rejoicing. That the King is to go to India for his Coronation gives us no reason to be happy. That will only result in the draining of [Indian] money. India will only be ruined further." Such thoughts

"HE'S A PERFECT DEVIL
WHEN HE'S HAD A BANANA!"

(At a vegetarian banquet in honour of the Indian Passive Resisters, Mr. William Hosken, M.L.A., made a fiery speech in defence of the law-breakers.)

Rand Daily Mail, 12-1-1910

BILLJEE OSKENDHI,

OR THE LAST OF HIS RACE



The Bill stood on the burning deck,
Whence all but he had fled.



Cartoon from "Sunday Times," Johannesburg.—"Driving in the Wedge." The persons represented are Hon. Mr. Gokhale, the Editor of the Transvaal Leader, [illegible] and Rev. J. J. Doke.

are but natural. Indeed it is harmful to suppress them. It is necessary, therefore, to put them to the test of logic.

Our view of the matter is that, if those who argue in this manner feel that they cannot be loyal, they should declare their want of loyalty and outlaw themselves. Otherwise they will lay themselves open to the charge of insincerity and cowardice.

We believe, however, that we can remain loyal to His Majesty despite our untold sufferings. Our sufferings here are to be blamed on the local authorities, and more so on ourselves. If we become truthful [that is] if we rebel against ourselves (against the Satanic within us), thus exorcizing the devil, and ourselves manage our affairs instead, we will not have to put up with any hardship whatever and shall be able to declare, 'Oh, how happy we are under the reign of King George!' To the extent that we are unable to exorcize the Satan in us, we shall have to take to entreating the local authorities, and we might thereby slake our burning woes. If we do not do either, how is King George to blame? Someone may answer saying that everything is done in the name of King George, and therefore the credit for the good things and blame for the wrong things should both be his. What we have said above disposes of that argument. The British monarchy is not free, but is confined within limits. These checks are implicit in that British system of monarchy. If the King oversteps the limits, he will be dethroned.

Moreover, the British Constitution aims at securing equality of rights and equality before the law for every subject. Those who do not enjoy such equality are free to fight for it, the only restriction being that the mode of agitation shall not harm others. Not only is every British subject free to fight in this way, but it is his duty to do so. It is a duty to express one's loyalty to such a constitution and to its head, the King-Emperor, for that will only be an expression of loyalty to one's own manhood. The loyalty of a slave is no loyalty. He only serves. If a slave can be loyal, that must be due to coercion. The loyalty of a free man is willed.

It may be urged against this reasoning that it would justify submission even to a wicked King or a vicious constitution; the argument then is not quite proper. For instance, we could not, as free men, be loyal to the pre-War Boer constitution and to its head, President Kruger, for the constitution itself laid down that there shall be no equality between Europeans and Coloureds in the governance of the country or in ecclesiastical affairs. We cannot fight such a constitution and be loyal to it at the same

time. In a situation like that we would have to defy not only the head but the basis of his authority as well. If we refused to fight, we would cease to be men and be thought brutes. If the British Constitution were to change and lay down that there would be no equality, not even in theory, as between whites and Coloureds, we could no longer owe allegiance to such a constitution, and would have to oppose it. Even in such a contingency, however, we could remain loyal to the King within limits; such is the virtue of the British system. It is not here necessary to explore these limits for the question does not arise.

It must be remembered that the British people won what they consider their freedom after they had let rivers of blood flow. Real freedom, however, even they have yet to win. We, on the other hand, have shed no blood, endured nothing, for the sake of freedom, real or imaginary. The Transvaal satyagrahis alone gave evidence of having suffered in some measure in the course of their great campaign. But their suffering was a drop in the ocean. Only when we come forward to suffer as much—and infinitely more—shall we succeed in winning freedom for ourselves. The British Constitution permits one to seek this freedom. The British Emperor must wish that all his subjects get such freedom; such is the British way. And there are Englishmen who sincerely strive to act on these principles according to their own lights. We can, therefore, and ought to, remain loyal to the British Emperor, our grievances notwithstanding.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 24-6-1911

94. *HONOUR TO A SATYAGRAHI*[1]

When Mr. Harilal Gandhi arrived at Zanzibar on his way to India, he was recognized and given a welcome by the Zanzibar Indians. He demurred but to no avail. He was taken to Mr. Wali Mohammed Nazar Ali's house where he was entertained lavishly. Replying to a reception [given in his honour,] Mr. Harilal Gandhi pointed out that the Transvaal campaign had shown what an unfailing remedy satyagraha was. Should there be foul play yet

[1] This article was based evidently on an account of the event given by Harilal in a letter to Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", pp. 117-8.

again, satyagrahis, whichever part of the world they might happen to be in, would return to join the struggle, and so on.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-6-1911

95. POLAK'S WORK

Though Mr. Polak has not been in England for long,[1] he has set to work in right earnest. He has met a number of persons. He spoke at a meeting of the League of Honour,[2] and again at a function organized by the All-India Muslim League. It was Mr. Polak who drafted the statement[3] addressed by the [SABI] Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and he has set out all the issues in that document. The problem of Stands in Vrededorp has been suitably dealt with, and pointed attention has been drawn to the consequences of the Gold Law. Mr. Polak is thus always immersed in the selfsame task, wherever he may be. He has no other interests apart from the problem of South African Indians. Surely, this is no small matter. For only when a person loses himself in duty will he be capable of dedication. Mr. Polak has a profound understanding of this maxim and remains imbued with it. If the Indian community produced a number of persons like him, India would be free soon. In doing his own duty, Mr. Polak has served to remind us of ours.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-7-1911

[1] Polak left Johannesburg on May 1, 1911 and arrived in London in the third week of May, 1911.

[2] On the conditions of Indians in South Africa

[3] *Vide* Appendix VIII.

96. *JOHANNESBURG*[1]

POLAK'S LETTER

We have had two letters from Mr. Polak after his arrival in England. He writes that he has had an interview with Mr. Justice Ameer Ali[2] and that he has met Mr. Gupta of the India Office. He has had talks with Lord Lamington[3]. He also called on other gentlemen and ladies.

Mr. Polak's address was considered the best among all those delivered at the League of Honour. He attended and addressed two meetings of the All-India Muslim League.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-7-1911

97. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA*[4]

[After *July 1, 1911*][5]

. . . I feel it would be a mistake if you imagined that we would get the young men we wanted the moment I got to India. As I understand it, we shall have the same difficulties we had to face

[1] A weekly despatch, "Johannesburg Letter", appeared almost regularly in *Indian Opinion* from March 3, 1906, onwards (Vol. V, pp. 195 & 206-7), but from October 16, 1909, the word "Letter" was dropped from its title and Gandhiji seems to have contributed only occasional paragraghs.

[2] Justice Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928); C.I.E., Bar-at-law; Judge of the Calcutta High Court, 1890-1904; in November, 1909, became the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; a member also of the SABI Committee and President of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League; author of *Islam* and books on Mohammedan law.

[3] Sometime Governor of Bombay and a sympathizer of the Indian cause who became a member of the SABI Committee in January, 1909; in November that year, asked a question in the House of Lords regarding the hardships suffered, during the *Ramzan* fast, by Muslim satyagrahis in Transvaal jails. *Indian Opinion*, 27-2-1909 and *India*, 19-11-1909.

[4] The earlier pages of this letter are missing. Judging from the contents, however, it would appear to be addressed to Dr. Mehta. The first sentence, in particular, seems to be a further discussion of Gandhiji's scheme for educating satyagrahis which Dr. Mehta was to finance; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 66.

[5] Chhaganlal Gandhi, whose departure is mentioned in the letter, left India in the first week of July, 1911, reaching South Africa on July 20.

in this country. It will do us credit if we leave for India only after the work we have begun here has been put on a firm footing. I have not yet had a quiet stay at Phœnix. It would be good in a way, I think, if I could free myself from the cares of legal practice and devote myself to teaching for a year or so. I am not taking on any new responsibilities here. I am only trying to put the existing ones in order.

Arrangements are being made to keep the men occupied in the press for half the time and on the land during the other half. I intend to engage a larger number of suitable persons for the purpose. Only thus can men be released from the press. As a result of [men] being engaged in farming, the land will improve but there will be no profit in the immediate future. By this arrangement [on the contrary], I feel it will become difficult for me to meet the monthly expenses. I feel inclined to ask you to bear the expenses for the additional men. If we extend our activities, it is likely that the expenditure will in all amount to about £1,000. If you can possibly allow this expenditure, please do. The land is very likely to appreciate in value as a result of the expenditure that will be incurred.

This is over and above the help I have already asked for. At any cost we must start a school on a larger scale at Phœnix. I am thinking of leaving here to go round for funds for this purpose.

I often feel it will be better still if you come over here once, while on your way to India, and see Phœnix. Chaganlal must have left this week.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5088. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

98. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

July 3, 1911
7.30 p.m.

CHI. HARILAL,

I got your letter from Zanzibar at Phœnix. There could not have been any subsequent to that. I am expecting one again in a few days. As regards the reception you were given at Zanzibar, I was happy that most of those who took part were Khojas[1] and

[1] A Muslim sect

secondly, that they were not put off by the mention of satyagraha. Your reply was good. I thought it proper to insert a short paragraph[1] about it in *Indian Opinion* and you must have seen it. *The Star* publishes every week a biographical sketch of some well-known person and they have published mine, too. I send you a cutting [herewith]. Please pass it on to Sorabji after reading it. He must have reached there by now.

Our people in Durban put up a fine show indeed.[2] On Coronation Day I had been to Phœnix. The credit for the demonstrations on that day should, therefore, go to the local fighters.

Here, registration has not yet begun. I expect to send the first list to Mr. Chamney[3] tomorrow.

I had a talk about a good many things with Manilal. He is thinking of going to England next year if the campaign is not resumed. His work in the press is good.

I have probably written to you about the vow Medh has taken.[4]

I have now taken up school work on the Farm. I wonder how long I can keep it up. Pillay's children have all left and he himself is not here either.

Thambi Naidoo now lives in Johannesburg all the time. P. K. Naidoo[5] is here.

Ba went to Phœnix with me. It was found necessary to take her.

I have had no letter from Chanchi[6] for a long time now.

Your brothers are all happy. They are sitting beside me reading while I write this. It is 7.30 p.m.

[1] *Vide* "Honour to a Satyagrahi", pp. 114-5.

[2] The reference is to the Durban Indians' boycott of the Coronation celebrations; *vide* also "The Coronation", pp. 108-9.

[3] Montford Chamney, whom Gandhiji ironically described as "His Lordship" (Vol. VIII, p. 26), occupied high administrative positions in the Transvaal for the duration of the satyagraha campaigns, holding successively the offices of Protector of Immigrants, Registrar of Asiatics and Principal Immigration Officer. During the 1908 campaign, he filed affidavits saying that Smuts had made no promise to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act. Gandhiji later accused him of "hopeless incompetence" and demanded his dismissal. *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 459-60 & 500-1 and Vol. IX, p. 87.

[4] Medh had taken a vow to observe *brahmacharya* for ten years.

[5] P. K. Naidoo; born in South Africa, was one of the "valiant fighters" who repeatedly suffered imprisonment throughout the satyagraha campaign in South Africa; rendered particular service during the Great March of 1913; was an office-bearers of the Tamil Benefit Society. Gandhiji, in his account of his imprisonment of January, 1908, describes him also as "a master of the tonsorial art"; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 141, also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXI & XLIV.

[6] Chanchalbehn Gandhi, addressee's wife

Messrs Ritch and Pragji arrived at the Farm today (Sunday)[1]. I propose to spend five days [in the week] at the Farm and the remaining two at Johannesburg.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9531

99. *KRUGERSDORP BAZAAR*

The action of the Municipality of Krugersdorp in trying persistently to abolish the Asiatic Bazaar or Location at Krugersdorp is quite on a par with the zeal that the European residents of that dorp have generally shown in their anti-Asiatic crusade.[2] The School Committee has been a willing tool in the hands of the interested agitators. But we hope that the Krugersdorp Indians will not fail to place before the authorities the other side of the question. We have little to say regarding compensation. For that question cannot arise unless Indians consent to vacate the Stands they occupy or unless they are by law compelled to do so. We wish merely to point out that the state of things the School Committee blame has been deliberately brought about by those who have control of the Location.[3] The threat of removal has hung over the heads of the Indian residents of that Location for several years. We are sorry if the school children have to overlook the closets of that Location. Give the residents fixity of tenure, and we promise that in a month's time they will carry out all desirable alterations. We know that our harassed countrymen have pleaded, times without number, that they should be placed in a position to construct substantial and up-to-date buildings on their Stands. Not only has no encouragement been given to them in that direction but they have been actually thwarted in any such effort they have made. To say the least, it is dishonest to blame them for a state of things for which their very detractors are largely if not entirely responsible.

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1911

[1] Sunday was July 2, whereas the letter is dated July 3.
[2] *Vide* "Krugersdorp Agitators", pp. 97-8.
[3] *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 121.

100. INDIAN WIVES

The decision of Justice Wessels in the matter of an application on behalf of an Indian woman to enter the Transvaal, being the wife of a registered Indian, raises points of the highest importance to the Indians throughout South Africa.[1] The lady in question is the same person who was some time ago turned away by the Immigration Officer at Durban and whose case we have already referred to. The Judge's remarks show that Bai Rasul (for that is the applicant's name) has been unduly hampered in her endeavour to make good her claim. The Judge said that, if the Court had the power, he would have granted a temporary permit to enable the applicant to produce the necessary proof of her marriage. Had the Immigration Officer granted such a permit, there would have been no case in the Court. We still hope that Bai Rasul will be given every facility to prove her claim. For, surely, here there is no question of Indian competition in trade.

But what is of greater importance is the Judge's *obiter dictum* that an Indian may not bring more than one wife. Hitherto those who have more than one wife have been allowed to bring them without any let or hindrance. If the Judge's dictum is sound law, all we can say is that it will have to be altered. In British Dominions, wherein all religions are respected, it is not possible to have laws insulting to any recognized religion flourishing under it. To hold otherwise in this country would simply create misery in many an Indian household in South Africa. We are glad, therefore, that the British Indian Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society have already moved in this matter. It ought to be possible to settle this matter without any agitation being necessary.

Indian Opinion, 8-7-1911

[1] Adamjee, an old registered resident of the Transvaal, brought over Bai Rasul, his wife, from India. At Durban, the Immigration Officer refused her permission to disembark, although normally such immigrants were allowed to land temporarily on furnishing a bail of £10. Bai Rasul then attempted to enter the Transvaal from Delagoa Bay, and her case eventually went up to the Transvaal Supreme Court. For a report of the judgment, *vide* the following item.

101. JOHANNESBURG

Tale of Krugersdorp[1]

Indians living in the Krugersdorp Location should not become complacent. We learn from a Krugersdorp newspaper that the conflict between the Government and the Municipality regarding the Location continues. It is thanks to the local School Committee that the issue has become public knowledge. It has complained that pupils of the school which overlooks the Location have to suffer the sight of Indian closets. The municipal authorities have replied to the School Committee saying that £1,100 would have to be paid to the Indians as compensation if the Location were to be shifted. The Government contends that this sum should be paid by the Municipality. The Municipality has argued that it should not be asked to pay this money, because it is the Government which has been pocketing the income [from the Location]. As it was the Government that had set up the Location, it should itself pay. The editor of the newspaper has suggested that the Europeans should hold mass meetings, pass resolutions, make the Government pay this amount and have the Location shifted. It appears to have been agreed at a previous meeting of the Committee that the compensation of £1,100 would have to be paid.

My own advice to the Indians living in the Location is that they should immediately address the Government and the Municipality saying that they are willing to make the necessary improvements in the buildings if allowed to do so. They should also say that they had given no undertaking as to the shifting of the Location and that it is impossible to shift as there is a mosque within its precincts. I hope the Indians in the Location will not delay action in this matter.

Deportation Order Cancelled

There is an Indian youth named Mr. N. Dala. He was arrested in Barberton and ordered to be deported. The main reason for this order was that he was believed to be eighteen years of age. His friends sought Mr. Ritch's advice and told him that Mr. Dala was not in fact over sixteen years of age. His case was then referred to the Supreme Court for getting the order of deportation cancelled. A medical practitioner deposed in Court

[1] *Vide* "Krugersdorp Bazaar", p. 119.

103. TO THE COLONIAL-BORN INDIAN

Those of our Colonial-born friends who have not read the special contribution[1] to this journal on the Native Industries Exhibition in Durban, and [*sic*] published last week, we trust, will hasten to read it and ponder over it. It is written by one who is himself an idealist and who knows thoroughly what he is writing about. He is, moreover, a friend and fellow-worker in the Indian cause. Our contributor's remarks are therefore worthy of careful consideration by every Indian whose life-mould has not yet been cast or, if it is already cast, does not give real satisfaction. Our future in South Africa depends largely upon the conduct of those who are born in this country and to whom India is merely a geographical expression.

We associate ourselves with the remarks of our contributor that "lolling on stools in lawyers' offices" is no "*useful* ambition". A moment's thought ought to convince our friends that a nation cannot be built out of clerks or even merchants. "Back to the land" is General Botha's advice even to the Europeans who, after all, do follow many useful occupations. The world lives on its farmers and those who are indispensable to farmers, e.g., carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, etc. It is a sad fact that very few Colonial-born Indians are found willing enough to learn or take up these truly noble (because useful) professions. We all live upon the great industry of the Natives and Indians engaged in useful occupations in this country. In this sense they are more civilized than any of us, not excluding European non-producers, inhabiting this continent. Every speculator may leave the country; every lawyer may shut down his office, every merchant may wind up his business; and yet we should live comfortably on this land endowed by nature with a beneficent climate. But if the great Native races were to stop work for a week, we should probably be starving. It must, then, be a privilege for us to be able to copy their productive industry and their ability as

[1] The writer had praised the Natives' industry, manual skill and intelligence which were in evidence at the exhibition. He felt that Colonial-born Indians had no desire to be useful, that education would merely serve to produce clerks among them and that practical training in agriculture or a useful trade was the best way to equip them for public service as well as for life. *Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1911.

masters of useful handicraft. We assure our friends that, even if all the galling disabilities which we labour under in South Africa were to be removed at a stroke of the pen, our condition would in no wise be satisfactory until our Colonial-born friends direct their undoubted ability and energy in the channels pointed out in the contribution we have drawn attention to.

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1911

104. INDIA'S SORRY PLIGHT

The news that we have had of a complete settlement is satisfying. A campaign which called forth such sacrifices could have had only one result. [Yet] reflecting over the outcome, one is moved to sorrow at our unfortunate state here. Things are so bad that it would seem an edifice had rotted and lay about in ruins. If you still see a vestige of form [about it], it is then due to its solid foundations. People have been enfeebled in body and mind, and economically. Extreme poverty prevails all around. There is a [Gujarati] saying about the idle barber who keeps himself busy shaving wooden seats; likewise you must have also heard the one about "the weak husband who is brave with his wife". Sin is the fruit of the tree of poverty. The economic situation has greatly deteriorated. People ask in despair how they can make a living. Here you will [of course] say that agriculture is the best of all. But that is for men who are patient and of a steady temperament. People are in an abject state because of wranglings over affairs of caste, and unhealthy rivalry in regard to communal dinners and social customs; [people's] tendency to be satisfied with the earnings of a few hours' work, say four, six, eight or ten hours; and to waste the rest; such misguided contentment, the terror of the plague, etc. Education, which is believed to be a means for promoting happiness has become instrumental in bringing about the worst state of misery. The strain of learning leaves one a physical wreck. The methods of learning are such that they wholly wear one out in body, in mind, and financially. Add to this the burden of [keeping up] status in society. By the time a man is mature and knowing and tries to hold his head high, he is weighed down with the responsibilities of a family.

We find these reflections in a letter by a certain experienced and educated Indian of South Africa to another. The correspondent has given a faithful and vivid picture of conditions in India. We thought it necessary to cite these views and comment on them for the benefit of readers. A patriot's first duty is to know the state of his country. Having done so, his next duty is to search for a remedy. This done, his third duty is to give effect to the remedy. The state of the country is as set forth above. One cannot question that description. Once the remedy is known, it is up to the readers to put it into practice. Our function is to help them to discover the remedy.

In the very process of setting forth the country's sorry plight, the correspondent mentioned some of the reasons. Let us consider them further. Starvation is not a cause of misery. It is itself misery. The contentment men find in service is not a cause of degradation; it is degradation in itself. Wranglings over affairs of caste, hypocrisy, unhealthy rivalries, the terror of the plague—these are not causes of a fallen state; they constitute that state. [In fact] there is a single cause for all these. *We have forsaken our duty*. We have forgotten God and we worship Satan. A man's duty is to worship God. Telling one's beads is no symbol of that worship; neither is going to mosque or temple, nor saying the *namaz*[1] or the *gayatri*[2]. These things are all right as far as they go. It is necessary to do the one or the other according to one's religion. But by themselves they are no indication of one's being devoted to God in worship. He alone truly adores God who finds his happiness in the happiness of others, speaks evil of none, does not waste his time in the pursuit of riches, does nothing immoral, who acquits himself with others as with a friend, does not fear the plague or any human being. Such a one will not, for fear of his caste, give communal dinners; if he is young, he will not, for fear of the men of his caste, marry before he is old enough or until he feels the need for it, and, if a father, he will not, for fear of men of his caste, ruin his son's and daughter's future. Such a one will not pause, in deciding on any course of action, to think of what any individual or community would think of it. He will only ask himself: 'What will God within me say of this deed of mine?' The upshot of all this is that all of us, whether Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, have forsaken our true religion. If this view is right, what we need is not remedies against the plague or revolt against the British

[1] The Islamic prayer

[2] The Rigvedic hymn to the Sun God

rule; neither big associations with their ostentatious ways of doing things, nor societies nor meetings; neither will it be any use to keep looking at one another, waiting to act till others give us the lead. One thing alone is needful; all of us, having learnt our duty, must persevere in it till the moment of death. If this view is right, we need help from none save God. We can then do our duty in the midst of a conflagration, can still do it even if placed on the edge of a sword. The worst then that can happen is that we lose our mortal bodies. Why fear this? Fear will not keep the body alive. It will perish, when the appointed hour comes.

If we do our duty in this manner, so easy if only we will think of it, we shall know the rest as we go on. The first need of a man lost in a thick wood at night is light. He may then bide without fear till he finds the road. When he does find it, he will take it straightaway. If he finds any institutions on the way, he will use them as bridges for crossing rivers and streams. If the bridges are in disrepair, he will examine them with the aid of the light and call attention to the cracks or other defects. This light of duty is easy for anyone to acquire and once it is acquired, the way will be found forthwith; even a child will admit that.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-7-1911

105. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Monday night [July 17, 1911][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter regarding the trust and other matters came to hand only today. It will be better if you address your letters to the Farm hereafter. I propose going to Johannesburg only once a week, that is, on Monday.

[1] The *Somali*, by which Chhaganlal Gandhi sailed from India, was first expected to arrive at Durban on July 15, 1911, according to the German East African Line advertisement in *Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1911. A news-item appearing in the Gujarati section the same week, however, mentions that the boat would arrive on July 18, 1911, instead. Actually she arrived on July 20, 1911. *Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1911. From Gandhiji's letter of July 12, 1911, to Maganlal Gandhi (p. 123), it is clear that he has heard from Chhaganlal Gandhi but is awaiting a cable from him, presumably about his arrival. It was, therefore, on a Monday following July 12, 1911, that this letter was written, that is, on July 17, 1911. On this Monday, it was still believed that s.s. *Somali* would arrive on July 18, 1911. Thus it is that Gandhiji says later in the letter that Chhaganlal and the others must have arrived by the time Maganlal got this letter.

The arrangement about the Library is all right. Do not order books for the present. It is better just to collect money.

I also think it is no longer necessary to keep a separate account of the profits from the store. If the matter cannot be settled just now, we shall dispose of it when I go there [next]. Please make a note of this.

And now to the main part of your letter. With a little reflection, you will be able to see that the question who should send out whom just does not arise. When Phœnix is really in difficulties, there will be no question of sending out or retaining anybody. He alone will stay on there who has got into the true spirit. The problem then will be whether anyone will stay at all. No salaries are paid today, but only a kind of maintenance allowance. Who will remain, prepared to have this reduced, to face extreme suffering and live on plain bread—that will be the problem. This means that the problem will not arise. We shall know then who the true mother is and who the false. The doubt that has occurred to you is pointless.

And so are your fears about the children. India, being a land of virtue, has spots of wickedness. So also, other countries, though lands of sin, have oases by way of virtuous spots. We are, however, doing our work with our eyes fixed on India. Where is the room, then, for any question about the children? Phœnix will have, and has, a constitution which will enable all children who so desire to visit India. And how can anyone say that [the spirit of] Phœnix will remain confined to Phœnix alone? Wherever the aims of Phœnix are present, there you will have Phœnix. Do you forget that we are all preparing ourselves for India? Should you and your children, however, lay down their lives for India in Phœnix itself, what harm will there be?

If we live in Phœnix as we would in India, there will be only this difference between India and Phœnix: we shall have adopted the virtuous practices of India and eschewed the evils that obtain there to-day. Is this anything to be sorry about? I shall write more on hearing from you.

If you consider my *atman*[1] to have great power, yours, too, has it. There is no difference between us in respect of our *atmans*. The moment you rid yourself of whatever in you is foreign to the nature of the *atman*—timidity, doubt, irresolution, etc.—we are equals. The only difference lies in the fact that I have, with great effort, got rid of many of my defects. If you make the bid with a determined

[1] The individual self which neither does nor suffers anything

mind, you, too, will be able to cleanse yourself of all such defects and more.

Chhaganlal, Anandlal, Jamnadas[1] and others may possibly be there before this letter reaches you. I for one am very glad that they are all coming.

You ask to have a test; but that you cannot have from me. When the time is ripe, you will get it without asking for it. Readiness is all.

It does not seem likely that any member [of the party coming] will have difficulty in landing. All the same, I have made the necessary recommendation[2] to the office.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.] I hope a copy of the Trust Deed will be in your hand next week. It is only a draft.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5091. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

106. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Ashadh Vad O [July 25, 1911][3]

CHI. HARILAL,

There should have been a letter from you from India. You met Chi. Chhaganlal there, and he is now already here. I do hope there will be one by the next mail.

Chhaganlal has brought news that Revashankerbhai advised you to join some commercial class in Bombay, deprecating [the idea of your going to] Ahmedabad. Chhaganlal also told me that you, on the other hand, continued to prefer Ahmedabad, up to the time he left. I still consider Ahmedabad to be better. It serves our purpose better. Though English may be less easy to learn in Ahmedabad, Gujarati, Sanskrit, etc., can certainly be done

[1] A brother of the addressee

[2] This letter to the Registrar of Asiatics is not available.

[3] Chhaganlal Gandhi, who is referred to in this letter as having already arrived, returned to South Africa in 1911, and in that year *Ashadh Vad* 0 corresponds to July 25. The zero date also written as *Vad* 30 is peculiar to the lunar Vikram calendar and denotes the last day of the dark fortnight.

well there. I personally do not like Bombay at all. You may, however, do what you think best.

I see from Chanchi's letter that Manilal[1] is suffering from a serious illness. Please try if you can to persuade him to come here. Let him and Bali both come. Open air and nutritious but simple food is the only remedy for a tuberculosis patient. Please write to Chanchi not to expect regular letters from me. The burden on me at present is especially heavy. I go to Johannesburg only on Mondays. This is how things go on: physical labour on the farm up to 10 a.m.; teaching work at the school from 1.00 to 4.30 p.m.; meal at 5.30 p.m. and office and other correspondence at night. As I do everything single-handed, I have no time left and I do writing work till late at night. It is 9.45 p.m. now as I write this and I have more letters to write yet.

Mr. & Mrs. John, Rambhabai[2], Mrs. Phillip, Mr. K. Naidoo and his wife are at the the Farm. There are five boys and two girls in my school. But as they all belong to different standards, even these few are too many.

I am still on saltless diet. I personally feel better for it and as for Ba, it appears her very life has been saved.[3] So far as I can see, she is a new woman altogether. Even the children take saltless diet on alternate weeks. It is possible they might, by and by, adopt it for good. Mr. Kallenbach has also started the experiment of saltless diet. I have a feeling that it purifies the blood to a very high degree.

Manilal is at Phœnix. It seems to me his mind is quite at peace there.

I saw Mr. Smuts again[4] as Mr. Quinn's comrades have not yet been released. I still hope that they will be. Only two persons remain now. Smuts talked about the new Bill also. I found him quite amenable, in conversation at least. Perhaps he might even repeal the tax on women in Natal. I took occasion to raise this issue as well.

Let me know how Chanchi and Rami are doing. You may send both here whenever you feel inclined to. Take the money required from Revashankerbhai. Ba simply longs for them. I

[1] Manilal Lakshmichand Adalaja; husband of Balibehn, Harilal's sister-in-law

[2] Rambhabai Sodha

[3] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXIX.

[4] Although there is no record of this visit, it must have been after May 20; *vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 85-6.

told her that as you were in India the decision regarding their coming here should be left to you.

Could you read anything while on board ship? Was your luggage inspected on your landing at Bombay? Give me all such details.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9535

107. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[About *July 25, 1911*][1]

. . :[2] Nowadays I am chained to the school. The school works regularly from 1 to 4.30 p.m. Only on Mondays I let it off since I go to Johannesburg on that day. It is kept working on Sundays too. We have something like school for three hours in the morning as well, but only manual labour is done—either domestic chores or work on the farm. Because of these things, I see the bodies and minds of the children improving from day to day.

Until you put your heart in the work, you won't be able to study. If you cannot do this here, please do not imagine you can do it in England. My impression is that Jamnadas is also your schoolfellow. If so, the two of you, I feel, should be able to get on very well. Do look after him and see that he does not get bored there.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 102. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] Judging from the similarity of contents between paragraph 1 of this letter and paragraph 4 of the preceding item, this was written about the same time. In any case, it was written soon after July 20 when Jamnadas Gandhi arrived in Natal with Chhaganlal Gandhi.

[2] The first few pages of the letter are not available.

108. ADDRESS TO H. KALLENBACH[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
July 31, 1911

TO
HERMANN KALLENBACH, ESQ.

On behalf of the Transvaal British Indian Association, we, the Chairman and Honorary Secretary, ask your acceptance of this small token of the affection and esteem your whole-hearted and brotherly co-operation has won from the British Indians of the Transvaal.

Your help during the long struggle that was forced upon us by reason of the immigration and registration laws was the more valuable because it was spontaneous.

Your timely generosity in placing Tolstoy Farm at the disposal of the passive resisters proved an invaluable aid to us. The acts of personal service rendered by you to our people in adversity can never be repaid.

We thank you also for your work as Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal European Committee.

All these things and many more have made the Indian community your lifelong debtors, and we pray that God may bless you for them.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

[1] This was presented to Kallenbach on July 31, 1911, when he left for Europe; *vide* "Reception to Mr. Kallenbach", p. 135.

109. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
Shravan Sud 7 [August 1, 1911][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

It appears from your letter that you are upset again. I see no reason why you should be.

Chi. Jamnadas can, if he so desires, appear for the Cape Matric or the London Matric, though I do not know what he will gain thereby. The time he will spend in studying for the examination, things which are to be later forgotten, will be as good as wasted. The point to be considered is what Jamnadas ultimately wants to do. Do you intend to fix him up in Phœnix or have you brought him here just for the sake of his health? Whatever may have been your intention, you have acted wisely in bringing him over. . . .[2] used to find out and develop the general abilities of their pupils. Modern education seems to me to be a thorough fraud. I sighed when I read the prospectus of Davar's School[3]; such is the state of my mind at present.

I am aware that the debt to Revashankerbhai is increasing. I am wondering how to repay it. It is for me to think about the debt you have incurred. It will benefit us both if you do not take upon yourself the burden unnecessarily. Make up your mind not to incur any debt hereafter. Please let me know how much you will need to draw every month, including the sum that you must send to Khushalbhai and leaving the debt incurred by you out of account. I think the Phœnix constitution [needs to be] amended. Please think it over and write to me frankly. Do not mind if I express my views in strong terms. In my present state of mind I can hardly express my ideas in gentle words or through hints. Just fancy how a pauper will dance for joy if he comes upon the philosophers' stone. Such . . .[4] is not possible all at once.

I read *Indian Idylls* (Edwin Arnold's) to the boys. It has

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi brought Jamnadas with him when he arrived in July; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 129. The letter was therefore written in 1911 in which year *Shravan Sud* 7 corresponds to August 1. The date is confirmed by Chhaganlal Gandhi to whom we owe this letter.

[2] Two pages are missing here.

[3] Davar's College of Commerce

[4] Four pages are missing here.

excellent translations of narrative poems from the *Mahabharata*. Amongst them I read "The Enchanted Lake" and found it to be superb. What is its Sanskrit title? Please let me know if you or anyone else there knows it. I have been thinking that we should have a free translation made into Gujarati verse by Ambaram[1] and publish it. All the Pandavas go to a lake in the hope of finding water. But in their impatience they drink from the lake without answering questions [put to them] by the Yaksha, the guardian spirit of the lake, and fall down unconscious. Yudhishthira goes last and drinks water after giving the answers. All his answers relate to [the nature of] obligation, but they are very ingenious. Perhaps you know the dialogue.

It will be a good thing if you start writing in English gradually. If you understand *Letters of John Chinaman*[2] fully, you may translate it. I shan't have the time for it. I re-read the book recently. It is invaluable.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5092. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

110. RECEPTION TO MR. KALLENBACH

Mr. Kallenbach had intended to slip away from Johannesburg quietly and without any demonstration from the Indian community. But God willed otherwise. As soon as it became known that Mr. Kallenbach was to leave for Europe, leading passive resisters began to discuss among themselves the desirability of "doing something". They felt that the owner of Tolstoy Farm, who had done so much for them in his own inimitable way, could not be allowed to leave unhonoured by the community. It was by an accident that the day of Mr. Kallenbach's departure became known. The time was short. But subscriptions were at once raised. It was decided to present him with an illuminated address, enclosed in a solid silver casket. The idea was incongruous enough: Mr. Kallenbach, who had given up most of his luxuries, and had taken to a simple life on Tolstoy Farm where he entirely shared the life of poor passive resisters, often drinking and eating with them, using a verandah as his chair and his lap for a dinner table, to be

[1] Ambaram Bhatt, who wrote poems about satyagraha
[2] By Lowes Dickinson

presented with a solid silver casket! Where was he to keep it? That was no concern of the enthusiastic admirers. So the address was illuminated and a silver casket ordered and prepared. At practically the last minute, Mr. Kallenbach was informed that he was to be presented with an address. Mr. Kallenbach laughed. "What have I done? You owe me nothing, and if you do, I do not wish to collect my debt just yet." This happened on Saturday when he was on his way to the Farm. He was to leave on Monday. But the determined men who had done duty as pickets would not have 'no' for an answer. Mr. Kallenbach said: "I cannot receive any public acknowledgment." His interviewers said: "You must." Thus they parted, Mr. Kallenbach thinking the storm had blown over. But on Monday[1] morning, on his way from Lawley, Mr. Kallenbach was picketed and intercepted by a zealous band, headed by Mr. Thambi Naidoo, who had all run from Vrededorp to Canada, a distance of five miles, to meet him in his own compartment. Others met him at Fordsburg station. What could Mr. Kallenbach do against such a determination. He had to yield. Passive resistance (love) and picketing were once more triumphant. Mr. Kallenbach hurried to the Rev. Phillip's Hall. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer presided. He related Mr. Kallenbach's services in a few well-chosen words. Mr. Thambi Naidoo read the address which is as follows.[2]

Mr. Easton[3], on behalf of the Cantonese Club, presented him with the complete works of Carlyle in a beautiful silver-mounted case, and Mr. Morarji with the works of Ruskin in a similar case on behalf of the Hindu Association. Mr. Kallenbach then, in the course of his reply, said that he did not consider his friends, who had done him so singular an honour, owed him anything at all. It was he who was the debtor. It was a matter of privilege to him to be able to do what he did during the struggle that lasted five years. And he did it for his own sake. He sincerely believed that he had gained much through the struggle. At the end of it he found himself a better and stronger man. He assured his hearers that it was through the struggle that he had overcome many of his prejudices and his weaknesses. If ever again the struggle was revived, he was prepared to do what little he could and he

[1] July 31, 1911

[2] For the text, *vide* "Address to H. Kallenbach", p. 132.

[3] Martin Easton; Acting Chairman, Chinese Association and Quinn's successor to that office; associated himself with Gandhiji's protest against the racial discrimination implied in the Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 474-5.

knew that whatever he did in such a struggle he would be the gainer. After giving renewed thanks for the gifts, Mr. Kallenbach resumed his seat amid applause. Mr. Cachalia was absent, being obliged to go to Warmbaths to attend a sick friend. Mr. Ritch, Mrs. Vogl, Miss Schlesin and Mr. Isaac[1] supported the Chair on the platform. At the station there was a representative gathering of Indians besides his European friends to see Mr. Kallenbach off. In order to gain experience and still further to simplify his life and to discipline himself, Mr. Kallenbach travelled 3rd class by the train, much to the surprise of his many friends who had always seen him enjoy all "the good things of life". Mr. Kallenbach is travelling 3rd class on the steamer also.

All the settlers on Tolstoy Farm were at Lawley station to see Mr. Kallenbach off.

We understand that Mr. Kallenbach does not intend to keep the address and the casket himself, but will hand them to his sister in Germany.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

111. MR. KALLENBACH

Our readers will be glad to possess a portrait, which we issue this week as a supplement, of Mr. H. Kallenbach whom they best know as the owner of Tolstoy Farm, of which he gave the free use to passive resisters' families and which is still being used for the purpose. Mr. Kallenbach is leaving for Europe principally for the sake of meeting the many members of his family in Germany and expects to return within six months. Our readers will recollect that, when both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak were absent, Mr. Kallenbach acted as the Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association—a most critical time in the history of the struggle.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

[1] Gabriel I. Isaac; English Jew and jeweller; a practising vegetarian associated with the Johannesburg vegetarian restaurant; sometime member of Phoenix settlement; travelled collecting subscriptions and advertisements for *Indian Opinion* and was ever ready to be of use to the journal and to Gandhiji; in 1908, offered to become nominal owner of satyagrahis' shops, following the Government's policy of auctioning their goods; in June, 1909, was sent by Gandhiji to Delagoa Bay to assist satyagrahis being deported to India; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 2 & 247. He went to jail as a satyagrahi during the Great March of 1913.

112. TUBERCULOSIS

We invite the special attention of our Natal Indian readers to Dr. Murison's[1] letter to Mr. Gandhi on the campaign that he, with the assistance of Dr. Adams, the specialist, is conducting in the Durban Borough against tuberculosis. This fell disease is no respecter of persons and affects all the communities residing in Durban. If its progress is not arrested in time, it is difficult to estimate the damage it may cause to precious human lives. It is then only proper that Mr. Jameson and his Committee should seek and command the co-operation of all the communities in their endeavour to root out the disease. At the desire of Mr. Jameson a small Indian Committee has been already formed to render the necessary assistance to his Committee to assist ourselves. But the establishment of the Committee is not enough. We have no doubt that Dr. Murison ought to be besieged by Indian volunteers who would place themselves at his disposal to do inspection and visiting work. They may become angels of mercy in the truest sense of the term. We feel sure that the work that Dr. Murison expects (and rightly) from us can only be performed by volunteers and not paid workers. Who can reason with our consumptives except our leaders? Dr. Adams preaches the gospel of open air, first and last, in the treatment of this disease. It will require all the ability and persuasive powers of those whom the people trust before the latter will adopt the treatment which is so incredibly[2] simple and yet, unless it is understood, so difficult of adoption. Those who are afraid of catching cold if they breathed the fresh but cold air of the fields rather than the hot but contaminated and carbon-loaded atmosphere of a stuffy room are not to be easily persuaded that their salvation —freedom from consumption—lies in breathing pure and invigorating fresh air even as we drink pure and health-giving water rather than poisoned water vomited by others. We trust that every

[1] Dr. Murison, Medical Officer of Health, Durban. During the 1904 plague, Gandhiji found him "sympathetic and ready to help"; *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 224 & 331. On July 10, 1911, he wrote in reply to Gandhiji's of July 4, 1911 (not available), suggesting that an Indian Committee and about twenty volunteers co-operate with the Durban Health Department's anti-tuberculosis campaign so that the Borough bye-laws for the prevention of infectious diseases might not be invoked. *Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1911.

[2] The original has "increditably".

influential Indian will have his name registered as a volunteer worker in the crusade of the Durban Corporation against tuberculosis.

Indian Opinion, 5-8-1911

113. LETTER TO H. L. PAUL

August 7, 1911

DEAR MR. PAUL[1],

I shall watch the career of your institution[2] with anxious interest. Pray congratulate Angie[3] for me.

Hoping you are all well,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4901. Courtesy: Dr. Cooppan

114. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Shravan Sud 13 [*August 7,1911*][4]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

Your letter. I certainly did not conclude from what you wrote about Sorabji that you are against sending him to England.

Please do not press Harilal to live in Rangoon. It is in his best interest that he should be allowed to live in freedom. It will be a different matter, of course, if he goes to Rangoon or comes over here of his own accord, having failed in his plans. Moreover, I see little chance of his Gujarati improving in Rangoon. If he can be by himself in Ahmedabad and study, his eager desire for education will be satisfied in some measure. I will let him know your

[1] Indian interpreter and clerk in the Magistrate's Court, Durban

[2] Indian Educational Institute, Durban

[3] Daughter of H. L. Paul. Gandhiji was her godfather and she undertook to train in Phoenix and work in the service of the Indian community after finishing her education; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 286 & 328.

[4] Although the Indian date does not mention the year, two references in the course of the letter serve to fix the Gregorian year. It was during 1911 that a Gujarati translation of *The Indian Nation-builders* alluded to in paragraph 6 of this letter was serialized in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*. A copy of the book was presumably sent to Gandhiji by Natesan. It was about this time, too, that Gandhiji was much taken up with "The Enchanted Lake" from the *Mahabharata*; *vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", pp. 133-4. In that year *Shravan Sud* 13 corresponds to August 7.

views, however. Revashankerbhai's idea is that he should learn shorthand, an idea which does not appeal to me in the least. It is contrary to all my thinking.

I am not surprised at your views about Amsterdam. To me at least, all those who are entrapped in the net of civilization seem like cripples.

Nowadays I read story-poems from the *Mahabharata* to the boys of my school for an hour every evening. I have no option but to read from an English book, as half the boys are Tamils. The one being read at present is Arnold's *Indian Idylls*. Last night I read "The Enchanted Lake" from it. I liked its thoughts so much that I feel like reading it over and over again. If you haven't seen the book, please get it and read this [story]. What has a nation, which has produced men capable of such grand ideas, to learn from the cowardly present-day civilization?

I have not been able to take the Mauritius report in hand.

Though Natesan has omitted [certain portions], I propose to start printing in *Indian Opinion* a translation of the article as published now.[1]

It is not quite true that I take upon myself too heavy a burden. Your caution is right, nevertheless. It is *moha*[2] to want to do too much, and *moha* is a great fault. I know this and yet I cannot abandon what I have taken up; it must not be—that is the teaching of our religion. We should, of course, make sure that it is not an unworthy task we have undertaken. Please do not imagine that I am harming my health because of the heavy burden. I eat like a bull. I take exactly an hour and a half for my two meals. I see that some of those around me do not spend as much time on three meals. It is not true that I keep indifferent health. However, I am always on the alert to see that nothing is done through *moha*. There is nothing, of course, I wish to gain for myself. But one must keep oneself busy. I go on doing what, on reflection, seems best to me.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5093. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

[1] The reference is to a series of articles published between August 12 and November 4, 1911, in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*. These were translations of the lives of Surendranath Banerjea and G. K. Gokhale, among others, published in a single English volume by Ganesh & Co. of Madras.

[2] Infatuation

115. THE STORM GATHERING

Thoreau went to gaol for the sake of those who did not belong to his race. So may Mr. Ritch go to gaol for the sake of us who do not wear the same skin as he does. For he has received a notice to the effect that, in allowing Indians to remain on the Stands registered in his name in Krugersdorp, he is committing a criminal offence.[1] We know that Mr. Ritch is not likely to give up the Stands on account of the notice. The authorities know well that Mr. Ritch is a trustee holding the Stands in question for his Indian wards. Mr. Ritch does not allow them to remain on his Stands. They (the Indians) remain on their own. That is the real position, although, in the eyes of the law, Mr. Ritch is the owner and no other.

Klerksdorp Indians have been threatened.[2] In Roodepoort a prosecution has already taken place and an appeal is pending.[3] Now the compliment has been paid to Krugersdorp. Evidently the authorities imagine that Indians will abandon their stores and their stock immediately they take action. Mr. Neser[4] (and he ought to know) has informed South Africa that the Government have stayed their hand only because of this being the Coronation year and that actual proceedings will be taken next year. Meanwhile, therefore, we fancy the Government are sharpening their

[1] Ritch was the owner of certain Stands occupied by Indians in the mining areas of Krugersdorp which had been declared "Proclaimed Areas" under the Gold Law, Act 35 of 1908. On August 3, 1911 the Public Prosecutor, Krugersdorp, sent him a notice warning him that he was contravening Section 130 of Act 35 of 1908 and was liable to criminal prosecution. He was directed to ask his Indian tenants to vacate. *Indian Opinion*, 12-6-1911.

[2] *Vide* "Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 4-5.

[3] At Roodepoort, one Alfred Tamblin was charged under Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908 for subletting a mining Stand to two Asiatics, Ahmed Khan and Abdulla Khan. His counsel argued that under the old Gold Law, an owner had the right to sublet his stand to Coloured persons and that under Section 77 of the present Gold Law, Coloured persons were entitled to acquire rights to Stands, but the case was remanded. Subsequently, a Krugersdorp magistrate found Tamblin guilty and sentenced him. On appeal, the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa acquitted Tamblin and ruled that the Asiatics in question were protected by Section 77 of the new Gold Law. *Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1911 & 2-9-1911.

[4] Member of Union Parliament

weapons. The notice served on Mr. Ritch is a clear call to the Indians to show of what stuff they are made. We have no doubt that, if for no other reason, seeing that Mr. Ritch may himself have to go to gaol, the Indians affected by the notice will remain firm and show once more to the Government that, unless they carry with them the Asiatic communities, their laws adversely affecting them must remain a dead letter.

Indian Opinion, 12-8-1911

116. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*[1]

August 12, 1911

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the . . . instant. I shall endeavour to complete the list of those covered by the Settlement before the 21st instant. But I fear that it will not be possible to do so regarding those who are now in India. I had hoped to be able to complete the list much earlier, but for the reasons given in my letter[2] to the Registrar of Asiatics, I have been unable to do so.

I have the honour, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5586

[1] This was found among Gandhiji's papers and was presumably drafted by him. If the original was sent at all, the date of the letter from the Secretary for the Interior referred to in the text was possibly supplied before dispatch.

[2] Not available

117. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Shravan Vad 3 [August 13, 1911][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The books you have brought are good ones.[2] Please send me *Bhartrihari Shataka*[3] if the meaning of the Sanskrit text is explained in Gujarati or English.

I do not propose to return the money you have spent on the land. There are difficulties in the way. If you have paid anything for the land, that I think could be returned. This is only a suggestion I make about the land, for, if all of them get just enough to live on, how would it be possible for them to pay its cost or that of the buildings? And so I have suggested that the dues on account of land should be written off. Should anyone, however, want to buy off [his share of] the land, I shall not come in his way. The question you have raised now had also arisen in connection with Anandlal's land and yours. Instead of agreeing to return you the money you have spent on the land, I should prefer paying off your debt. Returning the money spent on the land will raise many delicate problems. I am sure you will understand this. I am waiting for a reply from you again about what should be paid to each of you two brothers.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4782

[1] It would appear that this letter was written soon after Chhaganlal Gandhi's return to South Africa in 1911. It is moreover in continuation of a subject discussed in the letter of August 1, 1911, (p. 133), that is, Chhaganlal's request that the debt he had incurred be set off against the money he had spent on improving his portion of the land in Phoenix. In 1911, *Shravan Vad* 3 corresponds to August 13.

[2] Brought by Chhaganlal Gandhi from England or India when he returned to South Africa.

[3] A collection of three hundred stanzas by Bhartrihari, a celebrated Sanskrit poet and king. A hundred stanzas are devoted to each of the three topics: *Niti* (morals), *Shringar* (Love) and *Vairagya* (renunciation).

118. INDIANS SUPPORT MR. RITCH

An important meeting[1] of the British Indian Association was held at the Hamidia Society's Hall on Sunday evening last. Mr. Cachalia was in the chair. Invitations were sent all over the province. A telegram was received from Klerksdorp regretting absence but accepting the decision of the meeting. Representatives attended from Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, etc. Messrs Ritch, Quinn, and Isaac were also present. At the invitation of Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Gandhi explained the effect of the proposed action of the authorities. The proceedings were earnest and the meeting showed determination to go through the impending storm.

Mr. Gandhi explained that he had Mr. Ritch's authority for stating that he (Mr. Ritch) was prepared to stand by the community and incur the risk of imprisonment should it be necessary in making good the trust he had undertaken on behalf of those whose properties were registered in his name. After full discussion, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

> This meeting of British Indians thanks Mr. Ritch for his presence thereat, and for his magnanimous offer to help the community even to the extent of suffering imprisonment in connection with notices issued by the authorities under the Gold Law and in connection with landed property registered in his name, but held by him in trust for members of this community.

Proposed by Mr. Dadoo (Krugersdorp), and seconded by Mr. Ahmed Khan (Roodepoort).

> This meeting resolves to resist to the utmost the attempt being made to oust Indian merchants from their possessions and businesses, and to suffer imprisonment and other trials during the threatened campaign against them in respect of the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act of 1908.

Proposed by Mr. Ismail Amod Moola, seconded by Mr. Amod Moosajee and supported by Mr. E. S. Coovadia[2].

[1] Held to consider the notice served on Ritch by the Public Prosecutor, Krugersdorp; *vide* "The Storm Gathering", pp. 140-1.

[2] Ebrahim Saleji Coovadia; well-known Johannesburg merchant and sometime Treasurer, Hamidia Islamic Society; Acting Chairman, British Indian Association, 1909 and 1910 (Vol. IX, p. 252 *fn* and Vol. X, p. 268 *fn*); repeatedly suffered imprisonment as a satyagrahi in 1908 and 1909; in June, 1909 was elected member of the proposed Transvaal Indians' deputation to India, but was arrested immediately after; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 253 & 289, also Vols. VI and VIII.

This meeting authorizes the Chairman to send a respectful representation to the Government, enclosing copies of the foregoing resolutions, and urging them to alter the above-mentioned laws, so as to reassure the Indian community and to protect its members in their legitimate occupations.

Proposed by Mr. A. M. Vaja, seconded by Mr. A. A. Karodia and supported by Mr. H. Mal and Mr. M. S. Nana.

It was also decided to start collecting subscriptions in aid of this struggle.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

119. AN IMPORTANT DECISION

Mr. Ritch as well as the British Indian Association of the Transvaal are to be congratulated on their respective decisions as evidenced by the report of the meeting[1] of the Association, published in another column. Mr. Ritch, by his generous action, has put the finishing touch to the many services he has so selflessly rendered to the community. His action has increased tenfold the responsibility of British Indians in the Transvaal. We can only deserve execration from every right-minded man if, after allowing Mr. Ritch to go to gaol, we, through sheer cowardice, avoid the prospect of imprisonment ourselves. It is, therefore, but meet that the Association passed the second resolution, committing the community to defend the interests that are in jeopardy, even to the extent of suffering imprisonment or whatever more may be in store for it. The third resolution enables Mr. Cachalia to bring the two very important resolutions to the notice of the Government. Mr. Cachalia has not allowed any time to lapse. And we must now await the decision of the Government. We hope that wise counsels will prevail among the members of the Union Cabinet, and that they will avert what promises to become a national calamity. Indians are not to be expected to allow their interests to be played "ducks and drakes" with. The result of any attempt to force matters on the part of the Government can therefore only be [a] repetition of the unseemly spectacle of a mighty Government setting all its machinery in motion to crush a small law-abiding community, endeavouring to hold on to its own.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

120. AN EDUCATION SCANDAL

Formerly, Indian girls attended the ordinary Government Schools for girls in Durban. Some years ago, Indian girls were prohibited from attending these schools and provision was made for their attendance at the Higher-Grade Indian School. Promise was made that the girls would receive separate education from the boys. Notwithstanding the promise, the Government tried the experiment of mixing boys and girls, and failed. In theory, we are quite in favour of boys and girls receiving education together. But, in practice, it is impossible to ignore deep-rooted habits or prejudices. Experience has shown that Indian parents, as a rule, will not allow their daughters to mingle with boys at a school or elsewhere. And, whenever a forcible mixture takes place, the result is ludicrous in the extreme. Both the boys and girls feel awkward. "Let them", shouts the unthinking reformer. "They will soon be at home, if left alone." But the parents will not wait for the process. They are not reformers and they will not allow experiments to be made at their children's expense. Nor is there any dreadful hurry for pressing forward the reform. There is already a deadlock. From an attendance of thirty girls, it fell to below ten through the stupid zeal of a reformer in the Education Department. At present, we understand, even the few parents who had held out in the hope of separate accommodation being provided have withdrawn their girls. The Government need not be surprised if they find themselves being suspected of anti-Indian prejudice in not conceding the request of the Congress and the Indian parents concerned to give facilities for the separate education of Indian girls.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

121. FOR INDIAN PARENTS

We confess to a sneaking regard for many of General Hertzog's pronouncements. His remarks on education and national conservation,[1] which we have copied elsewhere from Johannesburg papers, are worthy of perusal and careful consideration by Indian parents and Indian youths. There is a tendency among us to Anglicize our children as if that was the best way of educating them or fitting them for real service to the Empire. We do not think that the wisest Englishmen desire that we should lose our nationality—that is our hereditary training—or that we should "ape" them. General Hertzog has, we think, shown most clearly that the Dutch will be in danger of losing their nationality if Dutch children received their education through the medium of any other language but Dutch. How true are his remarks that children, forgetting their own vernacular, are found lacking in respect for their parents. "Honour thy father and thy mother" is equally the commandment of Jesus with Mahomet, Zoroaster and the Vedas. Those, therefore, who are so indifferent to their mother tongue, no matter how humble it may be, are in danger of forgetting a universal religious principle. If General Hertzog's remarks are true of Dutch for Dutch children, how much more so they are of Indian languages for Indian children. Millions of Indians in India, although they may not be able to sign their own names, know the spirit of the great epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana,* which play a part in our national life that very few other similar works do. We decline to believe that our children can be taught these epics through English translations, however accurate they may be. We consider it to be impossible for us to exist as independent, self-respecting human beings if we forget the poetry of the race to which we belong. We can never learn it through a foreign tongue.

But some of us labour under the delusion that we may pick up our mother tongue in later life. All we can say is that such persons do not know what they are saying. General Hertzog has

[1] Speaking at Newlands Government School on August 12, Hertzog had criticized the present system of education which was based on cramming and examinations and benefited only those who aspired to become advocates and doctors; the remaining 97 per cent. of the population was left to suffer. He had stressed the importance of character training, technical education and the mother tongue. *Indian Opinion*, 19-8-1911.

well said that the true purpose of education is not to pass examinations but to mould the character of our children. And character cannot be moulded by making a child unlearn or neglect its past, and pass years in mastering a foreign tongue. A moment's reflection must convince anyone that the adoption of any such course is false economy; it is a criminal waste of capital inherited from our forefathers.

Indian Opinion, 19-8-1911

122. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA[1]

Shravan Vad 11 [August 20, 1911][2]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

There has been no letter from you this week. Still I send this letter *via* Europe. If you are there, the week will not go by [without a letter from me]. And in case you have left Europe, you will get this in about the same time as it would take if I sent it directly to India.

I have not got Harilal's letter yet. There has been news from [Ahmedabad], however, that [Chi.] Harilal has arrived there and has joined a school. He [has written] to me that he is determined to pass [the matriculation examination]; and so long as he has not passed [it], he will not be rid of his infatuation, nor will he acquire confidence in his own powers. Since he has gone with this intention I have no desire to stop him. If his character remains sound, he will gain much experience in Ahmedabad. We have had many discussions on what experience to seek and how. Now, therefore, we can only watch from a distance how he fares. I hope you will keep up a correspondence with him.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5567. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

[1] This letter is torn at several places and the missing words are reconstructed from the context.

[2] From the reference to Harilal Gandhi in paragraph 2, this appears to have been written after he had left South Africa.

123. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS[1]

August 21, 1911

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a revised list[2] of those Indians who are covered by the Settlement. I am unable to send you a complete list of those who are in India,[3] as the Association has not yet been able to get all the names.

The list I am sending you does not include all possible names. I am in correspondence with some of those who claim to come in under the Settlement. I trust, therefore, that you will not mind my sending you a few more names later on.

You will notice that there are some who have permits issued under the Peace Preservation Ordinance.[4] These names have been listed, as the persons are at present in the Transvaal, but they do not belong to the category of the names contemplated to be included among the 180.

In compiling the list of pre-War residents, care has been taken to accept those who have been able to show *prima facie* evidence of their residence before the War for three years in the Transvaal. But neither the Association nor I are in a position to vouchsafe [*sic*] that the claimants have substantial claims. Also, whilst care has been taken not to accept any persons who have already applied under the Acts, it is not claimed that the list is absolutely trustworthy in this respect. It is quite possible that some of them may

[1] This was found among Gandhiji's papers and was presumably drafted by him. Since the request made in the last paragraph was acceded to, it can be assumed that the letter, although not published in *Indian Opinion*, as such letters customarily were, was actually despatched after the figures had been filled in at the blank spaces found in the penultimate paragraph. *Vide* also "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", pp. 89-90.

[2] Not available

[3] Categories (a) and (b) in "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", p. 59.

[4] These were persons who had exchanged their registration certificates issued under the Dutch Law 3 of 1885 for permits issued under the British Peace Preservation Ordinance; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 291. They were unable to apply for re-registration under "any of the Asiatic laws"; *vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 79-80.

have already applied and have either consciously or unconsciously misled the Association.

The list includes . . . out of the 150 Indians contemplated by the Settlement and . . . out of the 30 Indians at present in India who are covered by the Settlement, and . . . Indians who are holders of Peace Preservation Ordinance permits.

I shall be obliged if you will be good enough now to inform me when the Office will be opened in Johannesburg.[1]

I have the honour, etc.,

From the typewritten draft: S.N. 5587; also photostat of draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5558

124. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL AND MAGANLAL GANDHI

Shravan Vad 14 [August 23, 1911][2]
11 p.m.

CHI. CHHAGANLAL AND CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have the letters from both of you. You may take £9 every month.

I shall not hesitate to write to you what I ought to say. I do not intend to return the money spent on the land, whether on the building or other things.[3] If anyone has paid for the land, I think we should return the amount. That is, if we set up a new convention.

If I have again to break my head over law[4], it will not be only because of you. There may also be other factors of a similar nature to make things difficult for me. That course will be the last remedy, and the fact that I am obliged to mention it bespeaks my want of faith, my *moha* and immaturity. These ideas of mine suggest a false satyagrahi relying ultimately on brute strength. Personally I know, however, that there is a difference between the two things. It will be best, all the same, if I do not have

[1] This was opened on September 9, 1911.

[2] In his "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", August 13, 1911, (p. 142), Gandhiji was disinclined to compensate him for the improvements he had effected on his share of the land at Phœnix which Gandhiji now intends to make over to a board of trustees. He has now made up his mind in this letter, which, clearly therefore, comes after the letter of August 13. In 1911, *Shravan Vad* 14 corresponds to August 23.

[3] *Vide* letters to Chhaganlal Gandhi, pp. 133 & 142.

[4] If I have to resume legal practice

to practise law again—I do fervently wish I do not have to. I also wish, we in Phœnix adopt a life of total poverty while I am yet alive. I pray to God for such a time, but the portents, I find, are all to the contrary. It is unlikely that the time will ever come when we shall be living in real poverty. Dr. Mehta's help stands in the way. As long as this fount flows on, I feel we shall not enjoy the rare privilege of knowing that we have not a pie left for the next day and wondering what will happen. I consider this privilege a rare one, for such is the state of the majority in the world, and such was, and will be, the state of the Buddha and others [like him]. I feel positively that it is impossible to realize the great *atman* in any other way.

Jaikrishna Vyas[1] and others gave us philosophy indeed but I feel it was all dry philosophy. True knowledge, I am convinced, was taught by Narasinh Mehta and Sudamaji. To indulge in the pleasures of the senses and then assert that one does nothing, that the senses just go their way, that one is a mere observer; all this is vain chatter. He alone may argue thus who has achieved complete mastery over his senses and whose senses function only to keep the body going. By the same token, there is not one among us who is fit enough to speak these words and there will be none till we have achieved true poverty. There is no reason to believe that kings are kings in virtue of their *punya*[2]. All that can be said is that they are kings because of their deeds. But to say that these were necessarily good deeds seems entirely wrong, considering the nature of the *atman*.

If all of you agree that these ideas are right and desire that we should all enjoy the exalted state which I have pictured, God may well grant us such a time.

Narandas[3] has not even replied to my letter.

Saltless diet is in the air at the Farm these days.[4] It remains to be seen how long the fashion will last. Parsee Jivanjee's two sons have arrived today to join the school here. I have taken them on condition that they also do without salt. More later.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5568. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 156.
[2] Accumulated merit
[3] A younger brother of the addressees
[4] *Vide* also "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", p. 130.

125. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Bhadarva Sud 1 [*August 25, 1911*][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

Received your letter regarding Polak.

The letter I had addressed to you from Phœnix has been returned to me as, through a slip, I had left the address incomplete. It is worth reading and I still want the same thing that I had asked for in that letter. Hence I send it as it is.

I do not think Polak will become an Anglo-Indian out and out. You are right in what you say about his nature. He is hot-tempered. But he is a milch cow.[2] His heart is absolutely frank and he is unswerving in his duty. Praise is everyone's enemy; how, then, can it be otherwise with him? But I do not so much as suspect that he would be corrupted by praise. He is as honest as he is frank. Maybe the words honest and frank are synonymous. How can we believe that such men can go astray? Even supposing that the thing does happen, I for one have no fear. He has done us [good] service. If, after this, he breaks away, he will sacrifice the bond [of friendship]. We, on our part, shall have nothing to lose, for the basis [of our relationship] is one-sided. We have dealings with a person so long as he seems truthful in speech and conduct. Such association cannot but be profitable to us. If he changes subsequently, the loss will be his, not ours. This has been my experience during the entire campaign. Call to mind the instances of Ally[3] and others. You will not be right if you say that

[1] Polak whom Dr. Mehta appears to have met in England left for that country in May, 1911, and in that year, *Bhadarva Sud* 1 corresponds to August 25.

[2] In Indian languages, this metaphor connotes one who gives of himself ungrudgingly.

[3] Haji Ojer Ally; born in Mauritius in 1853 of Indian and Malay parents spoke Dutch, English and Hindustani fluently (*Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XIV); came to South Africa in 1884 and devoted himself whole-heartedly to the Indian cause; took notable part in the agitation against Cape Franchise Law Amendment Act; elected Chairman, Cape Coloured People's Organization in 1892; founder-President, Hamidia Islamic Society and member, along with Gandhiji, of the Transvaal Indian Deputation to England in 1906; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 446-7. Unable to join the satyagraha campaign and unwilling, at the same time, to submit to the Asiatic Registration Act, he left the Transvaal in 1907, leaving behind large interests; *vide* Vol. VII, p. 204. For the incident alluded to by Gandhiji, *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 123-4 and Vol. VIII, pp. 99-100.

the money and love I spent on them have been wasted. The money could have been collected only for that purpose, and he worked sincerely enough for the money that was spent [on him]. We had nothing but gain at the time from Ally's association with us.

Later on in your letter you add that you have made up with Polak. The foregoing comments, however, stand, and the views you expressed were certainly worth knowing about.

I also believe that India can have no direct benefit from the Races Congress[1]. The only indirect benefit could be that . . .[2]

So long as he does it with an eye on . . . there can be no bond of brotherhood with him. Selfishness and friendship have always frowned on each other. I do not think there is brotherhood among the English either. They too have learnt to follow the policy of self-interest. "Honesty is the best policy" sounds a wicked maxim to me. It images their conception of morality. This criticism applies to the common behaviour of men. They [, however,] do have among themselves selfless people like Polak (according to me). Their behaviour is not influenced by self-interest.

As you have said something about Polak, he has also given me an account of the same incident. I see from that letter also that Polak spoke to you frankly.

I believe I tore up [the report of] your speech, expecting that I would get the full text from Natesan. Now it can be [published] only if you have a copy and send it to me. I am writing to ask that translations from Natesan's [book] be stopped for the present.

I destroy all your letters after reading them. I did give a general idea of your views to Kallenbach and Polak. I hope, I did not do anything improper.

Pray do not hesitate to write to me because I happen to be busy night and day.

I have not read Mrs. Besant's speeches.

I did not see *Gujarati*'s comments on your article. If any other comments have appeared, they have not reached me. If more appear in future, I shall get them, and the *Gujarati*'s comments will also be here. They are due only now.

[1] A Universal Races Congress, which *Indian Opinion* described as a "Parliament of Man", was held in London in July, 1911, to discuss the racial question in its various aspects. The Congress was attended by representatives of the world's religions and philosophies, and many papers were read. Mrs. Besant and Prof. Gokhale also attended. *Indian Opinion*, 26-8-1911.

[2] A page is missing here.

I read something from *Kavyadohan* to the children at night. I finished the story[1] of Prahlad yesterday. The ideas so common among us, which it faithfully reflects, are rarely to be found among English books reputedly great.

I am sure you will see to it that Chhagan[2] reads such books.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5628. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

126. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Bhadarva Sud 5 [August 28, 1911][3]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter only today. You will, given patience, recover there. If you want to stay with me for some time for the sake of your health, I can take out a permit for you. I think you will feel better here. But I leave the decision to you.

It is a good question you have asked me. You are entirely right in your interpretation. If "is" were to be used, the meaning would change.[4] "Is" is implied in "equivalent". It is surprising that Purshottamdas should fail to understand this. I think he has a sharp mind in such matters. The Gujarati word generally used for "civilization" means "a good way of life". That is what I had meant to say. The sentence "The Gujarati equivalent for civilization is *sudharo*" is quite correct. But that is not what I intended to say. Were we to say, "The Gujarati equivalent for civilization is good conduct", according to the rules of grammar, "good conduct" would have to be taken as a Gujarati phrase. If you point this out to Purshottamdas, I think he will understand it all right. Please let me know whether it was for this reason or for any other reasons that you concluded that "means" was the right word.

[1] A canto from the *Bhagavata*; Prahlad was a devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father. Gandhiji often spoke of him as an ideal satyagrahi; *vide*, for instance, Vol. X, pp. 198 & 500.

[2] Dr. Mehta's son

[3] After his arrival in South Africa in July, 1911, Jamnadas Gandhi stayed in Phoenix for a while, before he shifted to Tolstoy Farm. The letter was, therefore, written in 1911 in which year *Bhadarva Sud* 5 corresponds to August 28.

[4] The reference is to a passage in *Hind Swaraj*; *vide* Vol. X, p. 37.

I cannot tell you just now why Ayodhya is called a virgin city. I would have to read Dutt[1]. Ask me another time. The interpretation you give does not appeal to me. I may be mistaken though. It does not seem likely that *yodhya* came out of *yuj*. "Virgin" in this context should be interpreted to mean "holy" in a general sense.

This is the explanation in reply to Maganlal's question.

"Community of interest" means identical interests. If all of us pursue the same object, it can be said that we have a "community of interest". If the whites seek to gratify only physical needs and we, spiritual needs, we have no "community of interest".

I have no information on what Muslim books there are in Gujarati. I know that a biography of the Prophet was written by Narayan Hemchandra[2] and that copies used to be on sale at the *Gujarati* Press. Please tell Maganlal that it would be better for the present not to publish any list of books or journals. It will do if he reads this letter.

By sheer chance, my school has gained three more pupils, for the present at any rate. All of them observe the vow of doing without salt, vegetables and pulses between Monday and Saturday.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5640. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

127. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Bhadarva Sud 6 [*August 29, 1911*][3]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your article on tuberculosis will quite do. You say nothing about preventive measures against it. I have no time just now to revise the article. Let it be printed as it is. I often plan to write the chapters on health, but there is always some difficulty. All writing has to be done at night, so that very little time can be spared. However, I go on collecting my material. If I find the

[1] *The Ramayana* in verse by R. C. Dutt

[2] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. XXII.

[3] A Gujarati article entitled *Kshayano Rog* was published in *Indian Opinion*, 2-9-1911, which is presumably the one referred to in the letter. So was the preface to the poem mentioned in paragraph 3 published in *Indian Opinion*, 26-8-1911. In 1911, *Bhadarva Sud* 6 corresponds to August 29.

time to write, I shall write on tuberculosis and other diseases too.[1] It will also have to be considered whether the chapter should be published only after I have them all ready or as I proceed with the writing.

I have already written about the monthly payment to be made to you.[2]

The prefatory note to the poem you sent was well done. I felt like revising it a bit, but dropped the idea. My only interest at present is in the school, so that I can give no attention to other matters and therefore ignore things. This happens again and again. I sometimes wonder whether I am right in doing so. But each time I have felt that I am right in being so engrossed in the school. To be sure, I am not as fully engrossed as I should like to be; but I can see that other matters have taken second place. The boys are going ahead so fast that Krishnasami has lagged behind owing to ten days' absence. Occasionally, however, I wonder whether the pace is not too fast.

My teaching work is in the nature of an experiment. It is to be seen what results it brings.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5710

128. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Bhadarva Vad 1 [*September 9, 1911*][3]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter of *Sud* 13[4]. If I pay Anandlal and you the money you have spent on the construction of your house, I must pay Cordes also. But that will create no end of problems. I [think] it necessary that we approach all that we have to do in this manner. The money you all owe me on account of the houses, I intend to forgo. That some owe more and others less,

[1] These articles, which Gandhiji did eventually write, were obviously not ready for publication until 1913.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi", p. 149.

[3] In this letter Gandhiji further explains a briefer statement he made on Jaikrishna Vyas in his letter of August 23, 1911, and this one, therefore, was clearly written soon after.

[4] September 6

need not cause any heart-burning. As for the debt you have incurred, I think it would be best to consider it separately.[1] We shall consider the matter further when the Trust Deed is signed and we come to a final decision. I intend going there before the Deed is signed, but I think it hardly possible within the next two or three months. It should be possible, I believe, next year. Meanwhile, you may ask me whatever you want to in this matter.

I feel I understand the meaning of poverty better each day. It should be clearer still if I were reduced to utter helplessness. I never intended to say that the philosophy of Shri Krishna and Vyas was dry.[2] I only cited the example of Jaikrishna Vyas, brother of Prabhuram Vaidya. If you have kept my letter, please go through it again. You may then understand this better. I don't know if any word was left out, causing a serious misunderstanding of the meaning. Jaikrishna Vyas has written very well on Vedanta. I have read some of his writings. I used to go to him occasionally. I thought of him when I wrote about poverty. I had already read the story[3] of Sudama. I was imbued, and still am, with the ambition to share honours with him and Narasinh Mehta for poverty. That is how I came to write that Jaikrishna Vyas's was dry philosophy and Sudamaji's the right one and worthy of emulation. I used to observe that the former carried the key of his safe on his person, tied at the waist. I knew that he had collected quite a bit of money. All this seemed to contradict what he says in his book *Panchikaran*.

I look upon Shri Krishna as the Supreme God, the Shri Krishna, that is, who was the charioteer[4] of Arjuna, the friend of Sudama and the Ranachhod[5] of Narasinh Mehta. I did not even dream of criticizing Him. In so far as my letter gave you the impression that I did, I have sinned. I shudder to think how I came to write even a single syllable on the subject. I have been agitated

[1] Following Chhaganlal Gandhi (pp. 142, 149), Maganlal also appears to have raised the problem of compensation for improvements effected on his portion of the Phoenix land in the context of the new Trust Deed which envisaged the transfer of ownership of the land to trustees.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi", p. 150.

[3] Sudama and Krishna, disciples of the same guru, Sandipani, were friends. Sudama had a large family and was very poor. His wife chided him for his other-worldliness and persuaded him to go to Krishna for help. Yet once in the presence of the Lord, he forgot to ask for help. But when he returned home, he found it transformed by riches.

[4] In which capacity he preached the *Gita* to Arjuna

[5] One of Krishna's many names

ever since I received your letter today (Saturday). The *katha*[1] over, I have sat down to write and my very first letter is this one to you. I think it is a wretched life I live because I do not devote the time—I can neither spare nor get it—to reading over letters after writing them. Whatever verb you may use, I am equally guilty. Things are bound to continue thus so long as the mind is unsteady.

The reproaches to which Sudamaji's wife treated him, I regard as poetic flourishes. However, even if his wife uttered those very words, the thing does not seem surprising or incongruous. A wife would speak in this manner. Sudamaji would want to suffer to the uttermost while his wife would have none of it. Since they had a friend like Krishna, why not seek his help? This at any rate is certain: Sudamaji was extremely poor and content to remain so. He was, likewise, an advanced *bhakta*[2]. Narasinh Mehta rose to the presence of Shri Krishna but he never desired to be delivered from his poverty.

The saltless diet is in great favour here nowadays. I bring bananas with me whenever I go to Johannesburg. And apples likewise. We have bought a small tin of olive oil. In the morning, the boys take dilute tinned milk, bread (*bati*) and ghee. At noon, whenever fruit is available, they get banana, pieces of apple with olive oil and the juice of sour lemons from the Farm, and bread. The broken rice we had, has been cleaned and ground; we make *khir*[3] from it. At times the *khir* is made from sago and at others, with rice. Sometimes there is only rice with ghee, stewed apricots, these having been dried last year, and milk. In the evening, there is coffee (made from wheat) or milk, and *roti*[4] with ghee. Marmalade has been made from oranges, and that also is served. Once a week, the boys have rice and dal. Medh and Pragji have been on saltless diet for a few days. And Ba, of course, all the time, though she ate a little of the beans cooked for the boys last Sunday and was in consequence quite ill for two days. God alone knows whether the illness was brought on by the beans and salt or was due to some other cause. I blame it of course on the former. If Ratanshi's wife[5] were to adopt a saltless diet, all of us, except the Kaffirs, should get credit for living without salt

[1] Reading of narratives from holy books
[2] Devotee
[3] Rice cooked in milk
[4] Unleavened bread, flat and round like a pancake
[5] Rambhabai Sodha

for six days [in the week]. But I observe that salt is the very breath of Rambhabai.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5659. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

129. GERMISTON INDIANS

Indians of Germiston have done well in deciding to oppose the illegal Notice served on the Indian Stand-holders in the Germiston Location, by the Town Council of that anti-Asiatic stronghold.[1] According to Law 3 of 1885, all Asiatics should live in Bazaars or Locations. It is true that the law is inoperative as there is no penalty clause for residing outside Locations. But it is a notorious fact that in most of the Transvaal towns there are Locations provided for Asiatics and most of these places are occupied by them. The Germiston Location is one of them. There is no law to prevent Indians from trading in such Locations. Consequently several Indians hold trade licences in the Location in question. This the Town Council cannot bear. It is not at all concerned as to how they are to live if they may not trade, nor is it concerned that the residents of the Location are not in any way competing with European traders in Germiston. In the Town Council's estimation, it is an offence for an Indian to trade at all.

Now the Council is powerless by direct and fair means to prevent the Indians of the Location from trading. So it has resorted to the Notice above adverted to. The Council thinks that, as Indians do not possess any leases, it could summarily eject them from their holdings. It should be remembered that the Indians have built at their own expense substantial buildings on their Stands. Their eviction from the Locations must, as very properly pointed out by the Stand-holders in their letter to the Council, mean virtual ruin to them. Happily the Indians have decided to ignore the Council's Notice, and we doubt not that the Notice

[1] Indian Stand-holders in the Georgetown Municipal Location had been notified by the Town Council to have their licences endorsed, which would prohibit them from trading in the Location, alternatively to quit. They wrote to the Town Clerk protesting that the Council had no legal right to ask for such endorsement of licences and that Law 3 of 1885, as amended, protected their tenure. *Indian Opinion*, 23-9-1911.

will remain a dead letter unless the Council proposes still further to stultify itself by acting up to it.

The Notice serves to show what a precarious existence it is for our countrymen in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 23-9-1911

130. A SHOCKING CASE

We have already printed in these columns a representation addressed by the Natal Indian Congress to the Minister of the Interior regarding the forfeiture of two deposits of £100 each on behalf of certain two Indians who claimed their right of residence in this Province.[1] The immigration laws of Natal provide that, if a man, who deposits £100 and lands in order to prove his claim, fails to prove it to the satisfaction of a Magistrate, he may forfeit the deposit. Thus the forfeiture is not a legal result of any such failure. It is optional for the Minister to declare such deposits as forfeited. In the two cases before us, the boys in question never made deposits themselves. But apart from that, it was never proved conclusively that the boys had not the right of residence in Natal. On the contrary, in one case the Magistrate showed much sympathy. We could understand forfeiture in glaringly bad cases where deceit has been practised. In these cases fraud has not been even so much as whispered. The only construction that can be placed upon the action of the Government is that they intend, by a policy of confiscation, to defeat the rights of Indian residents. If such is its deliberate policy, we think that General Botha's statement that there is no intention to injure the interests of Indians lawfully resident in South Africa must be set down as

[1] Two minors, sons of Sayed Ahmed of Durban and M. M. Nathalia of Verulam, respectively, arrived at Durban on May 15 but were restrained from disembarking by the Principal Immigration Officer, who held that one was above sixteen and that it had not been satisfactorily proved in the case of the other that he was in fact the son of his father. The two traders then deposited £100 each against permission to land pending appeal to the Chief Magistrate, who on May 23 ruled, in the case of Sayed Ahmed's son, that the official's discretion regarding the boy's age was beyond appeal. In the second case, he ruled that Nathalia's evidence was insufficient. If a certificate were produced later about the boy's parentage, he would gladly permit landing. He observed that the law dealt somewhat harshly with Nathalia and recommended the refund of the deposit. The boys left for India by the first available boat. *Indian Opinion*, 9-9-1911.

insincere. We hope, however, that General Smuts will favourably consider the Congress's representation and order a refund of the deposits.

Indian Opinion, 23-9-1911

131. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Aso Sud 2 [*September 24, 1911*][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have not yet replied to your three letters. Since you were to go to India, why should I have written [to you] in England? As regards the mail to India, well, the old position continues. So it is not possible to write regularly. Even today I write without knowing when the post will be cleared.

I am not writing anything to Manilal[2] now. I enclose his last letter. I have [already] written to him saying that he may come when he wants to. I have also written to Phoenix about him. I don't think I shall be able to go there myself. I shall therefore ask him to come over. I feel he will gain some experience here. As to his going to Fiji, I have written to him plainly that he should not. Even if he goes, I think he will regret it. There was no one waiting at Fiji just to hand him money.

He has made a great mistake in converting his paper into a daily. As it is, there is no worth in it. The types are bad, the paper is bad and so is the substance. He doesn't have capable helpers in Mauritius. How then can a proper newspaper be brought out? Besides, where are the readers? I shall discuss all this with him when he comes here.

In writing about Ritch and others, you say that I should not take it ill whatever you write. You should not even entertain

[1] A Reuter cable from Simla dated September 5, 1911 announced that, while there had been belated rains in many parts of North India, famine conditions continued in the Punjab and Rajasthan. It is to this that Gandhiji refers in the last paragraph of this letter, and in the year 1911, *Aso Sud* 2 corresponds to September 24. Moreover, it is clear from the contents that this letter comes before that of October 10, 1911 (pp. 165-7), also addressed to Mehta, where internal evidence serves to fix the year more firmly.

[2] Manilal Doctor; a barrister engaged to Dr. Mehta's daughter who was at this time staying at Tolstoy Farm; founded a daily in Mauritius, which appeared in English and Hindi, for advocating the cause of Indians in the Colony. Gandhiji held that it was partly due to his efforts that the proposal to ban indentured immigration into the Colony materialized. *Indian Opinion*, 7-10-1911.

such a doubt. When a view is expressed candidly, why should it offend? Do continue, therefore, to write whatever you think right on any subject on which you feel the need to say something.

It is likely that whites entertain more hatred towards us than we do towards them. If, however, we make a great show of love in return for the little that they show us, there is another reason. It is that we fear them. Otherwise, so far as my experience goes, many Indians do not even distinguish between good and bad and take all whites to be bad. On the one hand, this needless fear must go; on the other, one must learn to distinguish between good and bad. I believe both will come about in the course of time.

I do not look upon Ritch, Polak or anyone else as my disciples. They will all work with us as long as they think it fit. There is no reason to believe that, after my death, people would imagine that their actions would necessarily have my approval. Those who have come in contact with me know that differences of opinion do exist among us on subjects other than satyagraha. However, I shall not dismiss your suggestions from my mind.

I have written a great deal about my going there[1]. I, too, feel that I can render useful service if I am there during the famine. I shall be there when the time comes. What more shall I say? All my preparations are meant to equip myself for work there.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Please read Tolstoy's *Ivan the Fool* if you have not done so already.

Please look up the two or three pages of comments in *Indian Oovland* [*sic*] on your article[2] about me.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5629. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

[1] To India

[2] Presumably, *M. K. Gaddhi and the South African Problem*

132. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[Before *September 28, 1911*][1]

. . . and, the Protector having denied it, there was justification for publishing what was done. Aiyer[2] is innocent of what he has written now. Behind it are some persons bent on mischief. We need fear nothing on this account. We know our duty.

You may suggest to Dada Sheth[3] and others that it is an offence in law if we publish anything which we cannot prove. But it would be all right if the Congress wrote about the matter after making due inquiries. However, further inquiries about it. . .

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6078

133. MR. GANDHI AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Natal Indian Congress this week received a cablegram from Calcutta asking whether Mr. Gandhi could preside at the Indian National Congress to be held at Calcutta in December. The Natal Indian Congress leaders communicated with Mr. Gandhi

[1] On September 9, 1911 the *African Chronicle*, owned and edited by Aiyer from Durban, reported the case of an indentured Indian woman, Jannumia, who had been ill-treated and assaulted by her mistress during her two pregnancies. She suffered miscarriage the first time and lost her second child shortly after its birth. According to the report, she and her husband had gone twice to complain to the Protector of Immigrants but had been sent back to the employer on both occasions. During her third pregnancy, she ran away into the woods. *Indian Opinion* reproduced this story in its issue of September 16, 1911, but two weeks later, it announced that the Protector had denied that a woman of that description had ever gone to him. On September 28, 1911, the Natal Indian Congress addressed the Protector about the incident, presumably after having made the inquiries suggested by Gandhiji in the letter. This letter must therefore have been written before that date.

[2] P. S. Aiyer; owner and editor of the *African Chronicle* published from Durban, campaigned vigorously for the abolition of the £3 tax on indentured Indians through his own paper and also enlisted the support of European-owned papers like *The Natal Mercury* and *Pretoria News* for the cause. The Anti-£3 Tax League of which he was honorary Secretary was formed in September, 1911 through his efforts. When prosecutions of re-indentured labourers for non-payment of the tax began, he brought to *The Natal Mercury*'s notice the fact that the Government circular issued in April, 1910 regarding re-indentured Indians and the tax bore an interpretation different from that of Act 19 of 1910.

[3] Dada Osman

by telegraph and telephone, strongly urging acceptance. At first Mr. Gandhi said it was not possible for him to leave the Transvaal at the present time, but at length he expressed his willingness to preside if it would serve the Motherland and on condition[1] that he should be allowed to return immediately after the session of the Congress. Accordingly, a cablegram was sent to this effect. Up to the time of going to press no further news is forthcoming.

Indian Opinion, 30-9-1911

134. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[2]

[About *October 2, 1911*][3]

. . . should have light exercise, such as pacing to and fro slowly, within the space. If you don't have clear motions, you should apply mud packs on the abdomen at night. One Lutavan, who had been very ill, was restored to health with remedies such as these and he has left for home.[4] He used to cough so badly when he arrived that I could hardly sleep. He used to double up [with coughing]. Had been reduced to a mere skeleton. Here, with half an hour's Kuhne bath . . .[5] I can say more only after examining [you].

I shall send as much matter from here as possible. But it would be idle to depend on me these days. I am preoccupied with the Farm, that is, with the pupils. I have neither the time nor the inclination for anything else.

Manilal Doctor will have arrived before you receive this letter. Send on the accompanying letters.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6076

[1] Gandhiji does not here mention the second condition which he laid down in a personal telegram; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 166.

[2] The first two pages of this letter are missing. However, it appears to have been addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi.

[3] Manilal Doctor referred to in the letter arrived in Durban on October 2, 1911; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 166.

[4] *Vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXV.

[5] A word is missing here.

135. "WASTED AWAY TO A SHADOW"

General Botha paid to passive resistance an indirect tribute when at Rietfontein he said the other day that "General Smuts had wasted away to a shadow when, as the result of his incessant efforts to settle the question, the gaols were filled".[1] There is no doubt that General Smuts tried every means to break the spirit of the passive resisters, and it was only when he failed to do so that he reluctantly recognized facts and settled the question. Four years ago passive resistance was taboo. It was considered by some to be illegal. Others again declared that to yield to passive resistance was to court trouble with the Natives. Both the parties forgot that passive resistance took its stand upon Truth and that it was a weapon that could be effectively used by those who never relied upon bloodshed. But today we have the Union Premier frankly admitting that the Asiatic settlement was due to passive resistance. We feel sure that its worth will be more and more appreciated with the lapse of time.

Indian Opinion, 7-10-1911

136. THE FOOL AND HIS BROTHERS

PREFACE

We reproduce this tale[2] from a most devout piece of writing by that great man the late Tolstoy. We do not provide a literal translation of the tale; but we have attempted a free rendering of it so as clearly to bring out its significance.

This tale is far superior to the one we have already published.[3] It has also been commended by several European writers. All that is told in it is not only very plausible, but what is more, such things keep happening even now in obscure places. One should not assume that such events are improbable because they do not find a place in recorded history.

[1] Commenting on a petition by whites asking for deportation of all Asiatics, Botha said, in his speech of September 26, 1911, that, though he would like Asiatics to be sent away, the difficulty was the "fearfully big amount" of compensation involved and the fact that under the British flag they had to act according to British principles. *Indian Opinion*, 30-9-1911.

[2] The story itself has not been retranslated here into English.

[3] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 167.

The reader will see Tolstoy's intention for himself as the chapters succeed one another.

The story is written in a style which makes it as interesting as its teaching is lofty. If our readers fail to find our version as interesting as we ourselves found the English translation, the fault should be attributed to us and not to the story itself.

We have substituted Indian names for Russian lest the latter detract from the interest of the story.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 7-10-1911

137. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI[1]

[About *October 7, 1911*][2]

. . . Manilal Adalaja has expired. This is a cruel blow. You should take a lesson from it. I wish that in your infatuation for modern education you would not sacrifice your health. I shall write no more, since I have already told you of my views on the subject.

I have received what looks like an invitation to be President of the Congress. I have accepted it on condition that I have the utmost freedom [to express my views]. I do not covet the position but, in case I do have to come, we shall have occasion to meet.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 675

138. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

Aso Vad 2 [*October 10, 1911*][3]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have not replied to your two letters because I was not to write to you in Europe.

Harilal wants to appear for the matriculation examination. I tried hard to convince him that there was nothing to be gained

[1] Only the second page of the letter is available.

[2] By September 30, 1911, the enquiry about Gandhiji's possible candidature for the presidentship of the Indian National Congress had been made public; *vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", pp. 162-3. A news-item in *Indian Opinion*, 7-10-1911, mentions that Gandhiji had himself cabled his reply. This letter must therefore have been written about that time.

[3] It was in 1911 that an enquiry was made as to whether Gandhiji would like to be considered for the presidentship of the Indian National Congress, and in that year *Aso Vad* 2 corresponds to October 10.

by doing so, but the advice sticks in his throat. He refuses to come out of the state in which I once was, when I was infatuated with degrees. How can one blame him for it? I do only hope that he will see the light one day. His motives appear to be good.

Manilal[1] reached Durban on Monday last [week]. He left Durban yesterday (Monday). He will arrive here (at the Farm) tomorrow. There was a letter from him from Phoenix, in which he said that he liked the place. Chhaganlal also writes to the same effect. Let us see how things turn out here.

I have been invited to become the President of the [Indian National] Congress. It is not clear from whom the invitation has come. The cable was addressed to the Natal [Indian] Congress, which has already cabled back that it should be possible for me to go. I have sent a private cable[2] saying that I should be asked only if my freedom would not be compromised and my presence was thought especially necessary, else I might be left alone. About twelve days have passed since the cable was sent, but there has been no reply so far. From this I infer either that the cable from Calcutta was not an invitation but a mere enquiry or that my condition was found unacceptable.

I know you are very keen that I should leave for India at an early date, and stay there for good. The idea appeals to me and I shall go the moment I can become free here. I think it necessary, however, to settle matters here. I cannot possibly be there in time for famine [relief] work. I can see that it is a terrible one. I also know that the belated rains are almost useless for many people.

Please do not think that I shall incur the sin of falling into the delusion that I should serve the entire world. I well realize that my work can only be in India and that in Gujarat, rather in Kathiawad.

Excellent articles continue to appear occasionally in *Indian Opinion*, and sometimes I even feel that the fullest advantage is not being taken of all that comes out. True, Miss Smith's despatches are insipid. But I do not wish to discontinue them. Her sympathy is sincere. I pay her nothing. I stopped paying her while I was still in England.[3] But Miss Smith herself asked to be allowed to

[1] Manilal Doctor

[2] Not available

[3] During his 1909 visit to England Gandhiji arranged that Miss A. A. Smith, M.R.A.S., whose book *Our Sailor King* was published in 1910, should send periodical despatches for *Indian Opinion* which she did pseudonymously as "Observer". The discontinuance of her "London Letter" for financial reasons was

go on writing without an honorarium. I agreed. In fact, I do not send some of her despatches for publication. Only last month, I withheld one. She is not likely to feel hurt either. Having regard to her feelings, I do not think it will be right to discontinue her despatches altogether.

I have not got the letter you wrote after meeting Kallenbach. There was no letter from you last week; only a pamphlet was received. You must have seen the *garbi*[1] on Jasama[2] in *Indian Opinion*. It has also been republished separately, as people liked it. I have instructed Phœnix to send you a copy. It fell into Chhaganlal's hands by chance. I personally feel that in this *garbi* the poet has conveyed profound knowledge in sweet and simple language. We have not been able to ascertain the name of the poet. Please let me know what impression it makes on you.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 5630. Courtesy: C. K. Bhatt

139. THE IMMIGRATION CASE

The Gerber case[3] decided by Sir John Buchanan at Cape Town is one of considerable importance, and, although it refers to a Russian Jew, it has a bearing on British Indian immigrants. It appears that this immigrant had £20 in his possession, had paid his own passage, was in good health, had been convicted of no crime and was an efficient workman. The Jewish Minister testified that he was a good Yiddish scholar. And yet the Immigration

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seriously considered, but Polak demurred saying, "It is the only non-p[assive] r[esistance] thing . . . keeping us in touch with the outside world"; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 432. Gandhiji presumably discussed the matter with Miss Smith as Polak had suggested.

[1] A Gujarati literary form resembling a ballad. This one was chosen for publication by Chhaganlal Gandhi who also wrote a preface to it which Gandhiji commended; *vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", p. 155.

[2] The heroine; one among many labourers employed by the King Siddharaja of Gujarat to dig a lake, she successfully resisted his improper attentions.

[3] Jack Gerber, a Russian Jew, came to South Africa to join his brother but he had left his permit behind. He was restrained from disembarking on grounds of deficient education although he satisfied the conditions for entry. The Cape Provincial Court ruled that Gerber was entitled to land and that Immigration officials' decisions were justiciable. *Indian Opinion*, 14-10-1911.

Officer treated him as a prohibited immigrant, because, in his opinion, his educational attainments did not come up to his requirements. We know that the Jews in South Africa are not labouring under any particular disabilities, but the silent and insidious opposition against them now and then comes to the surface, as in the present case. Had Mr. Gerber been an immigrant from any other part of Europe, and had he belonged to a different denomination, he would probably not have been subjected to the harsh treatment that was his lot at the hands of the Immigration Officer. What, however, has happened to him happens to scores of Indians from month to month, and nothing is heard of it. We know that it is the settled policy of the Union Government to restrict Asiatic immigration, but it can be, and should be, no part of the policy of restriction to turn away men who are fully entitled under the immigration laws of the Union. In other words, we claim that intending immigrants, irrespective of their race or colour, should have the law liberally interpreted in their favour, and equally liberally administered. We welcome the judgment of Sir John Buchanan as showing that the courts, at any rate, will not, as a rule, be influenced by current prejudices and will not hesitate to interpret laws in favour of human liberty, and we hope that the punishment awarded to the Government in making them pay the costs of the application will serve as a deterrent in the future.

Indian Opinion, 14-10-1911

140. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Aso Vad 0 [October 22, 1911][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have your last letter written from Europe.

I keep writing to Harilal from time to time saying that his hankering after examinations is not right. If he writes to you, please tell him the same thing. If he still does not give up his

[1] Both the invitation to Gandhiji to become the President of the Indian National Congress and the famine in India referred to in the letter serve to establish that it was written in 1911.

notion, there is nothing for it but to bear this punishment for my sins.

It is imperative that you go [to India] during the famine, whatever people might think. As for me, how can I get away? I don't see how I can leave before the end of next year.

It looks as if there won't be any occasion for me to attend the Congress.[1] It appears that the cable from Calcutta was not an invitation, only an enquiry. There is a cable from Gokhale saying that the President will be elected on the 28th.

And so I have cabled that it would be best if my name were not discussed.[2] I have also said that my views might sound peculiar and appear contrary to [those of the Congress]. I believe, therefore, that I shall not have to go. For a variety of reasons, it is to wished that I don't have to go.

I live on saltless diet consisting mainly of fruit. It is not to mortify the body that I do this but so that the body, mind and *atman* may be in fuller command of themselves and purer. I commend the diet to children also. I believe that salt, being an irritant, is harmful. By inducing an artificial appetite, it makes one eat more and arouses the senses gratuitously. This may or may not be true, but our *shastras* speak of the virtue of abstaining from salt. It is therefore likely that the practice is a beneficent one. I have not noticed that it has had any bad effect. I have observed that all sick persons, to whom I had suggested the giving up of salt, have if anything benefited from it. If, on the basis of your medical knowledge, you see anything wrong in this, please correct me.

Manilal[3] is here. It is more than a week now since he arrived here. He is a pleasant and good-natured person. He appears to be enamoured still of a literary education. To my way of thinking, he does not seem to have a sound physique. He has too much fat which is due entirely to the way he lives. Many persons had told him that at the Farm one could not, after meeting me, resist manual work. To disprove this false notion, he made a vow in jest while at Phœnix, and in order to live up to it, he has done no work at the Farm. The Farm stood in no need of his work; only it was essential for his body. But he did not work. In a way, I think it is just as well. That work is done only because of me is utter superstition. It might partly be dispelled by Manilal.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 166.

[2] This cable is not available.

[3] Manilal Doctor; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 166.

Personally, I think, whoever works does so because he knows that it is good to work. It is true, of course, that some persons work out of regard for me. This, however, is another matter.

On the other hand, I also noticed that, in a settlement such as the Farm, where a certain method of work has evolved, the upsetting of that method by a well-behaved person like Manilal sets impressionable youngsters and novitiates an unintended bad example. It should be considered gracious of a thoughtful person, —in fact, it should be his duty to a certain extent—to conform to the regulations of a settlement such as this. A guest is under no obligation to work. But Manilal cannot be reckoned among this category of guests. He held to his course, ill-conceived as it was, in a superb manner, that is, with a cheerful and innocent air —so that I feel somewhat hesitant in making these comments.

Manilal has done commendable public work in Mauritius, and he appears to have won the affections of the Hindus in abundant measure. Thanks to his lack of patience, he could not gain the goodwill of the Muslims, neither did he make a determined effort to do so.

His own intention, it seems, is definitely to leave Mauritius. He does not think he can make a living there, and if there is a possibility of his being able to do so after a few years, he says frankly that he does not have the patience to wait.

He has come here only because you were so insistent. Although I do not see that he has repented having come.

He is inclined to settle here or in Natal. If he does decide to stay on, he would assuredly earn enough for his needs. If he does not, I should blame only him.

Now that he has been in Mauritius, done all that public work and won the people's affection, the best course for him, as I see it, would be to brave all hardships and stay on there until he could earn a living.

But it is pointless to think about that. The other thing he could do is to come here and devote himself to teaching and other activities small and big at Phœnix and we shall then pay his expenses.

Neither is this idea acceptable to him. Therefore, the only thing that remains is legal practice, so far as this country is concerned. He would like it, for some time.

It would be best to marry him off now. He says that Jeki[1] is also impatient. Even if Jeki is not well, I don't think it would

[1] Jayakunvar, Dr. Mehta's daughter

be right to stand in their way. If she is unfit for conception, let us hope and expect that they will behave thoughtfully. If they do not, or cannot, there is nothing for it but to leave Jeki to her fate.

If, therefore, Manilal comes here,[1] he hopes to bring Jeki with him. Manilal desires that, if she comes, she should live at Phœnix and come under my influence. He himself finds it too great a strain to conform to my way of living, but he approves of it. So, if it suits Jeki, he will be glad.

I am sure that there is nothing about my mode of living that is too great a strain on others. It of course happens that a person who has been to England or who has come under the influence of English ways does not like my way of living or finds it too much of a strain.

Besides, Manilal has not the least faith in you. He charges you with having changed your views too often and jumped from one extreme position to another. He makes a similar charge against me also, if not as vehemently. And so he thinks that, by taking up the middle position, he would profit from both East and West. I have told him that this is a confession of sheer helplessness, impotence and laziness. But he is in no condition to realize this now. I believe he will come round with time and experience, being a sincere man.

I give him the money he needs from what I have. I shall debit the amount to your account. I don't suppose anything more remains to be said in this matter. You will get this letter about the same time as he arrives. He intends to attend the Congress. I shall give him letters [of introduction] to Professor Gokhale and others.[2] If it is settled that he should occupy himself with the work here, please send him back in time. As for the wedding, we can as well arrange to have it here, if so desired. If he is coming here, it will be best for me to stay on in South Africa if only for a short time. It will be right for me to leave only after he is properly settled. He could be fixed up in partnership with Ritch any time. Ritch's practice is well established.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 5631. Courtesy : C. K. Bhatt

[1] To settle in South Africa
[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 172-3.

141. SPEECH AT NEW YEAR'S DAY FUNCTION

JOHANNESBURG,
October 23, 1911

A function was organized to celebrate [the Gujarati] New Year's Day on October 23, 1911, by the Hindu Association of Johannesburg at Rev. Mr. Phillip's school. Mr. Gandhi presided . . . and arrived with his wife at ten sharp. . . . After explaining the significance of the auspicious day of Diwali, Mr. Gandhi made some suggestions in that regard and wished everyone a happy New Year. . .

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-11-1911

142. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
October 24, 1911

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I wish to write a long letter to you regarding the Congress presidentship muddle.[2] It was a muddle of course on this side. But of this later.

Mr. Manilal Doctor has, as you are aware, done very good public work in Mauritius & gained the affection of the poor Indians there to whom he became a friend in need. He has been to South Africa on a visit and is likely to settle in one of the provinces in the near future. Meanwhile he is proceeding to India to attend the Congress & he wishes to work there for a resolution condemning indentured labour altogether. I agree with him entirely and think that it never did any good to anybody. Eighteen years' observation has taught me that it is no solution for our problems in India. I

[1] This is the letter of introduction which Gandhiji had promised; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 171.

[2] For "the muddle", *vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", pp. 162-3 and the letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 166 & 169 and "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 176-8.

venture to hope therefore that you will be able to see your way to furthering Mr. Manilal's efforts.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : G. N. 3809

143. MR. AND MRS. POLAK[1]

Mr. and Mrs. Polak are probably by this time on their way to India. Mr. Polak has left his mark in the United Kingdom during his brief stay there. A time which to him was one of well-earned rest, he utilized for working on Lord Ampthill's Committee with the zeal and devotion of a true soldier.[2] The meeting held under the chairmanship of Sir Mancherjee to bid godspeed to Mr. and Mrs. Polak was a fitting end to the busy programme Mr. Polak had mapped out for himself during his stay in London.

Mr. Polak has reminded the Union Government that it will have to face stubborn opposition if it do not repeal the tax on indentured Indians of Natal and if it attempt to drive the Transvaal Indians into Locations.[3] We hope that the Government will be pleased to note the reminder. There must be a halt to the anti-Asiatic campaign. And the best method is for the local Government to decline to be party to a persecution of the resident Indian population.

Indian Opinion, 28-10-1911

144. A FRUIT OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

We commend to the attention of our readers the remarkable letter from Bombay (which appeared in our last issue), signed by Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakai[4] and Mrs. Jaijee Jehangir Petit[5], the joint honorary secretaries of the committee formed to assist the

[1] *Vide* also "Polak's Work", p. 115.

[2] For a specimen of Polak's work on behalf of the SABI Committee during his stay in England, *vide* Appendix VIII.

[3] In the course of a speech at the farewell meeting, Polak predicted there would be "fights" over these two issues. He also said he believed that "legal effect would be given" to the Provisional Settlement in 1912. *Indian Opinion*, 21-10-1911.

[4] Also President of the Gujarati Hindi Stri Mandal

[5] Wife of Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, a Bombay millionaire. He was one of the Joint Secretaries of the Bombay South African Committee and Joint Honorary Secretary of an Indian Committee appointed in 1909 under the

Transvaal Indian Women's Association in its efforts to hold a Bazaar for the exhibition and sale of their work.

The list of the members of the Committee shows that the ladies represent the best Mahomedan, Parsee and Hindu families of Bombay. The presents are not to be considered in connection with their monetary value. They are a demonstration of the attention which our distinguished countrywomen in India give to us, their humbler and poorer countrymen in this our land of adoption and exile. Nor are the Bombay ladies alone in their care for us. The Calcutta ladies, too, have responded liberally to the appeal sent by the Association.

The Transvaal Women's Association itself is one of the important products of the passive resistance struggle. It represents, it is true, only a few Indian women of Johannesburg. They are mostly if not all, passive resistance families. The Association owes its present activity to the genius of Mrs. Vogl, assisted by Miss Schlesin. Mrs. Vogl has been occupied with the organization of the Bazaar practically for the past twelve months. All her spare time has been devoted to the work. Under her tuition and guidance, our girls have been preparing the work which the public of Johannesburg will have the opportunity of appreciating or criticizing.[1] The Transvaal Women's Association contains in it the material for a structure of the highest importance to the Indians of South Africa. And our sisters in India, by their thoughtful assistance, will have done not a little to help on the structure. All honour to them and to the passive resistance movement which has made possible such a harmonious blending as we notice in the composition and the activity of the Transvaal Women's Association and the Indian Ladies' Committee.

Indian Opinion, 28-10-1911

145. TRIUMPH OF SATYAGRAHA

During Diwali, some Hindus burst crackers. The Durban police went into a huff over this. A leading Hindu gentleman was arrested. They all decided not to let the matter rest at that.

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chairmanship of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to collect funds in aid of Transvaal satyagrahis deported to India; also collected large sums of money for Gandhiji's Passive Resistance Fund; was Polak's host during his 1909 visit to India and undertook to publish his pamphlet, *A Tragedy of Empire: The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal.*

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 79.

It reached the ears of Mr. Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee. They hurried off to the Mayor, and argued that, after all, the whites also exploded crackers during Christmas. Why then should the Hindus [they asked] not do so during their festivals? Why should they have to take special permission for this purpose? No one seeks such permission during Christmas. "If, in spite of this, you wish to harass Hindus for exploding crackers, we shall also join them in this as a mark of sympathy. You may then arrest anyone that you like."

The matter is not serious and the victory[1] not much of a triumph. The significance of the event, however, is great. Because we boldly came forward to suffer the consequences of doing what was right, we had, it transpired, nothing to suffer and our self-respect was preserved. This is satyagraha.

Another, more significant, feature of this case is the fact that a Muslim and a Parsi rushed to help in a matter which concerned Hindus alone. The outcome was indeed happy. If the right course is followed in one case, it is bound to happen that it will be adopted on other occasions as well. If one knot in a tangled piece of string can be unravelled, the others too can easily be undone.

How can Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians all be united? Mr. Mahomed and Mr. Rustomjee have provided the answer.

If Muslims come forward to sympathize with Hindus in what concerns the latter alone, if Hindus do the same and if both these communities act in this manner towards Parsis, will there be anyone so bereft of reason as to seek to come in the way of affection developing among them?

Let people's religions be different. You worship a Being—a single Entity—as Allah and another adores Him as Khuda. I worship Him as Ishwar. How does anyone stand to lose [by this arrangement]? You worship facing one way and I worship facing the other. Why should I become your enemy for that reason? We all belong to the human race; we all wear the same skin; we hail from the same land. When the facts are as simple as that, it will be nothing but folly and short-sightedness to bear implacable enmity towards one another.

The moderns make a key which will open many kinds of locks. They call it the "master-key". Likewise, satyagraha is the master-key to our innumerable hardships. How much could be achieved

[1] The Mayor's decision permitting Hindus to explode crackers during Diwali was publicized through handbills. *Indian Opinion*, 21-10-1911.

if only all the Indians would use that key! Satyagraha is not a difficult term to understand. It only means adherence to truth. Whatever else the ethical life may mean, it cannot be ethical if it is not based on truth. Truth is easy enough to follow once we know its meaning.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 28-10-1911

146. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 30, 1911

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have to thank you for your long cablegram with reference to the Congress Presidentship muddle. I was sorry to hear about your illness. Will you never be able to travel outside India and England? British statesmen do; why cannot Indian statesmen? If you could possibly pay a brief visit to South Africa, it would not be now a question of your courting imprisonment, but it would still serve a double purpose. It would bring the people here nearer to India, and it would give me the privilege of so nursing you as to restore you to health. In my opinion, we have at Tolstoy Farm, as also at Phœnix, convenience enough for patients like you. I am quite sure that I can anticipate Mr. Kallenbach's warm welcome to you at Tolstoy Farm, and, of course, Phœnix you could treat as your own home.

The first intimation I had of my name being seriously discussed in connection with the Congress Presidentship was a telegram from the Natal Indian Congress, advising me that it had received an invitation for me to preside at the forthcoming session, and urging me strongly to accept the invitation. My reply[1] was in the negative. I, at the same time, enquired about the name of the sender of the invitation. Much to my surprise, the names sent were those of yourself, the All-India Moslem League, Mr. Petit, Mr. Natrajan, Mr. Natesan, Mr. S. Bose and Mr. Malviya[2]. The inclusion of your name and that of the All-India Moslem League gave the

[1] Not available

[2] Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); "patriarch" of the Indian National Congress; editor of *The Hindustan*, 1887-9, *The Indian Union*, 1889-92 and *The Abhyudaya*, 1907-9; member of Provincial Legislative Assembly, 1902-12, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-2 and Indian Legislative Assembly, 1924; associated with the Congress since 1886; he was elected President of the 1909 Lahore

cablegram an importance which made me waver in my decision, and I felt that, if you who knew my views so well also wished me to preside, there must be some special reason for the invitation. The news was received by me at the Farm. I travelled to Johannesburg, and the people at Durban confirmed the telegrams through the telephone and simply insisted upon my accepting the invitation.[1] To them, it was a unique honour to the Indians of South Africa and an equally unique opportunity of bringing the South African Indian case still more prominently to the notice of the Indian public. Had I not been so foolishly egotistical, I should certainly have doubted the correctness of the message that was sent to me from Durban. Before, however, I had had reason to doubt the accuracy of the message, I had allowed the Durban Congress to accept the invitation, but I felt that I should send my own cablegram[2] independently to you, which I did. Three or four days later I received from Durban a letter confirming the telegraphic messages, which, however, included a copy of a letter from Reuter, which put a different interpretation upon the cable. It seems to me that, during the time that I was in Cape Town, Mr. Polak, who was in Durban, had arranged for a code address covering the names given above. Advice was evidently given to all these parties of the code address, and Mr. Bose of Calcutta made use of it. In deciphering the cable, therefore, our people at Durban read the cable to mean that it was sent by all the six parties, but Reuter's letter, which was sent to the Congress at the time the code address was registered, shows that the code word might mean, according to circumstances, one or all the names. In this instance, if my interpretation is correct, the code indicator must be read to mean only "Mr. Bose", as the cablegram was from Calcutta. So reading it, I concluded that the so-called invitation was no invitation at all, but that it was merely an enquiry to know whether the Natal Indian Congress could spare me. Probably, had Mr. Bose known my whereabouts precisely, and that cablegrams addressed to me simply "Gandhi" would reach me, he would have cabled to me, when of course

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session and the 1918 Delhi session; Vice-Chancellor in 1919, of Benares Hindu University which he had founded in 1916; President Hindu Mahasabha, 1923-5; attended Round Table Conference, London, 1931-2. Gandhiji was his guest on the occasion of the founding of Benares Hindu University, when Malaviya used "lovingly to explain . . . like an elder brother the various view-points of the different parties", and in 1923, used to read out the *Bhagawat* to Gandhiji during his 21-day fast. *Vide An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. X & Part V, Ch. XXXVII.

[1] *Vide* "Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress", pp. 162-3.

[2] Not available

there would have been no fuss, and I should have simply answered that I could not accept the honour; but the mischief has already been done, and the over-enthusiastic people at Durban even authorized Reuter to publish the news. Your cable in reply to my second cable[1], informing me that the decision had yet to be made, confirmed my interpretation of the cable. The rest you know. I can only hope that the decision at Allahabad will be against my nomination.[2] I may receive it tomorrow. This is being dictated on the 29th, Sunday. I could not very well occupy the presidential chair, and conceal the views which I hold so strongly on many questions that are debated year after year at the National Assembly, and I am fully aware that an expression of those views on the Congress platform might not only be unacceptable to our leaders but might even place them in a false position, which I should be the last person to desire to do. I am also aware that my views are likely to be considered immature and based on insufficient data, also that I may myself change them, and, however strongly I may dissent from any of these three propositions, I think that all those who differ from me have a perfect and reasonable right to enunciate them. It seems to me that, just now, I can best serve the cause, that is as dear to me as it is to the Congress, by simply serving the South African Indian cause, and, if an opportunity offers itself of going to India, to serve my countrymen in an independent capacity, if not, unofficially under the guidance of a leader like you, from whom I have derived inspiration. Though our views differ, I know, on many matters, my regard for you and for your character as I have pictured it to myself remains the same as before.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G.N. 3804

[1] Not available

[2] A Reuter message published in *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911, said that Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar would be elected President of the Indian National Congress.

147. *THE £3 TAX*[1]

Recent events have shown that there is a great deal of confusion in regard to the question of who is liable to pay the £3 tax under Act 17[2] of 1895. The Law Department seems to have decided that an Indian who has re-indentured or entered into a civil contract of service under the Masters and Servants Act, which he is entitled to do under Clause 3 of Act 19 of 1910, is liable to pay the tax of £3 for the period of his re-indenture or contract of service. The clause in the Act runs:

> The payment of arrears of licence money, due, under Act No. 17, 1895, by any Indian, shall be suspended during the period of a re-indenture or contract of service for a term of not less than two years, and in the event of his return to India at the expiration of such contract or indenture, payment of arrears shall be waived.

In order to get at the true meaning of this clause, it is necessary to go back a few years. In the year 1905 it was found that a great many ex-indentured Indians were not paying the £3 tax, for the simple reason that they were too poor to do so.[3] Conse-

[1] This article and "A Breach of Faith", pp. 186-7, seem to have been occasioned by the summons served on one Devaragulu, under civil contract with a Durban Indian, for non-payment of arrears due to the £3 tax. When the Magistrate's attention was drawn to Clause 3 of Act 19 of 1910, he suspended the order for payment and adjourned the case *sine die*. Similar summonses had been served on about 21 Indians then under re-indenture. On September 16, 1911, a meeting of Indians held at Parsee Rustomjee's house in Durban formed the Anti-£3 Tax League to fight for repeal of the tax. *Indian Opinion*, 9-9-1911 & 23-9-1911. *Vide* also Appendix IX.

[2] This was passed soon after Natal became a self-governing colony in 1893; *vide* Vol. V, p. 343. It did not envisage payment of the £3 tax by women. For Indians' and Colonists' reaction to the tax after the Boer War, *vide* Vol. I, pp. 176-9, 212-4 & 215-27, Vol. II, pp. 59-60 and Vol. V, p. 318.

[3] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 417. The hardships of Indians who were obliged to pay the tax came to light from time to time; *vide*, for instance, Vol. V, p. 233. In 1911, at Stanger, a woman hawker was sent to prison for two weeks for failure to pay this tax owing to extreme poverty. *Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1911. The Indian Immigration Law of 1891 fixed the wages of indentured Indians at 16s. per month for the first year, rising to 20s. per month for the fifth year (Vol. I, pp. 215-6), while the wage for a Native worker in the Rand mines about the year 1901 was 45s. per month and Native labour was unobtainable even at that price; *vide* Eric Walker, *A History of South Africa*, p. 510. Gandhiji had always therefore argued that the Indian labourers' savings from which they paid the tax could not have been very considerable. Maud Polak, in a letter to the Colonial Office (C.O. 477) mentions a Natal planter who testified before a South African

quently an Act was passed which prohibited any person from employing or letting land to an ex-indentured Indian who could not produce his £3 licence for the current year. A contravention of this Act meant a fine of £5 to the employer. It also provided that an employer could pay the £3 and deduct the amount from the wages of the Indian. In this way it was thought to force the Indians to pay the £3 tax or leave the country. Later on in the same year, another Act was passed which entitled an Indian who was subject to the payment of the tax to re-indenture for a term of not less than two years. This was not possible before. He could also regain the privilege of being sent back to India which he had forfeited by paying the £3 tax. The Prime Minister of Natal, in moving the second reading of this bill, said that

> the bill had been brought in so as to enable the Indian who might not be able to pay the £3 tax upon his freedom from indenture to reindenture. There might well be times when an ex-indentured Indian would not be able to pay the £3 tax, and it was only fair that he should be allowed to re-indenture. It was not only that the right was given to him to re-indenture, but he would become entitled to the passage back to India, which he would otherwise have forfeited by not availing himself of it at the conclusion of his previous indenture.

So here it is quite clear that it was intended that an Indian who entered into a contract of re-indenture had not to pay the tax. But this inducement was not sufficient. At the end of 1909, the planters were crying out for more Indian labour and the Government of India had threatened to stop immigration to Natal. What was to be done? In the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Baynes pointed out that

> the £3 residential fee was a severe condition upon Indians, including the poll-tax. It was a fact that the number of Indians leaving the Colony was greater than those coming into it. He thought they should prevent this exodus of labour.

The Colonial Secretary, in moving the second reading of the Amendment Bill, stated that

> representations had been received both from the Indians themselves and from the magistrates to the effect that the licence of £3 was unable to be paid, and the Government felt that the obligations would be met if the licence were removed so far as Indian women were concerned and that was the object of the present measure. The Indian Immigration Commission had inquired into the matter, and had recommended the course now proposed.

Commission that "only 6 per cent. of ex-indentured Indians could afford to pay the £3 tax".

Sir Liege Hulett supported the Bill and said that it was never intended that the £3 tax should apply to women and girls. But, on the motion of Mr. Kirkman, an amendment was passed giving magistrates *discretion* to relieve any Indian women from the payment of licence money. To the same Bill Mr. Clayton moved a new clause in regard to the payment of arrears, quoted at the commencement of this article, which was passed into law. This law was passed in January, 1910 and in April of the same year a circular[1] was issued from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Maritzburg, printed in English, Hindi and Tamil, to the effect that Indian men and women who should have taken out the £3 licence, but had not done so, could re-indenture for not less than two years or enter into a civil contract for not less than two years, and while under contract or indenture, the licence money would not be claimed, and should they return to India, they would not be made to pay the licence money due.[2]

Reviewing the above facts, it is not possible to come to any other conclusion than that it was never intended that ex-indentured Indians would have to pay the £3 tax during the time of their re-indenture or contract of service. This review is made for the special purpose of clearing up any doubt there may be as to the intention of the legislature regarding the payment of the tax during re-indenture. The tax itself we have always fought against, tooth and nail,[3] and we shall continue to do so until this

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, p. 238.

[2] The confusion appears to have been caused by this circular which was sent round among Natal Indians in April, 1910, before the formation of the Union. This emanated from the Colonial Secretary's Office but the Protector's Department provided Hindi and Tamil translations. While Clause 3 of the Act exempted re-indentured Indians from "arrears" of the £3 tax, the English circular mentioned "licence money due" and the translations probably suggested exemption from current payments as well. Aiyer (footnote 2, p.162) brought the issue to the notice of *The Natal Mercury* which, in an article published on November 8, 1911, opposed the interpretation as contained in the circular produced by Aiyer with that of the Union law officers who argued that the interpretation would depend upon the wording of the statute which they held made re-indentured men liable to payment of the current tax. *Indian Opinion*, 11-11-1911.

[3] Natal Indians had always objected to the £3 tax on indentured Indians who had become free men on the ground that the tax was not a source of revenue but a measure designed to drive the Indian out after his term of indenture and that it was repugnant to British constitutional traditions. For Gandhiji's views on indenture and the 1895 Bill, *vide* Vol. II, pp. 59-60. For his representations against the tax, *vide* Vol. I, pp. 127, 176-9, 212-4, 215-27 & 228-30 and Vol. IX, pp. 348-9.

pernicious and unjust law is wiped off the Statute-book.

Indian Opinion, 11-11-1911

148. FAMINE IN INDIA

We refer to the famine as "Famine in India" though Gujarat and Kathiawar [alone] are affected. If a part of the body is injured, the whole is injured; in the same way, a famine in Gujarat is a famine in India.

We gather from letters and newspapers from India that this year's famine will be much worse than any in the past. Men and cattle are both dying off. The last rains, it seems, have failed. One has actually to see the conditions to realize that they are beyond description. Even a day's starvation makes us irritable. If we do not get the food we are used to, there is no limit to the anger we vent upon the cook or the lady of the house. Suppose, instead, that for eight months we have had almost nothing to eat. The body is reduced to a skeleton. The belly almost touches the back. One can stand up only if helped by someone else. If we can visualize this for ourselves and suppose further that hundreds of thousands are in this state, we shall then have some idea of the conditions that obtain in India.

How can we help? The first way is to restrain our luxurious ways, our pretensions, our pride and our sharp practices and crave God's forgiveness for the sins we have committed. After this, if we feel that our minds have been purified, we may pray to God for relief for India in this cruelty inflicted on her.

If we proceed in this manner, money can be saved. We can use this money to provide relief to the famine-stricken. We are ready to accept money from those who cannot themselves send it, and to do so on their behalf. Already, we are in correspondence with a generous person who has come forward with the money he is willing to spend for this purpose. The money sent by us we shall pass on to this gentleman or to some public body of standing and publish the receipts.

The important thing is not how to send the money but how to collect it. It is our belief that the money sent by those who have made their minds simple and pure as we have suggested, will bear worthy fruit, as good seeds do; of this there can be no doubt.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-11-1911

149. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Kartak Vad 5 [November 11, 1911][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

As there have been no letters from you, I have not written regularly either. The post has become irregular now; so I put off writing to you whenever there is other important writing to be done.

I am awaiting replies to some of my letters.

It is a good thing indeed that the proposal about the Presidentship of the Congress was dropped. I think I wrote to you about the long cable[2] I sent to Prof. Gokhale. If I had known that it was only an enquiry from the Calcutta committee, I would have flatly refused regardless of any pressures brought to bear upon me. I would be altogether useless if placed in a position in which I cannot express my views freely.

The Kathiawar famine appears to be a fearful one. I hope you are still firm about wanting to visit the place. You will no doubt help with money but it would be well if, alongside of that, you can explain to the unthinking princes, should you come across any, and to others that the poor are being ruined through the imposition of railways, etc. I feel all the time that what other countries can afford, India cannot. The prosperity of the people does not consist in exports or imports. If we produce what we need and consume it locally, we would be free from famine to that extent.

My little school is expanding gradually. More boys would join if there were no severe regulations regarding diet, etc. I feel [however] we should not relax these regulations. In fact, I do not wish too many boys to join. If they did, my work would greatly

[1] This letter takes the episode of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress further and was thus written in 1911.

[2] This is not available; *vide*, however, "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 169.

increase and I would not be able to that give attention to the boys' character which I should like to.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 5632. Courtesy : C. K. Bhatt

150. ADDRESS TO MRS. VOGL[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
[*November 15, 1911*]

DEAR MRS. VOGL,

It would be ungrateful on our part if we did not give public expression to our feeling of appreciation of the great services rendered by you to the Transvaal Indian Women's Association. This great Bazaar is the coping-stone to the work done by you.

During our darkest hours, when those who were near and dear to us were in prison, you and Miss Schlesin, by unremitting zeal, assisted us in no small measure to forget our misery.

You have indeed been a true sister to us, and, so long as the European community contains women like you, we need not despair of seeing the two divisions of the Empire living in peace and friendliness.

We ask you to accept the accompanying[2] as a slight token of our esteem for you.

Indian Opinion, 25-11-1911

[1] This address, signed by fourteen ladies of Johannesburg, was presumably drafted by Gandhiji who " . . . on behalf of the Indian Women's Association welcomed the guests. He paid meet tribute to the noble work done by Mrs. Vogl and read the following address which he handed to Mr. Hosken for presentation to Mrs. Vogl." Acknowledging the present, Mrs. Vogl said, among other things, that the proceeds (which on December 9, 1911 amounted to £138.10.9 according to *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911) would go towards furthering educational work and perpetuating the memory of Nagappen (Vol. IX, pp. 283, 299 & 523 and Vol. X, pp. 335 & 338) and Narayansamy (Vol. X, pp. 334, 335 & 337-8) "the two heroes who fell in the passive resistance fight". *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911.

[2] This was "a beautiful writing-desk" presented to Mrs. Vogl.

151. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Kartak Vad 12 [*November 17, 1911*][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

I have your letter. I was very happy to hear that you and Chhagan did not eat meat on board ship. I believe that your taking him back to India [from England] has been the saving of his life. It would have become difficult to make him give up his Western habits had more time gone by.

There is nothing to be said now about my speech[2] in regard to which you expressed your hope. But I am these days in so fiercely earnest a state of mind that I could not have spoken otherwise. That is why I asked for full freedom, should they invite me [to be President]. I can well understand that they cannot grant this. It is just as well that I do not have to go there as President.

That the *Gujarati* has now agreed to publish it has no interest for me. It appears that they have taken it up when it became certain that there was no risk in doing so. I have already written to you at length about Manilal.[3]

I have also explained to you about Miss Smith.[4] I have the feeling that she is not a dishonest woman. She keeps to one line. Whatever she sends for *I.O.*, she does out of love. Money is not the consideration at any rate.

Herewith a list of the [printing] types required here. I am unable to pay for them. Neither am I in a position at present to secure the help elsewhere. I am not writing directly to Revashankerbhai about them. You may pass on the list to him and ask him

[1] The episode of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress is here narrated to its conclusion. This letter, which is in continuation of Gandhiji's earlier letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 165-7, 168-71 & 183-4, was clearly therefore written in 1911.

[2] Presumably the draft of the Presidential address for the Congress Session. The text of this speech, however, is not available.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", pp. 169-71.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", pp. 166-7.

to dispatch the types if you feel that would be all right.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 5633. Courtesy : C. K. Bhatt

152. A BREACH OF FAITH

Apart from the legal effect of the £3 Tax Act, it is necessary to examine the bearing of the circular[1] we referred to in these columns last week. There are cases when legal quibbles have to be deliberately set aside. The £3 tax episode is, in our opinion, distinctly such a case. The late Natal Government bound themselves through their circular to exempt the Indians who re-indentured themselves from the payment of the tax altogether. We consider that the English text bears only that construction and no other. But the translations, if anything, are still more binding on the Government in that the people *acted upon them*. The Government must apply the simple rule of interpretation, viz., the meaning of the circular is the meaning that the men concerned reasonably gave to it. Now there can be no doubt whatsoever as to what meaning the men gave. So much for the circular and its effect.

The Union Government are using the force of the tyrant in seeking to interpret and enforce the Act in question in defiance of the circular. We contend that the Acts of the late Government are binding on them, if they are to retain the respect of the inhabitants of South Africa, no matter whether they are poor Indians or highly placed Europeans. It is a distinct breach of faith for them to override the circular and now want to exact £3 per year from the poor, deluded re-indentured men. Our appeal to the present members of the Ministry is, perhaps, specially appropriate. They insisted on and succeeded in getting accepted the interpretation[2] of the Vereeniging Treaty which they, the weaker party, placed

[1] *Vide* "The £3 Tax", pp. 179-82.

[2] The reference is to the Boers' insistence, after the War, on their right to interpret the word "Native" in clause 8 of the Vereeniging Treaty so as to deny the franchise to the Indians. At that time Lord Milner allowed the Boers thus to interpret the clause which, however, only put off "the question of granting the franchise to Natives" "until after the introduction of self-government"; but Indians were willing to forgo the right of political franchise as well; *vide* Vol. III, p. 332, Vol. V, p. 338, Vol. VI, p. 277 and Vol. IX, p. 372.

upon it. Let General Botha beware lest, in the hour of triumph[1], he forget the lesson of the past and now steam-roller poor, ignorant men into subjection.

Indian Opinion, 18-11-1911

153. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Friday night [*November 24, 1911*][2]

MY DEAR WEST,

Your letter could not have shaken me more severely than if you had informed me of some serious personal loss. My consolation is that the news may be totally unfounded. I have so much faith in his probity and general purity that I shall continue to disbelieve the charges, so long as I have not your definite judgment. At first I thought I should write to him but I think I shall assist your investigation by not writing so long as he does not mention the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4414. Courtesy: A. H. West

154. AN UNFORTUNATE ANSWER

Mr. Harcourt's reply on the £3 tax question is most unfortunate.[3] If it represents the settled policy of the Union Government, they are in for a big battle, not of words but of action. The free Indians owe it as a duty to themselves and to their poor brethren to act so as to secure repeal of the obnoxious levy. With the

[1] Botha's hour of triumph is a reference to how, within five years' of losing the Boer War, the Dutch, under the Het Volk, had won the peace. As Gandhiji put it at the time (Vol. VI, pp. 343-4 & 357-8), "in defeat, the Dutch had truly won". Also, they were able subsequently to turn the Union of 1909 to their advantage, that is, to promote the interests of the Dutch language and those of the poor among themselves.

[2] This was written about the same time as the letter to West (pp. 190-1) where internal evidence helps to fix the date more firmly. From the subject-matter it is clear that this was the earlier of the two letters and the Friday preceding was November 24.

[3] In answer to a question by Sir. W. J. Bull, Lewis Harcourt replied in the Imperial Parliament "that the legislation had been passed with the full knowledge of the Indian and Imperial Governments". He added that, while immigration of indentured Indians to Natal had ceased, the South African Government was not prepared to repeal the £3 tax. *Indian Opinion*, 18-11-1911.

stoppage of the introduction of indentured labour from India the last vestige of justification for the levy ceases. The Imperial Government cannot so easily be allowed to shirk their obvious duty. If the levy is wrong, neither the Royal sanction nor the determination of the Union Government can make it right. The sooner the Natal Indian Congress makes the position clear as to the steps to be taken by the Indian community the better it will be for all concerned. The iniquitous tax must be removed at any cost.

Indian Opinion, 25-11-1911

155. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

Magshar Sud 6 [*November 27, 1911*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I had asked you what faults Mr. Sam[2] had found with the Farm but you have forgotten to answer.

There is no need at all to worry about my health. As my hair is [cut] very short, you felt that I was in bad health. It doesn't ever happen that I go to sleep at midnight and get up at three. Mostly I go to bed at 11 and get up by about 5.30 or 6. There is nothing extraordinary about this. You ought therefore to be free of worry on my score. I still believe that I can work longer than any of you. It may be that I can't stay up late. The lady beside me is the Mayor's wife.[3]

Even before you thought of the matter, it had occurred to me that if you could free yourself from there you. . . December . . .[4]

About £150 must have been realized at the Bazaar. After deducting expenses, there will be a net collection of £100.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall send a reply[5] to Mr. Chamney's letter.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 98. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] The Bazaar referred to in the letter is Mrs. Vogl's Indian Bazaar which was inaugurated by William Hosken on November 15, 1911.

[2] "Sam" was Govindaswami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phœnix and a shikari.

[3] This is presumably a reference to a photograph taken at Mrs. Vogl's Bazaar. *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911, mentions that the Mayor was present.

[4] Two pages missing here

[5] Not available

156. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
[After *November 27, 1911*][1]

. . . has become self-seeking. Our teachers have brought us down through unworthy education. Or, rather, it is wrong to say this. As we are, so are our teachers. Our priests are *Maheshvaras*[2] or *Harajivans*[3] only in name. As for knowledge of *Brahman*[4], they are not familiar even with the A B C of it. We don't ask for much; what then, can we expect? God is the Supreme *atman*. The *atman* exists. *Moksha*[5] is possible for it. The ideas of *papa*[6] and *punya* are true. Deliverance is possible even at the end of the present life. Once we are firmly convinced of this, we must take up the quest. There is no reason whatever to believe that anything is right just because it is an established practice or because it was done by our elders. Such an attitude is in conflict with belief in the freedom of the soul. There is much that is good in the old. However, just as there is smoke wherever there is fire, the good in the old is [inevitably] mixed with other things not as good. Wisdom

[1] As the last incomplete line in this fragment suggests, the thoughts in this letter appear to have been inspired by a letter from Cordes (Appendix X) at Madras. Gandhiji had earlier attempted to wean him from Theosophy, ("Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 65) but unsuccessfully as would appear from Cordes's letter which sounds like a friendly farewell note. The Trust Deed which his letter enclosed was signed and witnessed by Cordes on November 12. Assuming 15 days for the post from Madras to reach South Africa, this letter by Gandhiji, which is possibly addressed to someone in the Phœnix Settlement, of which Cordes had earlier been a member, must have been written some time after November 27, 1911.

[2] Literally, "the Supreme God", a name of Shiva, the God of austerity and self-mastery in the Hindu Trinity

[3] Literally, "One who lives in Hara", i.e., in Shiva

[4] The Absolute

[5] Deliverance from phenomenal existence

[6] Sinful action, resulting in degradation and punishment

consists in distinguishing between the two and drawing out the essential.

The letter[1] that Cordes has written . . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 5665. Courtesy : Radhabehn Choudhri

157. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Tuesday [November 28, 1911][2]

MY DEAR WEST,

Your letter requires a long reply. But I cannot deal with all the points just[yet]. I was not in Town yesterday. Got your letter only last night.

My own opinion is unformed. Appearances are all against . . . and so is his letter to me. And yet the thing seems to me to be unbelievable. I do not believe in the innocence of the girls. If . . . did it, they knew that it was wrong. The excessive tickling betrays a corrupt mind—it may be unconsciously. If . . . has done it he has meant no mischief. I should not consider the offence itself of a very serious nature but his hiding the guilt is certainly serious. I do not make light of the offence. What I say is that concealment is more serious. I have written to him in this light.

Manilal is a lad. He must obey. He ought therefore to stay even unwillingly.

Anandlal will leave here at the latest on Saturday. He will

[1] *Vide* Appendix X.

[2] As this letter appears to have been sent from Tolstoy Farm, it could only have been written between July 20, 1911, when Anandlal Gandhi arrived in South Africa ("Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 129) and about the middle of January, 1913 when Gandhiji shifted to Phœnix. The only references to any "collection" tours by Anandlal Gandhi during this period occur in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 25-11-1911 & 9-12-1911. The first mentions that Anandlal has left on a collection tour and the second, which is an extract from a longer item written on December 3, adds that Anandlal Gandhi joined others at Boksburg for collecting subscriptions for the Indian famine fund. The reference to the famine (cited already in letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 161, 166 & 183) confirms that this letter belongs to 1911. Writing on a Tuesday Gandhiji says that "Anandlal will leave here at the latest on Saturday" and promises to post some Gujarati articles for *Indian Opinion* "on Wednesday". It is reasonable to assume, on the authority of the news-items, that the letter was written between November 25 and December 3, and the only Tuesday between the two dates is November 28. We learn from the second news-item that Anandlal Gandhi actually left on the morning of the 3rd, that is, a Sunday.

take in H'Burg and Standerton on his way. I suggested to him that he should be there on the 1st of January at the latest. He seems to have done well here. He has not stayed beyond a day at the Farm. There is no doubt that he likes collecting.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Your analysis of the evidence is splendid. You are an eternal demonstration to me that sound judgments do not come out of book knowledge but native wit and possession of ordinary virtue.

Please tell Thakar I want to send two short leaders or something like that for Gujarati. This I may post on Wednesday.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4415. Courtesy: A. H. West

158. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

Magshar Sud 8 [November 29, 1911][1]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I gather from it that you want to work in Phœnix. It is a good idea. I shall encourage you, but I doubt if you can stand the strain. In Phœnix

1. you will have to observe *brahmacharya*;
2. you will be under a vow of scrupulous regard for truth;
3. you will have to do chiefly manual labour, that is, work with the hoe and the shovel;
4. if you intend to add to [your] book-learning, please forget all about it. Whatever addition comes naturally or because circumstances demand it will be welcome;
5. you should make up your mind that our duty is to strengthen character rather than acquire book-learning;
6. you should fearlessly oppose injustice from the caste or the family;
7. you should embrace absolute poverty.

You should think of joining Phœnix only if you would and can do this. You should tell yourself that life there will grow harder as the days pass and know that this is for your good.

[1] Raojibhai Patel, says in his book that the letter was written in 1911. The letter itself offers no internal evidence.

Learn to think along these lines if you decide to come over in March. Continue to write to me.

With due regards from
MOHANDAS

From *Gandhijini Sadhana* (Gujarati): Raojibhai Patel; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad; 1939

159. *AN ATTACK ON ASIATIC MORALS*

We reproduced last week the full text of a leading article in *The Transvaal Leader* on the so-called Asiatic invasion of Boksburg in the form of the opening by Mr. Bhyat of a store in that town. The *Leader* of Mr. Cartwright's time is not the *Leader* of today. It would be difficult to find anything so virulent and offensive to Asiatics as the article in question. In the opinion of its writer,

> the Asiatic trader casts his sinister shadow, and, with his primitive mode of existence, his complete indifference to the simplest amenities of life, his Oriental ingenuity and his inferior standard of civilization menaces the future of the European shopkeeper.

In another place, the writer considers Oriental civilization to be on a "much lower grade". Then, again,

> the European trader cannot much longer keep up the fight against the commercial wiles and the social iniquities of the inscrutable coolie.

The article ends with the desire

> to protect the European from the unfair competition of the coolie who in so many towns of the Union has established himself at every street-corner, bringing with him the unfamiliar habits and dress of Asia.

In the extracts we have quoted, the reader will not fail to notice how Asiatic morals have been attacked, how their habits and mode of life decried, and how unfavourably the Asiatic civilization has been compared with the European. The ignorant writer has not hesitated to use the word "coolie" in writing of Asiatic traders. We are, however, not disposed to quarrel with the writer either for his ignorance or for his sentiments. The very civilization he represents makes for ignorance, inasmuch as its exacting demands upon the frail physical frame render it well-nigh impossible for any dweller therein to have any but a most superficial knowledge of things in general, and, as those nurtured in it are continuously taught to consider that civilization to be the best, naturally one is prone to look down upon anything that does not satisfy its arbitrary standard. And so we find that the writer looks

down upon the Asiatic trader with contempt, because he is "indifferent to the simplest amenities of life". The Founder of Christianity showed much greater indifference to these amenities and his mode of existence was infinitely more primitive than that of the Asiatic trader, and yet we are quite certain that the writer never intended to cast any reflection upon Jesus.

The question, therefore, that we have to address ourselves to is not whether to placate men of the writer's stamp (and, after all, they represent undoubtedly the majority of the Europeans in South Africa), but whether we must alter our simple mode of life and take over what we consider to be the vices of modern life, in order to retain our foothold in their country. Those who have done so know to their cost that they have not, on that account, been able to make themselves more acceptable. Their Asiatic origin is still their sufficient condemnation. The two systems are struggling to live side by side in South Africa. The experiment is interesting. We can only hope that, if the Asiatic has faith in himself and in his civilization, he will not lower the latter, and we doubt not that that which has stood the test of ages will come out scatheless in the test it is now undergoing in this subcontinent. But the handful of Asiatics in South Africa have to remember that, if they do not want to disgrace the country of their origin or their system of life, they must thoroughly represent it, and not present a parody of it. They must live up to the moral code that has been handed down to them for ages past. With them, honesty is not merely the best policy, and on that account only to be observed when it is profitable, but it must be adhered to at all cost and in all circumstances. With them, might is not right, but right is always might. They can have nothing to do with the doctrine of the survival of the fittest! They have to live and let live. If they catch the modern craze for competition and adopt the characteristically grasping nature of this vaunted civilization, they will certainly go under.

Indian Opinion, 2-12-1911

160. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

December 7, 1911

EAR MR. LANE,

I promised when I saw General Smuts last in Johannesburg that I would submit my views as to how the terms of the settlement could be satisfied. General Smuts asked me to submit my views when he thought there might be difficulty in passing legislation applying to South Africa, in view of the resolution[1] of the Imperial Conference. I have studied the proceedings and it seems to me that the resolution does not affect the question. It seems to cover only alien immigration.

Anyhow, it seems to me that, if general legislation cannot be passed, the Transvaal Immigration Act should be amended along the lines suggested by me in Cape Town. You have the text of my draft[2]. I find it difficult to improve upon it, and I confess that I see no constitutional difficulty in the way of the suggestion being carried out.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

E. F. C. LANE, Esq.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5595

[1] The Imperial Conference which met in London on the afternoon of June 19 passed two resolutions. The first called for "greater uniformity in Imperial legislation concerning immigration and the exclusion of aliens". Sir Joseph Ward's resolution asking for more powers to regulate British and foreign shipping "which was really connected with his recent attempt to penalize vessels with Lascars in their crews" was lost. *Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1911. *Vide* also Appendix XI.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

161. *LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
December 8, 1911

DEAR PROF. GOKHALE,

It pains me to think that you had to dictate, ill though you were, that long letter of the 3rd Nov. last. I can quite understand what worry that wretched cable of Reuter's must have caused you.[1] Pray pardon me. It would have been a tragedy, if through any sense of false feeling for me after the publication of the cable, I had been nominated. I need hardly assure you that the discussion there in the Press has not worried or affected me in the least degree.

I saw in your letter to Mr. Ritch reference to your daughter's illness. I hope that she has entirely recovered.

Mr. Polak is with you. I need not therefore say anything about the situation here. I only hope that a resolution about the entire stoppage of indentured labour to any part of the world will have been carried.[2]

May I repeat my invitation to visit S. A. and that at the earliest moment for the sake of your health and of those who love you and who wish to see you live yet for many a year in full possession of your health both bodily and mental? What a nice thing it would be if you could come with the Polaks—earlier by all means if possible. Do please decide to come.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : G.N. 3805

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 177.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 172. This resolution was passed at the session of the Indian National Congress which concluded on December 28, 1911. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912.

162. MIXED SCHOOLS AND MORALS

We gladly make room for Mrs. Wybergh's spirited contribution[1] to the *Worker* on the question of mixed schools. The matter was taken up by *The Transvaal Leader*, and the Education Board has invited Mrs. Wybergh to prove her charges. This Mrs. Wybergh has offered to do if her informants, who are teachers, are fully protected. There is some hesitation on the part of the Board to give the full protection she naturally asks for. We are not just now concerned whether Mrs. Wybergh furnishes the Board with proofs in her possession. What we wish to place on record is the fact that *The Transvaal Leader* and practically the whole of the Johannesburg Press suggest that the system of mixed schools should come to an end, especially for grown-up boys and girls. It seems to have been taken for granted that, in substance, Mrs. Wybergh's indictment is true.

"Rest and be thankful" was Lord John Russell's motto. We admire the wisdom of those Indian parents who instinctively recoiled from the stupid experiments that the Natal Education Department wished to try among us of mixing boys and girls. This is essentially an age of innovations and rash experiments. Movement is mistaken for progress. So long as you move, it does not matter whether you are moving backward or forward. The existing order of things must be bad and must, therefore, be improved, says the zealous reformer. "Hasten slowly" should be the motto of the real reformer. Mrs. Wybergh's revelations show clearly that we must be most careful before we uproot systems or customs that have been handed down for generations, unless we *know* them to be immoral.

Indian Opinion, 9-12-1911

[1] In her article, Mrs. Wybergh had said that, whereas in London co-education had been dropped as its wrongly conceived ideals had tended to exaggerate instead of equalizing sex-differences, in Johannesburg it had been adopted merely to save the expense of separate school buildings for boys and girls. She charged that no care had been taken "to guard against the great and obvious dangers". The results of the system were such that she could not record them without rendering herself liable to prosecution. The parents seemed to be ignorant of this but conscientious school-teachers were at their wits' end. *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911.

163. FAMINE IN INDIA

We have started a Famine Relief Fund.[1] Mr. Gajjar has made a beginning. We have had several letters from which we learn that a number of Indians are willing to take on [the task of] going round for collections. This is our brief appeal to those who have realized how dreadful the famine is.

Please do not turn away those collecting contributions, saying that you have already paid towards many funds. Do not hesitate to send your contribution directly either. Those who have money have to contribute towards a variety of funds, but there can be no comparison between a famine Fund and other funds. To this Fund, even the poorest Indian can contribute. One who lives on coarse *roti* and ghee may go without ghee for a time and pay the money thus saved into the Famine Relief Fund. Such a one should bear in mind that while he gets at least millet *roti* and ghee, people in the famine areas do not get even *roti*. There is no fodder for cattle and both human beings and cattle have been reduced to skeletons. If this is realized by everyone, there is no Indian who cannot make a contribution, however small.

We admit that there is no charity like that which one dispenses directly, where one can see it being used. This is what people do in our country wherever they have not been caught in the wind from the West. The villager gives in charity after the fashion of the village. He shares his food with any poor person who may call at his home. He does not even dream of being able to help those whom he cannot see. He knows that even to think of it is pride and is like claiming to be God.

But we have been caught in the wind from the West. It is this which has brought us to this land. If people suffer overmuch during a famine, it is due to the Western atmosphere. What is our duty at a time like this? Our foremost duty is to quit this monstrous atmosphere here and rush to the side of the famine-stricken, to live as they do and take them along the right path. We may be inclined to do all this, but perhaps lack the requisite strength. A man like Vibhishana[2] had to endure the monstrous atmosphere

[1] *Vide* "Famine in India", p. 182.

[2] The virtuous brother of Ravana. He tried long and hard to convert Ravana but, failing in his attempts, went over to Rama before the great battle began.

for a long time; what strength have we before him? There may be others, moreover, who do not feel this way and do not even want to get away from here. It is essential that both these types of people must send as much help as they can to the famine-stricken.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-12-1911

164. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Magshar Vad 4 [December 9, 1911][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I was not in the least worried about the matter. I don't blame you or anyone else for the thing. Everyone makes such a mistake. The magistrate in alliance with a lawyer—and a veritable rogue to boot! So what else could be expected? Both want to make money, and quickly. Personally I think, there has been no libel,[2] legally speaking. If the nominal lapse is an offence, they may have £1 as fine. Even this should not be necessary, however.

If the magistrate and the lawyer take it into their heads to ruin us, the case may perhaps go to a court. Never mind if it does.

It is not things like this that keep back people from going to the help of the poor; it is their money. When we do not spend the money on ourselves, why should we mind its loss through such chances? It is occasions like this which test our worth. It would be Satanic to believe, with our money safe, that we have obliged the person concerned. Why should we feel humiliated by anything that the Congress people or others might say? What our conscience tells us, that alone is our humiliation or our credit.

You should go on doing your work without any anxiety or fear.

If we have surrendered our all to Krishna, He who is the Lord of all will look after everything. If He does not, why should you and I bother? Our duty is to make sure whether we have

[1] This letter appears to be a sequel to that written to Chhaganlal Gandhi about September 28, 1911, and was presumably therefore written in 1911. In that year *Magshar Vad* 4 corresponds to December 9.

[2] This possibly refers to the account of Jannumia's case which *Indian Opinion* had republished from the *African Chronicle; vide* footnote 1 on p. 162.

in fact surrendered everything to Krishna or are holding back something for ourselves.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6077

165. THE INIQUITOUS TAX

We publish elsewhere an instructive letter[1] from the Colonial Secretary addressed to Lord Ampthill's Committee, and the Union Prime Minister's Minute to the Governor-General, on the Natal £3 tax, exacted from ex-indentured men, women and children. That the taxing legislation was imposed with the knowledge and consent of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government, and that the consent was obtained on a correct representation of facts, does not make it any the less criminal. It may be considered very gracious on the part of the Union Government to be ready to consider any specific cases of hardship brought to their notice. We venture to think, however, that every case of the exaction of this tax is a specific case of hardship. But, apart from that, if, as Mr. Sauer[2] has pointed out, they have watched the

[1] Dated November 14, 1911, this was sent by Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to paragraph 6 of the SABI Committee's representation of June 17, 1911 (Appendix VIII), which asked for exemption from the £3 tax for Indian women and children saying that the amending Act of 1910 (Natal Act 19 of 1910) had "but slightly improved the situation". It also drew attention to disparities between decisions of individual magistrates. Along with his letter, Harcourt enclosed the copy of a despatch from the Governor-General of South Africa containing a minute dated August 22, 1911 from the Union Ministers on the subject. The minute, signed by Sauer, said that the £3 tax had been imposed "on grounds of policy, with a view to limiting the free Indian population as much as possible" and that the Ministers considered its repeal inadvisable. The minute added that the application of the law in particular cases had been "carefully watched" and all complaints inquired into and that the Ministers were convinced that there had been "no undue harshness in the administration of this law". Commenting on this, Harcourt had observed that the facts had been "correctly represented" in the minute and the legislation had been passed with the full knowledge and consent of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government and that he could only accept the Ministers' decision. *Indian Opinion*, 16-12-1911.

[2] J. W. Sauer; member of the Cape Legislature and later of the Union Cabinet; fellow-passenger with the Transvaal Indian Deputation of 1909 on board s.s. *Kenilworth Castle*; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 273. Gandhiji who met him during the voyage found him "full of sympathy"; he promised all possible help.

law carefully and all complaints have been inquired into, why have they not produced statistics to show in what case and under what circumstances the tax has been remitted? Our columns have been full of cases of hardship, especially on women. The Government really were bound to waive the tax in respect of women entirely, as has been shown by us by quoting speeches of responsible members of the now defunct Natal Parliament when the amending measure was passed.[1] The Minister's Minute is, we are constrained to say, calculated to blind the Imperial Government to the serious nature of the hardship entailed on those who have to bear the burden. We trust that the attention of the Imperial Government will be brought to the almost unanimous condemnation[2] by the South African Press of the wretched treatment meted out to people who have deserved better of those for whom they have slaved for a number of years. We think that it was open to Mr. Harcourt to have at least invited the Union Government to consider the new situation that has arisen by reason of the stoppage of recruiting indentured Indian labour for Natal. The question of limiting the free Indian population as much as possible does not now arise as witness General Smuts' own statement made to his Pretoria constituents on the 7th instant:

> If ever Asiatics were introduced here as indentured labourers, there would be revolution. That door was closed for ever.

We note with considerable satisfaction that, in the absence of Lord Ampthill, Lord Lamington has been moving the House of Lords in the matter of the forthcoming legislation.[3] We hope that the forthcoming Union Parliament will see a fulfilment, at least to the letter, of the promise made by the Union Government in the Provisional Settlement. We wish that His Lordship may take up this question of the iniquitous tax, and bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon His Majesty's Government with a view to its repeal.

Indian Opinion, 16-12-1911

[1] *Vide* "The £3 Tax", p. 180.

[2] A number of European-owned papers such as *The Natal Mercury*, the *Natal Advertiser* and the *Rand Daily Mail* had, in a series of articles and editorial comments, condemned the £3 tax.

[3] On December 6, in the House of Lords, Lord Lamington asked for the production of correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Union Government relating to British Indians in the Transvaal. He also asked for information regarding the operation of the draft Municipal Ordinance, the Gold Law and the Townships Act. *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911.

166. *TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

December 21, 1911

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO INTERIOR
[PRETORIA]

THANKS YOUR WIRE. WILL CALL TOMORROW MORNING.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5598

167. *WHAT TO EXPECT FROM THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT*

The letter (for Downing Street a long one) written to Lord Ampthill's Committee by the Colonial Office on the petition of the British Indian Association regarding the Transvaal Draft Local Government Ordinance[2] forms sad reading, and, if confirmation were wanted, it confirms the opinion held by many passive resisters that it was the strength of passive resistance alone which brought about with General Smuts the Provisional Settlement which should be reduced to legislation during the next two or three months. We do not wish to convey the impression that the Imperial Government sat with folded arms and that the Union Government were not in any way affected by the representations that were made by the Imperial Government, but what we do wish to convey is that the Imperial Government would not have moved at all in our favour, had it not been for passive resistance. Mr. Harcourt's letter of the 23rd November last, says in so many words that the Imperial Government will not intervene on our behalf even in order to secure redress of tangible grievances. The fact that something—it does not matter to them whether it is just or unjust—has been done before is sufficient reason for them to reject any approach on behalf

[1] This was sent in reply to the telegram from the Private Secretary to the Minister of Interior, which read : "Private. Am taking copy of draft copy of Immigration bill with me Johannesburg tomorrow and am asked by Minister to show it to you for your personal information. Can you conveniently call at the Minister of Mines room during morning." S. N. 5598. Gandhiji's reply is drafted in pencil at the bottom of the above telegram.

[2] For the sections of the Ordinance affecting Asiatics and the BIA's petition, *vide* Appendix VII.

of British Indians in order to undo an admitted wrong. We need not have been told that the municipal franchise was taken away from us by a previous Ordinance, nor that most of the clauses in the proposed Draft Ordinance were virtually a re-enactment of old provisions. It did not strike Mr. Harcourt that it was quite the proper thing for the British Indian Association to have drawn attention to such re-enactment, especially in the new circumstances arising from the Union of South Africa, and there can be no reason why Mr. Harcourt could not have pressed for a revision of a vicious policy at an opportune time like that of the impending passage of the Draft Ordinance in question.

It grieves us to find Mr. Harcourt as representing the Imperial Government concurring with the Union Ministers in their policy of shuffle. He and they insult our intelligence when they tell us that we could have no ground for complaint because the clauses regarding the issue of licences are of a general character. They must know as well as we do that, in the vast majority of cases, such general clauses have been in administration made applicable only to Asiatics. A passage, however, in Mr. Harcourt's letter dealing with the matter wherein the deprivation of the right of appeal to a court of law is referred to as a hardship supplies a ray of hope that something may be done in this direction.

It is wonderful how in an important communication dealing with weighty matters the most trifling and contemptible arguments have been seriously taken up in answer to our complaints. Mr. Harcourt, for instance, justifies the deprivation of the right of Indians, other Asiatics and, for that matter, other Coloured people to be employed in bakeries, etc., on the exploded ground of sanitation. He ought to know by this time that the clause in question is purely an attempt to take away the means of livelihood, and an avenue for employment, from honest people. Surely the sanitary authorities can be trusted to look after sanitation and to see whether bakers and their employees observe the rules of hygiene. We are also gravely told that similar disability in connection with a different matter altogether has been created against female labour. The crying grievance regarding tram-cars is similarly rejected because it is a "matter of long standing", as if a crime oft repeated actually became a virtue. We are sorry that the Imperial Government, in taking up the attitude as exemplified in Mr. Harcourt's letter, are abdicating their function of holding the balance evenly between conflicting local interests in the different parts of the Empire; for this letter is not an isolated lapse from tradition, but it is merely the carrying out of a new depar-

ture, noted now for a long time by well-wishers of the Empire with a great deal of pain. We could wish that there would be a reversion to the old and fearless attitude of absolute impartiality which at one time ruled at the centre of the Empire when self-interest at the centre itself was not in jeopardy.

Indian Opinion, 23-12-1911

168. A SHAMEFUL ACT

The brief report of the Nathalia case[1] we published last week has disgusted every member of the community as it disgusted the judges themselves who decided upon this matter. It is enough to make one despair of the utility of law courts if the judges cannot right a wrong that they themselves acknowledge. The late Mr. Leonard used to say and hold that there was no wrong without a legal remedy. It is this comfortable delusion which reconciles some of the otherwise best minds to the practice of a profession which has very few redeeming features.

This case of Nathalia, a young lad, cannot be allowed to rest where the Natal judges have left it. It is a national scandal that the boy cannot be admitted to the Province in spite of his having produced credentials which would have satisfied any but an autocratic immigration officer who has certainly no time to bring to bear on a case a judicial mind free from bias. His very vocation forbids it. The fault is therefore not the individual's but of the legislature that has wickedly saddled a responsibility on him which no ordinary mortal could discharge. He is legally called an "Immigration Restriction Officer" appointed to administer a restriction law. How could he generally decide in favour of persons whom he is expected to restrict? To prevent an appeal from his decisions is to deny justice. And that the late Natal legislature succeeded in doing. We trust that the matter will be taken to a higher court and thoroughly thrashed out. It will be a discredit to the community to which the lad belongs if we allow him to be sent back. The community must make it a point of honour

[1] E. M. Nathalia "was sent back to India twice, and on the last occasion had returned with documents that were required to show that he was the son of the father he sought to join" in Natal. The Immigration Restriction Officer was, however, not convinced and refused the boy permission to land. The judge remarked that "the officer never seemed to be able to believe that a boy was the son of his father", but would not interfere because the officer had full authority. *Indian Opinion*, 23-12-1911.

to protect the boy, who, we are satisfied, is the son of the person who claims him as such.

Indian Opinion, 30-12-1911

169. THE NEW YEAR

At the close of a year we are apt to look back on the way we have come and it is a good thing if we are able to find something over which we can rejoice. What has happened during this year that can be said to have affected the Indian community? The first week of January brought the welcome news from Calcutta that the Government of India had decided to issue a notice in April prohibiting the further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal from July 1.[1] This decision was carried out; and now we have seen the last of indentured Indian immigration to these shores. It is impossible at this time to say what the effect will ultimately be, but we have good reason to believe that many employers of Indian labour have awoke to the necessity of treating their work people with some consideration and providing them with decent housing accommodation. We hope to see more improvements as time goes on, including the establishing of schools for Indian children living on the estates. This, however, does not blind us to the many evils of the indenture system, and we have not forsaken our ideal of freedom for all. This will come in time when the people themselves are ready for it. Better treatment and healthier conditions, which are now being offered as inducements to re-indenture, will in the course of time lead to freedom of contract between labourers and employers.

The year opened with the Transvaal passive resistance struggle at white heat. In March the Immigrants' Restriction Bill[2] was published and our readers will remember its fate[3]. Then followed the lengthy correspondence between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi which resulted at the end of April in an understanding[4] between the Minister of the Interior and the Indian leaders as follows: Law 3 of 1907[5] to be repealed, legal equality in respect of immigration of Asiatic immigrants with Europeans, the existing Provincial rights to be maintained, the admission of six highly educated

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 96.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 516-28

[3] The Bill was dropped ; *vide* Appendix II.

[4] *Vide* letters to Lane, pp. 38-40 & 46-50 and Appendix IV.

[5] Evidently, a slip for "Act 2 of 1907"

Asiatics to the Transvaal, registration of passive resisters, and the release of prisoners. It now remains for the Parliament to ratify the promise made by a responsible Minister of the Government. Absolutely fair dealing is expected and demanded in these matters, otherwise no permanent settlement can be effected.

Since the understanding with the Government in April, a serious position has been brought about by the administration of the Gold Law[1] and the Townships Act[2], the effect of which is to ruin Asiatic store-keepers, and the livelihood of the majority of the Transvaal Indians, who are mainly hawkers, is brought in jeopardy.

In looking forward to the coming year the Indian community of South Africa have reason both to hope and to fear. The Immigration Bill, which will be brought before Parliament early in the year,[3] concerns every Indian in the Union. The rights of resident Indians must be secured at all costs, and a reasonable number of educated men admitted to the Union. It will depend largely upon the Indian people themselves whether they are to maintain their rights and preserve their dignity in this land of their birth or adoption. A firm front will have to be shown to any attempt to filch away the people's established rights and customs. No compromise whatever can be allowed with matters that concern the very existence of the community. Just as the Transvaal Indians have fought a hard battle for five years, if it be necessary, the other Provinces should not shrink from such a struggle rather than that they should forfeit their and their children's future position as citizens of the Union of South Africa.

There are other questions of vital importance which should be dealt with; for instance, the £3 annual licence on ex-indentured Indians in Natal. Indian traders and businessmen are sometimes accused of being so busy with those matters directly concerning themselves that they have no time for looking into their poorer brethren's misfortunes. If there is even a grain of truth in the accusation now is the time to show of what stuff they are made. The abolition of this unjust and cruel imposition offers a fine opportunity for all those who are not directly affected by it, to show that they are capable of putting their energy into an effort which would be entirely unselfish. In doing so they would earn the gratitude

[1] & [2] For Polak's representation against these laws to the Government of India *vide* Appendix XXI.

[3] This Bill was being re-drafted for the following session of Parliament; *vide* footnote 1 on p. 201.

of those who are not able to help themselves, and the blessing of God would be their reward.

We wish our readers, one and all,

A HAPPY NEW YEAR

Indian Opinion, 30-12-1911

170. FAMINE

We give prominence, this week, to the report of the state of famine which prevails in Western India at the present time.[1] We have our difficulties in South Africa, but thank God, cruel famine is not our portion. The Indians of South Africa have shown in the past that they could rise to the occasion in assisting their brethren in India who were suffering from earthquake or famine.[2] A fund has been started in our columns which has now reached over £100, but we feel that this sum represents but an item of the amount it is possible to raise in South Africa. The Mahomedan community are showing great sacrifice in subscribing several thousands of pounds in aid of the sufferers in the Italo-Turkish war. We trust that they will be none the less generous in subscribing towards the relief of the famine-stricken people of India. The Hindu, Parsee and Christian members of the community, having had no such drain upon their resources as the Mahomedans have recently had, can make it their special mission to push forward the collection of funds for this worthy cause.

Indian Opinion, 6-1-1912

[1] The report said there was great scarcity of food and fodder in the Bombay Presidency and that the plague had in addition broken out in the States of Kathiawar. Nearly a third of the cattle population would need to be fed out of public charity. For the district of Ahmedabad alone the funds required were estimated at Rs. 1 lakh. For earlier references to the famine by Gandhiji, *vide* "Famine in India", pp. 182 & 197-8 and also letters to Dr. Mehta, pp. 161, 166 & 183.

[2] Following the 1905 earthquake in Northern India, *Indian Opinion* started an Earthquake Relief Fund; *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 428-9 & 437.

171. MR. POLAK AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mr. Polak's strenuous work has already commenced in India. He never knows what it is to rest when duty calls him to work. The resolution[1] about the indenture system to which he, with Messrs Chintamani[2], Manilal Doctor and others, spoke is of the greatest importance and a step in the right direction. It is a crown to his past work. He shares with Mr. Gokhale the credit of bringing about a termination of the supply of indentured labour to Natal. The Congress, no doubt inspired by him, has followed the logical result of its policy by asking the Government of India to abolish the system of indenture altogether. It now remains for the Government of India to end a system which is but a form of veiled slavery.

Indian Opinion, 6-1-1912

172. JOYFUL NEWS

The announcement[3] made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale that he proposes to visit South Africa during next summer will fill every Indian heart with joy. Mr. Gokhale is no stranger to the Indians of South Africa. By his great work in our behalf he has endeared himself to us all. Mr. Gokhale is, therefore, assured of a royal welcome. And we doubt not that he will be warmly received by the leaders of European society. Mr. Gokhale's intended visit can only do good in every respect.

Indian Opinion, 6-1-1912

[1] The Indian National Congress at its Calcutta session, held in December, 1911, passed a resolution condemning the system of indentured labour and urged the Government to introduce legislation wholly abolishing it. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912; *vide* also footnote 2 on p. 195.

[2] Sir Chiravuri Yajneshwar Chintamani (1880-1941); journalist; Editor, *The Leader*, Allahabad; for some time Minister, U. P.

[3] H. S. L. Polak, in the course of his speech on the South Africa Resolution of the Indian National Congress, held in December, 1911, at Calcutta, announced that Gokhale had expressed his desire to visit South Africa during the following year in order to study the situation on the spot. *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912.

173. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
January 12, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

It is difficult to give you an idea as to how delighted we all were to read the announcement[1] that you were coming here very shortly.

I hope that you will give ample notice of the date of your coming!

If it is at all possible, do you not think that it would be better if you could come here on your way to London? You could then study our question on the spot and materially assist us in London. And I am vain enough to think that your stay here will result in your taking with you to London much better health than you would otherwise.[2]

The Union Parliament will now be sitting and the promised draft & bill may be published any day.[3]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3771

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* also letters to Gokhale, pp. 176 & 195.

[3] The second session of the Union Parliament was scheduled to begin on January 26, 1912. The first reading of the Bill took place on January 30. *Indian Opinion*, 13-1-1912 & 3-2-1912

174. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

The Johannesburg papers are full of the smallpox scare. We are sorry to have to admit that, on this occasion, we are the culprits. That some Indian children had smallpox is not a matter for anxiety. A spasmodic outbreak of diseases may be taken as inevitable in any community. But our crime consists in the Indians concerned having concealed the outbreak. The whole community will have to suffer for the crime of an individual.

Happily the leaders are whole-heartedly co-operating with Dr. Porter[1] in stamping out the disease. But the leaders will be powerless unless individuals are ready and willing to listen to them and help them to help themselves.

We consider that the opposition, stubborn though it was, to the Asiatic Registration Act, was nothing compared to the opposition that the community must, if it is to progress, offer to its own erring members. Passive resistance can be as effectively applied within as without. Only, when it has to be applied within it is far more difficult. But then a real passive resister will not—cannot—flinch in the face of difficulties, however serious they may be.

It is a common charge against us that we are an insanitary people and without scruples when it is a matter of cheating authorities by way of concealing diseases or misleading them. The concealment in Johannesburg has given a handle to our enemies. Let the community beware lest it place itself in the wrong by blinking at the wrongdoing of its own members. It is being watched in South Africa as, perhaps, it is not anywhere else. The watching may be turned to good account by our so behaving as to give occasion for no adverse remarks.

Indian Opinion, 13-1-1912

[1] Dr. C. Porter, Medical Officer of Health, Johannesburg

175. INTERVIEW TO "THE EVENING CHRONICLE"

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 15, 1912][1]

An *Evening Chronicle* man interviewed Mr. Gandhi on the questions of trading licences, the smallpox outbreak, etc.

Asked as to the particular objections to the Municipal Ordinance[2], Mr. Gandhi replied :

The objections we take to the draft Ordinance are to the control being given to Municipalities over a certain class of trading licences, without even the right to appeal;[3] to the reimposition of the disqualification as to the municipal franchise;[4] and to the qualification as to Indians and other Asiatics being engaged in bakeries, etc.[5]

The first and third of these are innovations; the second is an old grievance,[6] but I think the British Indians are bound to protest against it each time it is revived or reasserted in legislative form. Indians naturally hope that some day or other a prejudice, which has little justification, will die out, and having that as their goal it is felt that they cannot allow renewed attempts to perpetuate discriminating legislation to pass by without protest.

[QUESTION:] And the provision for Asiatic Bazaars,[7] Mr. Gandhi—are these not among those to which your people object?

[GANDHIJI:] O yes! A protest has also been lodged against these. It is true that the sections dealing with Bazaars are merely enabling sections, and the British Indians cannot be compelled to reside in these Bazaars, but the spirit is unmistakable; the desire

[1] The Gujarati translation in *Indian Opinion* mentions the date, but not the English section.

[2] For sections affecting Asiatics, *vide* Appendix VII-A.

[3] The reference is to Section 91 which invested the Town Council with the power to refuse trading and hawking licences without right of appeal.

[4] Section 114

[5] Section 92; *vide* also "What to Expect from the Imperial Government", p. 202.

[6] In the Transvaal, legislation to deprive Indians of the municipal franchise was sought to be introduced as early as 1903 and again in 1904; *vide* Vol. III, pp. 371-2 and Vol. IV, pp. 192-4.

[7] Section 66 empowered the Town Council to open new Bazaars or close existing ones; *vide* Appendix VII-A. The first legislation of this kind was Milner's Bazaar Notice; *vide* Vol. III, p. 292.

is to relegate Asiatics to Bazaars, and I am sure that any time any such attempt is made, it will be opposed by them.

SMALLPOX

But how about the smallpox outbreak, Mr. Gandhi, and the hiding of victims by Asiatics? Does not this suggest that for the protection of Europeans some such step is necessary?[1]

That is a very fair question. We have undoubtedly among us black sheep, and we pay the penalty for their wrongdoing, but the public have the generous testimony of Dr. Porter that the leaders of the community whole-heartedly co-operated with him in bringing to light the cases that had been hidden, and his acknowledgment that probably, without their assistance, he would not have been able to unearth these cases. You will perhaps recollect that, when evidence was being laid before the Insanitary Area Expropriation Commission, medical testimony was given to the effect that any neglect of sanitation that existed among British Indians, or the others, was not to be successfully dealt with by segregating them to inaccessible Bazaars, or to places which would not lend themselves to effective supervision of the public control. The proper method of dealing with the trouble was to let their movements remain unfettered, but to effectively enforce sanitation by-laws, and if the by-laws were insufficient, to make them wide enough to cover all kinds of cases.

I can say from personal experience, extending over 18 years, that this is the best [*sic*], and the only, smallpox scare. Just imagine what would have happened if Indians were living four or five miles away, with perfunctory supervision, such as must be when they are living in out-of-the-way places. Every case of smallpox successfully concealed—even from the leaders of the community—and it would have taxed Dr. Porter to the utmost to avoid the spread of the contagion. I am quite sure that segregation will never succeed.

What I hope will happen is that the general body of Europeans will, in time to come, take just as much interest in the welfare of their Indian fellow-citizens as in their own, that they will make due allowance for any special weaknesses that may exist among them, and will also insist upon their becoming better citizens from day to day.

IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE

Questioned as to his view of the right of the Home Government to interfere to have the draft Municipal Ordinance revised, as Lord Emmott, in reply

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

to a question in the House of Lords recently indicated had been done,[1] Mr. Gandhi held that they were quite within their rights in doing so.

In fact we take the view that the attitude of the Imperial Government has been over-cautious, and that they have erred rather on the side of the Union Government. It must be remembered that the Union is still very young and that the Imperial Government has a great responsibility to the Indian peoples. I have just been reading an extract from an English paper, which should interest you. It is stated there that one of the principal reasons for King George's visit to India was to strike the imagination of the people of the self-governing colonies so that they might realize its importance, and that it was entitled to consideration equally with other great dominions of the Empire.

Indian Opinion, 27-1-1912

176. THE PLAGUE

We have every reason to hope that the plague which broke out at the Point will not spread in the Borough of Durban. There has been no fresh case since Tuesday, and we believe that the Port Health Officer and the Medical Officer of Health are doing their utmost to prevent further outbreak. The deaths of one European and one Coloured man show that it is a matter which concerns all residents, and the Indian leaders have placed themselves in the right attitude by at once forming a committee to work with the Public Health Department. It is only by being perfectly straight and above-board that such matters can be successfully dealt with, and, by a mutual understanding between the Indian community and the Corporation, should a serious outbreak, unfortunately, occur, the Indian residents need have no fear but that everything humanly possible will be done for their welfare.

Indian Opinion, 20-1-1912

[1] Answering a question by Lord Lamington in the House of Lords on December 6, 1911, Lord Emmott had said that the draft Municipal Ordinance had been referred to a Select Committee of the Municipal Council whose report would not be ready until after January the following year when they were due to meet again. *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912.

177. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

More searches have been conducted this week following the [outbreak of] smallpox. Owing to the Indians' habit of concealing the patients for as long as they can, the Health Department has to expend much patient effort in carrying out the searches. A committee of leaders, including Mr. Cachalia, Imam Saheb[1] and others, has been working tirelessly to assist the Department. In every case that is detected the patient is removed to hospital for treatment. Further cases occurred in the family of the Malay whose case was the first to be detected and who succumbed to it later. Whites who used to patronize Indian dhobis and greengrocers now refuse to deal with them. Business has, on the whole, suffered greatly.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 20-1-1912

178. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[JOHANNESBURG,][2]
January 29, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I suppose I owe it to your usual courtesy that I am in possession of a copy of the *Gazette Extraordinary* containing the Immigration Bill[3]. I understand that the Central News Agency has not yet got a supply of this number of the *Gazette*.

[1] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer; an Indian of Arab descent who settled in South Africa; Assistant Priest of the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg and Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society; actively participated in the satyagraha campaigns of 1908 and 1913; settled at Phœnix after Gandhiji left South Africa and later joined him at the Sabarmati Ashram at his invitation. For his decision to offer satyagraha in 1908, *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 375-6 and for his arrest for hawking without licence; *ibid.* p. 383.

[2] In "Diary, 1912" (p. 366), Gandhiji mentions he was in Johannesburg on this date.

[3] The Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill of 1911 (Vol. X, pp. 516-28) was dropped in April, 1911; *vide* Appendix II. This reference is to a new Bill drafted to meet Indians' objections; for extracts, *vide* Appendix XIII. It was shown to Gandhiji on December 22, 1911, before being gazetted, when he met Lane; *vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", p. 201. Further changes which were the immediate occasion for this letter had evidently been made since.

I see that the Bill has been somewhat altered from the copy that I saw now nearly a month ago. I do not know whether it is General Smuts' intention to make the changes[1] I have already submitted are necessary. Sub-Sections(f)[2] and (g)[3] of Section 5 are a complete innovation, and, in my opinion, subversive of principles of justice. That a man should prove his domicile to the satisfaction of an Immigration Officer, who may not have a legal training or a judicial mind, seems utterly absurd, nor can I see the slightest reason why he should be the arbiter to decide as to whether a particular woman, whom I claim to be my wife, and a particular child whom I claim to be mine are my wife and child or not. This innovation disturbs the existing legal position.

Similarly, Section 7 will debar educated Indians in the Transvaal, for instance, from entering Natal on passing the existing edution test.[4] This, again, will disturb the legal position, and will be a manifest injustice. It is one thing to have an almost impossible education test for checking oversea immigration, and another thing to impose that test for interprovincial migration. I draw attention to the fact that last year's Bill did not disturb the existing position.[5]

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 10-1.

[2] Section 5 (f) defines persons who are not prohibited immigrants and can enter the Union consistent with Section 4 which sets out the categories of prohibited immigrants. Every would-be immigrant would have to pass a dictation test in a language of the immigration officer's choice under Section 4(a) (p. 221 and Appendix XIII) and further satisfy the official that he had not become a prohibited immigrant—that is, if he was re-entering, having either been deported or left the Transvaal.

[3] Section 5(g) vests in the immigration officers the right to demand proof of relationship from women and minor children who claimed right of entry on the ground of being wives and children of Asiatics who had established this right. These powers were vested in the officials by Act 3 of 1906 which amended the Immigrants' Restriction Act (Act 30 of 1903). Giving judgment in the Nathalia case, Mr. Justice Dove Wilson of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court admitted that the Immigration Restriction Officer had been given "apparently unfettered discretion". *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912. The immigration officers were further entitled to satisfy themselves that the wives were not prohibited immigrants. *Vide* also "Indian wives", p. 120 and "A Shocking Case", pp. 159-60.

[4] Section 7 implicitly denied freedom of interprovincial movement to Asiatics already residing in the Union. If they wanted to go to another province they had to pass the stiff Union immigration education test.

[5] Section 7 of the defunct Bill dealt with interprovincial migration and has to be read with Section 6; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 519-20. It does not envisage any education test for interprovincial movement. Gandhiji did, however, have doubts on this point even then as is apparent from his brief to Gregorowski; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 413-4.

Lastly, Section 25, sub-section 2, is an improvement on the three-year rule that was laid down in the draft you were good enough to show me. It is still an exceedingly hard requirement. I do think that those Asiatics in South Africa who are at present domiciled should be able to claim as a matter of right permanent certificates of domicile, and not be at the mercy of an Immigration Officer as to whether they should get such certificates or not. It is true that the clause is only permissive, and that nobody is bound to take out certificates, but its effect would certainly be to practically compel, especially the poorer class of Asiatics, to go a-begging for these certificates, and then take with them documents fixing an arbitrary period of absence.

I do hope, therefore, that these three points will be satisfactorily settled. Whilst I have conferred with a number of my associates, I have not taken any public action yet and I do not propose to take any until I hear from you as to General Smuts' intention. Will you please, if you conveniently can, wire whether the points raised by me will be favourably considered by General Smuts.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

PS.

After signing my letter to you, I re-read Chapter 33 of the O. F. S. Laws. I see that sub-section 2 of Section 28[1] [of the Union immigration bill] is somewhat differently worded from what it was originally intended to be last year. Whilst those immigrants who by passing the education test may enter the Free State should suffer from the disability to have fixed property registered in their name or to carry on a commercial business or farming, they should certainly not have to make the sworn declaration contemlated in Section 8[2]. By reading the latter part of Section 8, you will understand exactly what I mean.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5601

[1] Section 28 specifically declares that any Asiatic immigrant who had passed the Union dictation test would still be subject to Orange Free State Laws which required visiting Asiatics to register afresh and articles 7 and 8 of which prevented Asiatics from settling in the Colony for purposes of farming or trade. Gandhiji's objection was to any endorsing reference in the Union Bill to Orange Free State Laws which were based on colour discrimination; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 466-7 & 469. He had objected to the registration requirement; *vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 10 and Vol. X, pp. 498-9.

[2] This sought to prohibit any Coloured person from settling in the Orange Free State for the purposes of farming or carrying on trade.

179. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[LAWLEY,]
January 30, 1912

TO
INTERIOR'S PRIVATE SECRETARY
CAPE TOWN

POSTED LETTER[2] YESTERDAY IMMIGRATION BILL, BUT VIEW FACT FIRST READING TODAY, WISH DRAW URGENT ATTENTION GENERAL SMUTS THAT SECTIONS 5, 7, 25 DISTURB LEGAL POSITION, BECAUSE THEY MAKE FINAL OFFICER'S DECISION REGARDING RIGHTS DOMICILE, WIVES AND CHILDREN, MAKE EDUCATION TEST FOR INDIANS ENTERING CAPE OR NATAL FROM TRANSVAAL, STIFFER, AND MAKE UNCERTAIN RIGHTS NATAL INDIANS RECEIVE PERMANENT DOMICILE CERTIFICATES. MOREOVER SECTION 28[3] SEEMS CONTEMPLATE DECLARATION UNDER SECTION 8, CHAPTER 33 BY EDUCATED IMMIGRANT ENTERING FREE STATE. AS I HOPE THESE POINTS WILL RECEIVE GENERAL SMUTS' FAVOURABLE ATTENTION HAVE DISSUADED PUBLIC ACTION. AWAITING TELEGRAPHIC REPLY. PLEASE ALSO SAY WHEN SECOND READING[4].

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5604; also photostat: S. N. 5619

[1] To this Gandhiji received the following reply: "Thirtieth January. Your telegram received. Second reading of Immigration Bill is not until 8th February. Matters mentioned in your telegram are being considered." S. N. 5605.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 215.

[4] The second reading did not take place until May 30.

180. *TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[LAWLEY,]
February 1, 1912

WHILE THANKING GENERAL SMUTS' LONG REPLY[1], REGRET IT IS UNSATISFACTORY. FEEL SURE INDIANS WILL NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH BOARD'S CONTROL, ESPECIALLY VIEW PAST EXPERIENCE BOARDS. SURELY EXISTING LEGAL RIGHTS WILL BE DISTURBED BY DEPRIVING SUBJECT OF RIGHT APPEAL JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS. NOR IS CONTENTION REASONABLE THAT EXISTING RIGHTS NOT DISTURBED UNDER SECTION 7, AS TODAY EDUCATED INDIANS MIGRATE NATAL OR CAPE ON PASSING PRESENT TEST. HOW CAN THEY BE EXPECTED EXCHANGE THIS LEGAL RIGHT FOR ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION TEMPERED THOUGH IT MAY BE WITH JUSTICE? FOR NATAL INDIANS TO ACCEPT TEMPORARY PERMITS OF ABSENCE IS TO CLEARLY CHANGE PRESENT LEGAL STATUS. DOMICILE CERTIFICATES AT PRESENT ISSUED CONTAIN FULL DESCRIPTION HOLDER AND INCAPABLE CHANGE HOLDERS WITHOUT DETECTION. FEEL CERTAIN GENERAL SMUTS DOES NOT EXPECT DISTINGUISHED INDIANS MAKE DECLARATION UNDER SECTION 8 FREE STATE LAW. THEY WILL BE UNABLE TRADE OR FARM WITHOUT DECLARATION, WHICH IS MEANT TO BE MADE BY THOSE ONLY WHO WISH SETTLE FREE STATE FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE. GIVING DECLARATION AGAINST WHOLE SPIRIT STRUGGLE UNDERTAKEN SOLELY FOR SELF-RESPECT. HOPE THESE REASONABLE ALTERATIONS WILL BE GRANTED, AND AWFUL REVIVAL OF STRUGGLE AVERTED. AM REFRAINING PUBLIC ACTION[2] PENDING REPLY[3].

GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5608, also photostat: S. N. 5619

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIV.

[2] Gandhiji was as good as his word; these telegrams were not even published in *Indian Opinion* of the time.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 227.

181. *A NOTE*[1]

[On or after *February 2, 1912*]

Urgent

Address of British Indian Union is Miller's Bldgs., 67, Hanover St., Cape Town.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5611

182. *THE NEW IMMIGRATION BILL*

The Union Immigration Bill which is partly intended to satisfy the Transvaal Indian passive resisters is now out. It is in some respects a better bill than that of the last year. But it does not quite fulfil the promise made by General Smuts. General Smuts has undertaken not to disturb the existing legal status throughout South Africa in any general bill designed to meet passive resisters.[2]

The existing legal position is among other things that, at any rate at the Cape and the Transvaal, domicile and the rights of minor children and wives of non-prohibited immigrants are dependent on a decision of the highest tribunal of justice; that British Indians of the Transvaal passing the ordinary simple education test can easily enter the Cape or Natal; and that Indians of Natal have until lately received certificates of domicile as a matter of right upon proving domicile. Under the New Bill the Immigration Officer constitutes the highest court of justice to consider the rights of domiciled Asiatics and their wives and children; educated Indians of the Transvaal have to pass the stiffer test under the new Bill on entering the Cape or Natal and the Natal Indians will be unable to demand certificates of domicile as a matter of right.[3] Now these are new disabilities which passive resisters cannot be expected to accept. We hope, however, that these points are an

[1] Written on a telegram which Gandhiji had received from Makadam Woodstock, Cape Town, dated February 2, which read: "Second reading immigration Thursday. Resolutions wanted by wire. Public meeting of Union Sunday."

[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 46.

[3] "A Notice to Every Indian", published in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912, said : "Indians residing in Natal or the Cape who do not possess proper certificates of domicile are advised not to leave their Provinces for the time being."

oversight and that General Smuts will rectify the defects in Committee. The Free State difficulty is being met with as was suggested last year.[1] Only care will have to be taken that an Indian finding his way to the Free State as an educated immigrant is not called upon under Section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Free State Constitution to make any declaration contemplated by it. If these points are cleared up, we fancy that passive resisters will be completely met.

There still remain general objections by Natal[2] and the Cape. They will be legitimately able to complain of the new education test, and at least be entitled to some guarantee that a certain number of educated Indians from India will be permitted to pass the education test.

The Bill even then will leave many things from an Asiatic standpoint in an unsatisfactory condition. Restriction on inter-state immigration will be a cause of great grievance.[3] And the disabilities of lawful residents as to ownership of landed property, etc., in the Transvaal or the Free State must be a menace to the well-being of Indians and other Asiatics, who, after all, form part of the South African nation that is in process of formation.

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

183. LATE MR. ABDOOLLA HAJEE ADAM

One of the greatest figures in the Indian community of Natal is no more. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam Jhaveri[4], of the well-known firm of Dada Abdoola and Co., breathed his last on Monday last, at the age of 58 leaving a widow, together with the whole

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 498-9 and "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 10.

[2] A meeting of the Natal Indian Congress held on February 4 passed resolutions protesting against: (a) the Union immigration bill and the wide powers vested under it in the administration; (b) the discretion vested in the Immigration Officer to decide the highly technical question of domicile and that of marriage and parentage. The meeting demanded the right of Natal Indians to permanent domiciliary certificates issued by the Government. It protested against the education test, the restriction on interprovincial immigration and the rescinding of domiciliary rights of Natal Indians who could prove three years' residence in the Province.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 214 and telegrams to the Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, pp. 216 & 217.

[4] He invited Gandhiji to South Africa in 1893 to represent his case to an English lawyer.

Indian community and not a few of his European friends to mourn after him. With the deceased was linked the political as also the commercial life of the Indians of Natal. He was one of the first independent Indian settlers of Natal, having almost immediately followed the late Mr. Aboobaker Amod[1]. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam, together with his partners, probably owned the largest Indian business throughout South Africa during the last decade of the past century. His firm had at one time probably no fewer than fifteen branches, their transactions with England, Germany and India running into thousands of pounds sterling. He was the first Indian to have gone in for ship-owning in South Africa, he having bought the *Courland* and the *Khedive*. Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam's political ability was as great as his business talent. He was the President-founder of the Natal Indian Congress. His oratorical powers in his own mother tongue were of no mean order. Though his knowledge of English was all picked up, he could carry on with ease a sustained argument in English. He used to surprise his European friends by his resources in argument and apt illustrations which he used to draw upon for enforcing his point. He headed many a deputation to the Natal Government, especially during the late Sir John Robinson's[2] premiership. Though he was ailing, he took a most active and prominent part in the boycott of the Coronation celebrations when he spoke to the crowds that surrounded him with his old fire. No memoir of Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam would be complete that did not refer to his religious zeal. His greatest pleasure in life was probably to engage in a religious and philosophical discussion. He lost no opportunity of placing before his arguers the beauties of the religion of the holy Prophet of Arabia.

We tender our condolences to the late Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam's family.

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

[1] Abubaker Amod Zaveri; one of the early Indian settlers in the Transvaal, a leading merchant of "silk and fancy goods" and the only Indian to own landed property in the Transvaal. He sent indentured Indians in distress back to India in his ships free of charge and even helped them with food and money *en route*. The transfer, on his death, of his property, which was acquired before Law 3 of 1885 came into force, to his heirs became the subject of much controversy and legislation.

[2] (1839-1903); first Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary of Natal, 1893-7

184. *NEW IMMIGRATION BILL*[1]

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT CLAUSES AND COMMENTS

The Bill will apply to the entire Union of South Africa.

SECTION 3

The Governor-General is empowered to appoint an Immigration Board to help the Government.

COMMENT

We may demand that our people should be represented on this board.

SECTION 4(a)

A person, who is unable to write out 50 words, to the satisfaction of the Immigration Officer in the language which he chooses, will be prohibited from entering the Union.

COMMENT

These may include the Arabic and the Sanskrit languages. Even so the clause is severe. The Transvaal [Indians], however, cannot protest against it; but Natal and the Cape should protest. Also, we cannot hope that this clause will be amended. But an arrangement can be made to ensure the entry of a specified number of educated Indians to meet our needs.

SECTION 4(c)

If a foreign Government sends any [adverse] information about a person, he shall be prevented from entering [the Union].

COMMENT

This section appears to be meant for agitators.

SECTION 5(f) & (g)

A person who wants to enter [the Union] by virtue of his [pre-War] domiciliary rights and whose wife and children also wish to enter [by virtue of his right of entry] should prove their rights to the satisfaction of the [Immigration] Officer.

[1] For extracts from the Bill in English, *vide* Appendix XIII.

COMMENT

Everyone should oppose this section. There is a similar section in the Natal [law]. The Government now intends to introduce this in the Cape and the Transvaal [laws]. Even a satyagrahi cannot accept this section. We should certainly be given the right to appeal to courts of law [against the official's decisions].

SECTION 6

A prohibited immigrant is liable to three months' imprisonment. There is no [provision for a] fine. And he can be deported.

SECTION 7

If an Indian from one Province of the Union wishes to proceed to another, he must pass a fresh [dictation] test.

COMMENT

Under this section it may happen that a few educated Indians from Natal or the Cape may occasionally enter the Transvaal; but it will be very difficult for educated Indians from the Transvaal to go to Natal or the Cape. For, instead of the existing test which is relatively easy, they will have to pass the new test which is more severe. Everyone concerned should oppose this section. This can never be acquiesced in. Even the satyagrahis cannot afford to remain silent [on this point].

SECTION 8

No prohibited immigrant can carry on trade or own land in the Province [where his residence is unlawful], or in any part of the Union.

COMMENT

The effect of the section will be that a Cape Indian, who does not have the right to reside in Natal, cannot own land or carry on trade in that Province.

SECTION 23

The onus of proving that one is not a prohibited immigrant will lie on the [intending immigrant].

COMMENT

All such laws contain a similar section.

SECTION 25 (i)

The Government reserves powers to issue temporary permits on such conditions as it may choose.

COMMENT

Under this section the Government can permit the entry of persons whose services it considers essential.

[SECTION 25(ii)][1]

The [Immigration] officer, in his discretion, may issue to any person who fears that he may forfeit his [domiciliary] right, a permit entitling him to return [to the Province or the Union] after a specified period.

COMMENT

A similar offensive section is contained in the Cape law, but it is a new one for Natal. It is not obligatory on one to take out this permit; but the poor may be [imprisoned and] sorely harassed [if, on their return, they are unable to establish their domiciliary right]. Natal should vehemently oppose this section. The satyagrahis may do so too; but it cannot be asserted just yet that they should fight. One does not forfeit one's right if one does not take out this permit and one can leave Natal after making [other] careful arrangements.

SECTION 28(i) & (ii)

Act 36 of 1908 (the second Asiatic Act) will not apply to those, who enter (the Union) after passing the [dictation] test. But they will nevertheless be subject to Sections 7 & 8 of the Orange Free State Laws[2].

COMMENT

Under this section, an Indian who has passed the test gets an unqualified right to reside in all the four Provinces [of the Union]. He will not have to register himself. He cannot, however, own land in his own name in the Transvaal. In the Orange Free State, he cannot own land, neither can he carry on trade or farming. Satyagrahis cannot ask for more than this. Another campaign, and that on a big scale, should, however, be launched to secure the rights to own land, etc. For this it is essential that Indians should acquire the requisite strength. That will take time. We have still much to learn and to suffer yet.

[1] This power was, in fact, vested in the Minister (Appendix XIII), but Gandhiji here assumes that, in practice, it would be delegated to the Immigration Officer.

[2] Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution.

187. *RESOLUTIONS AT MEETING OF CAPE BRITISH INDIAN UNION*[1]

CAPE TOWN,
February 4, 1912

RESOLUTION I

That this meeting, having heard the address of the President and other speakers, and having been informed of the contents of the Immigration Bill, hereby endorse[s] unanimously the view taken by the President that the rights of the Indian community are placed in serious jeopardy. The meeting expresses its disapproval of the Bill as it stands, and authorizes the President and Secretary, on behalf of the whole Anglo-British Indian community, to petition Parliament, and to take such further, or other, steps as may be necessary to bring about the modification of the Bill in the particulars and on the lines suggested in the President's address, members of the meeting individually promising their strenuous support and assistance wherever possible.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting protests against the arbitrary nature of the new dictation test, both for oversea immigrants, as well as for persons domiciled in one province and wishing to enter or reside in another province.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting protests against the proof of being a domiciled person or being a wife or child of an immigrant or domiciled person, being subject to the satisfaction of an immigration officer instead of being left to the Court.

[1] These resolutions were unanimously passed at "an excellently attended" meeting of the Union held on February 4, 1912 under the chairmanship of the President, E. Norodien, and were forwarded to the Senate and House of Assembly along with a petition containing Cape Indians' objections to the Union Immigration Consolidation Bill; *Indian Opinion*, 17-2-1912. They were presumably drafted by Gandhiji, for, two days before the meeting was to be held, one Makadam from Cape Town informed him by telegram of the date of the meeting and asked him to wire the draft resolutions. On this telegram as received Gandhiji made an urgent memorandum; *vide* "A Note", p. 218. For the text of Makadam's telegram, *vide* footnote 1 on p. 218.

RESOLUTION IV

This meeting protests against the retention of the Cape practice, limiting period of absence in the case of persons desirous of proceeding out of the Union for a temporary purpose.

RESOLUTION V

This meeting protests against the section of the Bill requiring declarations from educated immigrants who enter the Orange Free State.

Indian Opinion, 17-2-1912

188. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[LAWLEY,]
February 6, 1912

STILL AWAIT WIRE AS PROMISED YOURS 2ND INSTANT.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5616

189. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[2]

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY,
February 7, 1912

PRIVATE SECRETARY
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

BEG THANK GENERAL SMUTS WIRE[3] EVINCING CONCILIATORY TONE. IN CIRCUMSTANCES EXPLANATION POSSIBLE AVOID

[1] In reply to Gandhiji's telegram of February 1, the Ministry of Interior had said : "2 Feb. Hope to be able to reply to your wire of 1st February on Monday." S. N. 5615. Gandhiji mentions in his "Diary, 1912" that he drafted this telegram but did not send it; *vide* entries for February 6 and 7. He, however, received a telegram the next day; *vide* Appendix XV.

[2] To this Gandhiji received the following reply the next day : "General Smuts appreciates your reply and especially the spirit in which you have approached the difficulties surrounding the question of immigration. He is considering the matter of interprovincial migration to which you refer, and hopes shortly to be able to give you satisfactory assurances regarding the Provinces of Natal and the Cape." S. N. 5617.

[3] *Vide* Appendix XV.

RENEWAL PAINFUL CONFLICT IF BILL AMENDED SECURE EXISTING LEGAL RIGHTS INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION EDUCATED ASIATICS AS TO WHICH WIRE QUITE SILENT. WILL STILL POSTPONE PUBLIC ACTION PENDING REPLY WHICH I HOPE WILL BE SATISFACTORY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5614; also photostat: S. N. 5619

190. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[LAWLEY,]
February 8, 1912

TO
INTERIOR

WHILST THANKING GENERAL SMUTS FOR PROMISE OF SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES REGARDING INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION, I VENTURE STATE THAT NO ASSURANCES SHORT OF RETENTION EXISTING LEGAL POSITION WILL SATISFY PASSIVE RESISTERS. ALSO VENTURE RECORD THAT MY SUBMISSION HITHERTO HAS BEEN PURELY IN TERMS PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT. RESERVE RIGHT CRITICIZE BILL AS TO MANY OTHER OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5618; also photostat: S. N. 5619

191. THE IMMIGRATION BILL

The Natal Indian Congress and the Cape British Indian Union have lost no time in holding public meetings[1] to protest against the Immigration Bill that was to have been read a second time last Thursday. The resolutions[2] ought to command acceptance. The Bill is designed not only to carry out the policy of almost entire Asiatic exclusion, but, if it is passed in its present form, it will very largely interfere with vested rights, and Asiatics generally will find themselves at the mercy of Immigration Officers.

[1] & [2] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 219 and "Resolutions at Meeting of Cape British Indian Union", pp. 226-7.

General Botha's declaration[1] made in England, and repeated elsewhere : that the Union Government do not desire to molest the resident Asiatic population of South Africa, will be falsified. It is more an Asiatic Expulsion Bill than an Immigration Consolidation Bill, as its authors have entitled it. The rights of residence of domiciled Asiatics and those of their wives and children are very seriously threatened, and the movement of educated Asiatics as between Natal and the Cape as also the Transvaal on the one hand and the Cape and Natal on the other, is to be considerably restricted by the new Bill. So that not a single section of the Asiatic community has been left untouched. Moreover Natal and the Cape have a special grievance in that educated Indians of the status of clerks and assistants will be practically prohibited immigrants under the arbitrary education test now proposed. The remarks[2] of *The Star* in its leading article of the 31st ultimo on this portion of the Bill are very apposite. Let us hope that the timely protest of the Natal Indian Congress and the British Indian Union will receive a sympathetic hearing from the Government, and an ugly situation that must otherwise inevitably arise be avoided.

Indian Opinion, 10-2-1912

[1] General Botha, who was visiting England in connection with the Imperial Conference, made a Press statement in London on May 23, 1911, expressing gratification over the Provisional Settlement of May 20. Reuter further reported that "he was sure that the Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. They could be fully assured that the Government entertained no hostility towards them, but must always remember that the Government was determined not to admit more, except as provided in the agreement. He hoped that the Indians both in Africa and in India would realize that Mr. Smuts had great difficulty in obtaining the concessions he had already made."

[2] *The Star*, commending the education test prescribed under the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act of 1907 (which judged the ability of a would-be immigrant to write and sign, in any European language, an application for permission to enter the Colony) condemned the Bill as going "beyond the bounds of either equity or expediency" and said that the education test prescribed under it gave "the most arbitrary power" to Government officials. That there was a Board of Appeal was of no use for the reversal of the decision of an "arbitrary officer—possibly with anti-Semitic tendencies", after many days, would be no recompense for the loss of money and the inconvenience caused. There was no provision in the Bill that the language selected by the immigration officials would be one of those commonly spoken in the immigrant's country or among his race. This, said *The Star*, was "Hertzogism run riot" and enabled "a satellite Minister of Justice to exclude an Englishman because he cannot pass a fifty words' test in the Taal". *Indian Opinion*, 10-2-1912.

192. FIRST INSTALMENT OF FAMINE RELIEF FUND[1]

We have sent Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta a cheque for £100, being our first instalment towards the Famine Relief Fund. Any suggestions by contributors have also been forwarded to Dr. Mehta. Dr. Mehta is not unknown among the Indians here. His intention is to visit the famine areas and have his own contribution expended on the spot. We feel, therefore, it is only through him that the best use can be made of the collections.[2] Equally, the instructions which we have received or may receive in future about the disbursement of the money received for specific purposes or in specific areas can be best implemented through him.

This would also seem to be the right occasion to clarify some points which have been raised about the famine fund that is being collected. To contribute to this fund we have started and to entrust us with its utilization as has been done is one method. We have also received some instructions for disbursements independently of the *Indian Opinion* fund; to have the money thus sent through us is another method. Those who intend to send money anywhere on their own may do so. Our only aim must be to see that those who realize the seriousness of the famine do send help to the home country. There can be no question of anyone taking special credit to himself.

We know that ours is a modest fund. The leaders [of the community] may, if they are prepared to assume the responsibility, undertake collection on a larger scale; it would do them credit if they did so. If no collection on any large scale is to be undertaken, we believe every Indian ought to give his mite to our fund.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 10-2-1912

[1] *Vide* "Famine in India", pp. 182 & 197-8.

[2] The subject of the famine figured often in Gandhiji's letters to Dr. Mehta; *vide* pp. 161, 166 & 183.

193. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

February 15, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I am still awaiting the promised reply[1] in connection with the Immigration Bill. I take this opportunity of reiterating what I have briefly submitted in my telegrams[2].

As to sub-sections (f) and (g) of Clause 5, if the interpretation is as given in your telegram[3], to the effect that the jurisdiction of the courts is not ousted, it will be entirely satisfactory. In view, however, of the decision of the Natal Bench,[4] I am very nervous as to the Clause, in spite of the assurance given in your telegram. I am, therefore, taking legal opinion myself.[5]

As to Section 7, passive resisters can have nothing to complain of, if the present legal position, namely, the ability of educated Asiatics to enter Natal or the Cape from the Transvaal by passing the education tests provided by the respective laws of the Provinces is retained.

As to the Free State, if the reading of your Law Officer is correct, that the declaration under Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution will not be necessary, this serious difficulty will have been solved, but as it is a matter of vital importance, we are taking legal opinion on it too.

Lastly, if domiciled Indians of Natal cannot, as a matter of right, claim to have domicile certificates issued to them, passive resisters cannot consistently object to Section 25(2)[6] of the Bill. I

[1] To "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 228.

[2] Of January 30 (p. 216), February 1 (p. 217), February 7 (pp. 227-8) and February 8 (p. 228)

[3] *Vide* Appendix XV.

[4] In the case of *Mahomed Moosa Nathalia* v. *Principal Immigration Officer*, the Natal Division of the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the decision of the Immigration Officer who had, in his discretion, ruled that the evidence produced to show that young Nathalia was the rightful son was inadequate. Leave to appeal from the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court was refused by an Appellate Court. *Indian Opinion*, 3-2-1912, 10-2-1912 & 17-2-1912.

[5] *Vide* the following item.

[6] The Section required, *inter alia*, that Asiatics who wished to leave the Union temporarily had to take out a domiciliary certificate and in order to return were required to establish their identity in any manner prescribed from time to time; *vide* Appendix XIII. The argument is that, if domiciliary certificates

would, however, take the opportunity of pointing out that, if one thousand certificates were confiscated,[1] it entirely proves my statement that the certificates that have been issued could not be transferred without detection. That a thousand certificates have been confiscated between, I suppose, 1896 and now, shows that sixty Indians per year were ready to demean themselves by using certificates of domicile not their own, and that, being detected, they received a punishment fitting their crime.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5625

194. LETTER TO R. GREGOROWSKI

JOHANNESBURG,
February 15, 1912

DEAR MR. GREGOROWSKI,

I enclose herewith statement for your Opinion on the new Bill. You were good enough to give me your Opinion, which, as I told you, proved most valuable to me, on the Bill that General Smuts attempted to carry through the House last year.[2] I enclose for your assistance, in addition to the Statement for your Opinion, an extract giving the necessary Sections from the Orange Free State laws, as also your Opinion given last year, the Bill and the Natal and Cape immigration laws.

Yours sincerely,

R. GREGOROWSKI, ESQ.
PRETORIA

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cannot be demanded as a matter of right, identification as required in Section 25(2) should not be peremptory.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XV.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 413-4.

[ENCLOSURE]

STATEMENT FOR COUNSEL'S OPINION

Counsel's opinion is requested on the following points arising out of the Immigration Bill now before the Union Parliament:

1. Section 5,[1] sub-sections (f) and (g) exempt from the prohibition clause wives and minor children of lawful immigrants and domiciled residents, as also domiciled persons themselves, who satisfy an Immigration Officer as to their rights whether as wives and children or as domiciled residents.
   Does this Clause remove the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts of law? And, if it does not, to what extent, if any, is the jurisdiction of the courts ousted[?] Will the decisions of Immigration Officers be subject to appeal in the same manner as those of magistrates' courts? Is the exemption clause in any way affected by Section 7[2]?
2. Several British Indians are today in Natal or the Cape by reason of their having passed the education tests under the immigration laws of the respective Provinces.
   In what way are they protected under the Bill? Do they become both domiciled and entitled to reside in their respective Provinces by reason of their having entered them by passing the education test, or are they protected only because their rights have not been taken away specifically by the Bill?
3. What is the position of those who entered Natal or the Cape by passing the education test, but who are at present temporarily absent from their respective Provinces?
4. The present laws provide for the protection of the rights of those who are domiciled in the respective Provinces, but the Bill protects the rights of those only who are both domiciled and entitled to reside in the Union or any Province.
   What is the exact meaning of the additional, if any, restriction imposed by the clause underlined?
5. Section 7 says that the person referred to therein may at any time be required to pass that (that is, the education)test.
   Could a man who has once, after the passing of the Bill, passed the education test, be challenged again, although he may prove that he has passed the test?
   Is a person who passes the test under the Bill liable to be examined again upon passing from one Province to another,

[1] *Vide* footnotes 2 and 3 on p. 214; also Appendix XIII.

[2] *Vide* footnote 4 on p. 214.

although he may be in a position to prove that he has already, upon entering the Union, passed the test?

6. Section 25 of the Bill gives the Minister discretion to issue a permit to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union desiring to absent himself therefrom.[1]
What will be the position of those who fail to take out such permits? Will it be enough protection for them if, rather than take out these permits, they, for instance, appear before a Notary Public, make a declaration as to their residence and then leave, and, on return, submit the declaration filed in the protocol of the Notary in proof of their right of domicile and residence?
7. Section 28 of the Bill, sub-section 2: those who enter the Free State by passing the education test are subject in all respects to the provisions of Articles 7 and 8 of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution.[2]
Now Section 8 provides, among other things, that those who are permitted by the State President to settle in the State shall make and sign a sworn declaration before the Landdrost to whom they make the application in which they shall declare that they will neither directly nor indirectly carry on a commercial business, etc. Could such a declaration be required from immigrants entering the Free State Province under the new Bill.
8. Will Counsel please generally compare the present Bill with the laws it replaces, and state how far in other respects it is more restrictive of the liberty of the subject?

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5626-7

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIII.

[2] *Vide* footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 215.

195. *THE £3 TAX*[1]

The judgment[2] given by a full bench of the Supreme Court, which appears in another column, would show that every Indian who has entered into a period of re-indenture or contract of service under the provisions of Act 19 of 1910 is liable to pay the annual licence of £3 for the current year. This means that all those who were induced to re-indenture by reading the Government's circular issued in April, 1910, have been cruelly deceived.[3] Whatever the intention of the Act may have been, the fact remains that perhaps thousands of Indians have entered into fresh contracts of service, fully believing that they would be relieved thereby from both arrears and current payments. Not only did the poor ignorant people believe this, but the Government departments also acted upon that interpretation. Some months ago the Law Department seems to have issued instructions to prosecute all those who had not paid the current licence. A test case[4] was brought before the Umlazi Court in which it was decided that, during the existence of the contract of service, payment should be suspended. Consequently

[1] *Vide* "The £3 Tax", pp. 179-82.

[2] On February 9, 1912, the Natal Division of the Supreme Court dismissed N. Mudaly's appeal against the Lower Tugela Division Magistrate's decision declaring Mudaly liable to the payment of the £3 tax. The appellant argued that Act 19 of 1910 protected him from this payment since he had entered into a contract of service on the expiry of his indenture. *Indian Opinion,* 17-2-1912.

[3] In its letter of November 18, 1911, to the Secretary for Justice, the Natal Indian Congress had referred to the circular of April 1910, issued by the Protector of Immigrants in a number of Indian languages (footnote 2 on p. 181) and claimed freedom for re-indentured Indians and others who had entered into civil contracts from payment of the current licence fee. It also proposed to agitate for the abolition of the tax altogether. It suggested that the Government might levy a genuine revenue tax thus compensating itself for the losses. *Indian Opinion,* 2-12-1911. In his reply of February 2, 1912, the Acting Secretary for the Interior asked for more information about the re-indentured men who had been prosecuted for non-payment of the licence fee.

[4] Vencatachale Naik was brought before the Umlazi Court some time during November, 1911, charged with the non-payment of the £3 fee. The Magistrate decided that the current licence fee should not be demanded from him—presumably because he had entered into a civil contract. Following this some "forty to fifty summonses" which had been issued were withdrawn. The Umlazi case was cited by the Natal Indian Congress in its letter of February 17, 1912 to the Acting Secretary for the Interior. *Indian Opinion,* 24-2-1912.

forty or fifty summonses which had been issued were withdrawn. The Government seems to have decided to abide by that decision, for nothing further was heard of it. Now, it appears, the Magistrate of Lower Tugela Division has given his decision to the effect that the current licence must be paid, and the Supreme Court has upheld that decision. This brings the matter to a head and we shall shortly see what the intention of the Government is. If the Minister of Justice has a spark of humanity in him, he will at once instruct the Courts not to prosecute, for he knows well enough that many if not all of the people affected by the judgment have been trapped into fresh contracts of service by the inducements held out in the late Natal Government's circular. We understand that already the machinery of the law is being set in motion and that summonses are being issued.

There is also an element of farce about the whole business. We happen to know that, if a free Indian who has managed to escape payment of the tax wishes to return to India, no one will prevent his going, even though he may owe arrears amounting to twenty pounds. Yet this same Government rewards the man who has been inveigled into a contract of re-indenture by making him pay £3 per annum so long as he is willing to slave away for the benefit of planters and other employers! Surely it does not need a very wise man to see both the absurdity and injustice of such procedure?

On the same page as the judgment will be found a letter from the Secretary for the Interior in reply to the Natal Indian Congress's letter of November last, which was addressed to the Minister of Justice. The Congress requested that all those who had acted upon the words of the circular should be relieved from payment. Now, after waiting three months, what is the result? The Minister of Justice, whose department was responsible for the issue of summonses against these poor Indians, ignores the request and sends the letter to the Department for the Interior which asks of the Natal Indian Congress a question which the Minister of Justice was better able to answer. In fact, when inquiry was made at the Court from which the summonses were issued, the information was refused and the advice given to obtain such information through the Secretary for Justice!

So we have the spectacle of a great Government using its tremendous power to tyrannize over poor defenceless Indians—men and women who have given their very life-blood in making Natal a prosperous country. It is the duty of the Natal Indian Congress to boldly defend these poor people. Whatever reply it chooses to

send to the Minister for the Interior, it must at all costs see to it that those who are helpless shall not seek in vain for succour.

Indian Opinion, 17-2-1912

196. LETTER TO CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Maha Vad 0 [February 18, 1912][1]

CHI. CHANCHAL,

I had a letter from you after many months. I should like you to be less lazy about writing letters.

I can very well understand your natural desire to be with Chi. Harilal. I do not at all wish to come in your way in this. Live, both of you, as you wish and do what you like. I can have but one wish: you should be happy and remain so.

Personally, I do not like your giving Kanti[2] Mellin's Food. I think it a sin to use any foreign goods in India, and the use of food products is all the more distasteful to me now. I cannot help feeling that all such products are polluted. Even when they do not contain animal fat, alcohol, etc., I have noticed that they are not entirely free from contamination by them, since foreigners do not object to the use of these. We should know that our children grew well enough in the olden days without these foreign foods; hence my advice is that we too should do without them. Wheat, well roasted, ground fine and mixed with a little *gur* and water will serve the same purpose as Mellin's Food. We can prepare a number of things to replace it.

It is easy to see that your presence there and that of Rami and Kanti must be a great comfort to Chhabalbhabhi[3].

Personally I don't see how Ba or I can get away from here just now.

Manilal is here at present. He will leave in the middle of Phagan[4]. Jamnadas, too, is here. I am busy at present with the affairs of the school. There are 25 pupils, eight of them Muslims, two Parsis and the rest Hindus. Among the last, five are from

[1] This letter appears to have been written on the same day as the succeeding one; *vide* entry for February 17 in "Diary, 1912".

[2] The addressee's son

[3] Chanchalbehn Gandhi's mother

[4] A month in the Vikram calendar corresponding to February-March in the year 1912.

Madras and one from Calcutta, and the rest are Gujaratis. Jamnadas and others help with the teaching.

My loving kisses to Ramibai and Kantibhai. Ask Bali to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 9529

197. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Maha Vad 0 [February 18, 1912][1]

CHI. HARILAL,

I have had a letter from you after many months. You say you try to be regular, but you seem to have failed in your effort, and the fresh hope you held out to me has not been fulfilled. Since you wrote last, there have been two posts without a letter from you.

Chanchi has expressed a desire to stay on with you and asked for my opinion. I have replied to her,[2] and given her other news as well. She will send the letter on to you. If she does not, ask for it. I do not therefore repeat [its contents]. I have no objection to your living together. Do what you like and live as you deem proper.

Your staying with Sheth Miankhan is all right. Press him once again to accept some rent. I shall speak to Chandabhai when I meet him.

Why Chanchi [should have] the same disease as Ba. . . [3]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9541

[1] This appears to have been written in 1912; *vide* entry for February 17 in "Diary, 1912". In that year *Maha Vad* 0 corresponds to February 18.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Further pages of this letter are missing.

198. LETTER TO R. GREGOROWSKI

February 20, 1912

DEAR MR. GREGOROWSKI,

I thank you for your letter. I shall await your opinion with very considerable interest. I quite agree that the draft is an awful humbug, and one of the ways I can fight it successfully is to get your valuable opinion. It would not do for me to use your last year's opinion[1], as there are some new points at least in the present Bill, and as I have to use your opinion both here and in London in support of the contentions I have already advanced, in so far, of course, as your views are in agreement with mine. I, therefore, hope that you will give me your opinion on all the points I have raised without referring to last year's opinion, except in so far as you may use it for comparing the present Bill with last year's draft[2].

I am,
Yours sincerely,

R. GREGOROWSKI, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5630

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 413-4.
[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 516-28.

199. *TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS*

[Before *February 21, 1912*][1]

TO
ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SEEN CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING VISITING PERMITS FOR M. SALY KANJEE JEEWANBHAI LALJEE MEGHJEEBHAI I THINK YOU HAVE REFUSED APPLICATION THROUGH NOT KNOWING FULL CIRCUMSTANCES. PARTIES NOW LOURENCO MARQUES. THEY REPRESENT I UNDERSTAND HIS HIGHNESS AGA KHAN AND ARE VISITING CENTRES . . .[2] ASIATIC KHOJAS . . .[3] TRUST YOU WILL GRANT AUTHORIZE YOUR AGENT LOURENCO MARQUES ISSUE VISITORS PERMITS THREE WEEKS UPON APPLICATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5659

[1] The visit of the representatives of the Aga Khan to Johannesburg and Tolstoy Farm is referred to in a news-item in *Indian Opinion*, 2-3-1912; it also mentions that they bought a pair of sandals at the Farm. Hussein Dawad, in a Gujarati article entitled "A Diary of My Tour" (*Indian Opinion*, 27-7-1912) mentions having met one of these persons during his travels in Zanzibar. Gandhiji, who refers to them briefly as "Zanzibar Memans", records their visit in his entry for February 21 in "Diary, 1912", and a ten-shilling credit entry, which represented the price of the sandals, figures in his accounts for the day. This telegram, which seeks permission for their entry into the Transvaal, was evidently sent, if at all, some time before that date.

[2] & [3] Some words here are illegible.

200. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

[LAWLEY,]
February 24, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have now received Counsel's Opinion on the Bill.[1] According to it:

(1) the Bill does oust the jurisdiction of the lower courts and also of the superior courts, except by way of mandamus.[2]
This will certainly curtail the legal rights of the Transvaal Indians, if not of the others.

(2) It may be that proof of domicile will be required of Transvaal Indians before they can bring their wives or children, although they may be duly registered, and apart from proof of registration.[3]
I am sure such is not General Smuts' intention. The matter should, in my opinion, be placed absolutely beyond doubt.

(3) Educated Asiatic immigrants will be liable to make the declaration required by Section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Constitution.[4]

All the points referred to by me, it will be admitted, are of the highest importance as well from the passive resistance standpoint as from that of common justice. I trust, therefore, that the defects will be remedied.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5634

[1] *Vide* letters to Lane and Gregorowski, pp. 231-4.

[2] In the interpretation of Section 5(f) and (g) of the Union Immigration Bill of 1912; *vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", p. 233.

[3] The reference is to Section 25(2).

[4] The reference is to Section 28.

201. MISREPRESENTATION

We publish in another column the reply of the Colonial Office to the representation made by Lord Ampthill's Committee in the Nathalia case[1]. Mr. Harcourt has been given to understand that the new Bill now before the Union Parliament will prevent "a recurrence of such a case". Mr. Harcourt, therefore, declines to take any action in the matter. Mr. Harcourt's statement that the new Bill will preclude a recurrence of such a case proves the hardship of the case. He has obviously based his letter on information given to him by the Union Ministers. Now, everybody who knows anything of the new Bill knows that, in its present form, it does nothing of the kind. It simply exaggerates the existing evil. The Nathalia tragedy was possible because the Immigration Officer had autocratic powers. These are further increased by the new Bill. If in cases such as this, wherein misrepresentation can be easily exposed, the Union Government do not hesitate to misrepresent matters to the Imperial Government, who can tell what misrepresentations they have made in matters which will never see the light of day?

Mr. Harcourt's refusal to intervene in the individual case of the boy Nathalia is not easy to understand. The injustice is admitted. Surely he could, therefore, ask the Union Government, we shall not say, to exercise mercy, but to undo the mischief done by their own officers. Nathalia's sacrifice on the altar of an anti-Asiatic policy will rankle in the breast of every Indian in South Africa. If we cannot act more decisively it does not show that we feel the injustice any the less for it; we simply betray our weakness. But neither the Imperial Government nor the Union Government dare trade upon our weakness with impunity. A community that has once wielded the weapon of passive resistance may be relied upon to do so again on due occasion.

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1912

[1] For details of the case, *vide* "A Shocking Case", pp. 159-60, "A Shameful Act", pp. 203-4 and footnote 4 on p. 231. The SABI Committee, London, wrote to the Colonial Office on January 19, 1912, regarding the inability of the Natal Courts to interfere in Nathalia's case. The Colonial Office reply, dated February 5, 1912, said: "Mr. Harcourt understands that the recurrence of such a case is precluded by the terms of the Immigration Bill now before the Union Parliament and he does not propose to take any action in the matter." *Indian Opinion*, 9-3-1912.

202. *MRS. JUSSAT'S CASE*

If Mrs. Jussat is deported,[1] the Transvaal British Indian Association, the Hamidia Islamic Society and, to some extent, all the Indians in South Africa will lose face.

The Government's reply[2] to Mr. Cachalia is entirely unsatisfactory. It only goes to prove that no assurance by the Government can be relied on. The law is the last word.

General Smuts had clearly said that, notwithstanding Justice Wessels' judgment, he would grant relief in cases of hardship.[3] The community can only interpret this to mean that, whenever anyone can establish that he has contracted a second marriage in conformity with the law of his religion and wants to bring in his second wife, he should not be prevented from doing so.

General Smuts writes that there are no extraordinary facts about this case [which would warrant interference by the Government]. What extraordinary facts does he require? It is a fact important enough for us that Mrs. Jussat is a legally married wife of Mr. Jussat.

What does Mr. Jussat propose to do? Will he let his wife be deported and himself stay on in the Transvaal, without a word of protest, for the sake of his wretched belly? What do his

[1] Ebrahim Mahomed Jussat, a registered Transvaal resident, had two wives, Rasool in Standerton and Fatima in India. When Rasool left him, he wanted to bring Fatima to South Africa. The Barberton Magistrate disallowed Fatima's claim to entry on the ground that, since Rasool had already acquired domicile as Jussat's wife, his first wife could not also claim entry. Fatima's appeal to the Transvaal Bench of the Supreme Court was dismissed on February 13, 1912, by Justice Wessels who, in his judgment, referred to his earlier ruling in Adam Ismail's case (footnote 1 on p. 120 and "Johannesburg", pp. 122-3) that a Muslim could bring in only one wife and this, in Jussat's case, was Rasool whom he had not divorced. *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912.

[2] Both Cachalia and Bawazeer had written to Smuts on February 15, 1912 protesting against Justice Wessels' judgment. On February 29, 1912, the British Indian Association sent a telegraphic reminder to Smuts who, on March 2, 1912, replied that he was unable to find "such exceptional circumstances in Mrs. Jussat's case as to warrant his intervention". *Indian Opinion*, 24-2-1912 & 9-3-1912.

[3] On July 10, 1911, Smuts had, in a letter to the British Indian Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society, assured them that the Judge's ruling in the case of Adam Ismail regarding the immigration of Muslims' wives had been noted and that cases involving hardship brought to his notice would receive consideration. *Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1911.

friends propose to do? Will they look on, bangles on wrists,[1] while the police deport Mrs. Jussat, in this awful manner, for no fault of hers?

What does the Association propose to do? Does its duty end with sending telegrams and letters? Does the Hamidia Islamic Society intend to sit still? Will not its office-bearers realize that Islam is being insulted?

The issue is not whether Mr. Jussat is poor or rich, good or bad. He brought his wife in and the Government has made ready to push her out. That is [tantamount to] pushing us all out.

Let not Natal or the Cape feel that they do not have a similar law in those Provinces.

We hope that Mrs. Jussat is a brave woman and that, if deported, she will re-cross [the frontier] to join her husband and will, if necessary, go to gaol, for doing so.

We hope that Mr. Jussat will keep up the spirit that would be worthy of an Indian husband and that, accepting poverty for the sake of his wife, he will suffer whatever hardship is necessary; then, he will secure relief.

We trust Mr. Jussat's friends will encourage him, dip into their pockets if need be, and come forward to secure redress from the Government.

We trust the Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society will remember their previous records and fight on till they have succeeded in securing relief.

Let everyone remember that we have, first and last, only one remedy—satyagraha and nothing else.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1912

203. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
Saturday, March 9, 1912

Messrs Medh and Pragji have rendered great service to the community by especially coming over to the Transvaal from Natal and going to gaol. Even after their release, they did not, impelled

[1] Gandhiji often used this image; *vide*, for instance, Vol. VIII, p. 215.

[2] The meeting was held in the Independent Church Hall, Johannesburg, to bid farewell to Surendrarai Medh and Pragji Khandubhai Desai—both satyagrahis—who were leaving for India; *vide* the following item.

by love of money, seek any means of making it, but stayed on at Tolstoy Farm and helped in running the school and in its other activities.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

204. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Phagan Vad 8 [March 11, 1912][1]

DEAR SHRI PRANJIVAN,

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Surendrarai Medh and Mr. Pragji Desai or by either of them. They are both naturally looking forward to the privilege of meeting you. They have heard much about you from me. If practicable, they want to take up famine-relief work under you while they are there. Both of them are staunch satyagrahis. Mr. Medh has taken a vow to observe *brahmacharya* and devote himself to the service of the motherland for ten years. His letter about this I have sent to you to read. Mr. Pragji also wants to take a similar vow. Everything will depend on how his mind works after he has consulted his elders. Mr. Medh, too, will have to consider how far he can keep to his pledge after he has reached Ahmedabad. It is certain that his father will put the utmost pressure on him.

I should like you to send for both of them. If you do, please let them have the railway fare. Both of them live in poverty. They are due to return here before Professor Gokhale's visit.

Bande Mataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 1262

[1] This letter was written after the announcement, made on December 29, 1911, about the projected visit by Gokhale to South Africa and before he actually arrived on October 22, 1912. It could therefore have been written only in 1912. Medh and Desai left for India for a short visit on March 21. *Vide* also the preceding item.

205. THE INDENTURE RESOLUTION

It would have been strange if Mr. Gokhale's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council at Calcutta calling for entire stoppage of indentured labour had been carried.[1] But it would appear that the elected members almost solidly voted for the resolution. It is, therefore, a great moral victory. Mr. Gokhale is not a man to leave off a thing after he has once undertaken it. It is reasonable, therefore, to hope that the system of indentured labour—that remnant of slavery—would end in the near future. We congratulate Mr. Gokhale on his great work. By this, his latest, effort on behalf of a class of his helpless countrymen, he has added greatly to the debt due to him by us.

There seems to be some misunderstanding regarding this resolution. It does not, as some of our readers suppose, alter the position as it exists today in Natal. That is to say, the rejection of this resolution does not undo what has already been done by the Indian Government.[2] Just as recruiting has been prohibited for Natal, the Indian Government has the power, at any time, to put a stop to recruiting for all other Colonies if the treatment of Indians is unsatisfactory. What Mr. Gokhale's motion would have done, if it had been successful, was to have put a stop to recruiting under the indenture system for all the Colonies.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

206. MR. RUTHNUM PATHER

The appearance in our midst of another young Natal-born Indian barrister, fresh from his successful career as a student in England,[3] is an indication that the rising generation of Indians are a force to be reckoned with. Mr. Ruthnum Pather, who was born and brought up in Durban and attended the Higher-Grade Indian School, said, at the reception given in his honour, that he looked

[1] Gokhale's resolution was defeated by 33 votes to 22. *Indian Opinion*, 9-3-1912.

[2] *Vide* footnote 5 on p. 99.

[3] While he was in England as a member of the 1906 deputation to the Imperial Government, Gandhiji evinced much interest in Pather's education; *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 25, 104-5, 180-1, 234-5 & 249-50.

forward with pride to the prospect of sharing the community's sufferings, prosperity and happiness. The first of these he will certainly have a full opportunity of sharing; the second depends on what he considers to be prosperity; and the last is an illusive phantom which, if pursued, is never gained, but is rather found in duty faithfully done. Mr. Pather rightly boasts of the ancient civilization of India; and it is well if he keeps this before his mind, for, although we do not wish to disparage brilliancy in educational achievements, we fear that there is a danger of our young men, who have received an education entirely on Western lines, losing sight of their own nationality, their religion, and their mother tongue which is so rich in literature and culture. We extend a hearty welcome to our young friend, and we trust that his return to his native place will prove a blessing to himself, to those who come in contact with him, and to the whole Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1912

207. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[LAWLEY,]
March 20, 1912

TO
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

COULD YOU NOW INFORM ME ABOUT IMMIGRATION BILL. HAVE CABLE FROM INDIA INQUIRING ABOUT IT.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the office copy in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5641

[1] The Minister replied on the same day that it was "impossible to forecast when the Immigration Bill will be dealt with . . . however, when it is possible to state approximate date will communicate with you". S. N. 5642.

208. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Chaitra Sud 6 [*March 24, 1912*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had a letter from Chi. Maganlal. I can make nothing of your meeting. Nor can I gather the purport of the minutes. I do not understand why you cannot have your original place on your return. Let me know what the upshot of it all was. I am not writing separately to Chi. Maganlal. I am rather busy with accounts work. In case they do not accept you as manager, they should, it may be suggested, decide what work to assign to you in the press. All the same, you had better remain quiet for the present. Let me know what happens. Given patience, this phantom will disappear. I should like to feel sure that you are unperturbed.

The accompanying list of subscriptions to the famine-relief fund sent by Chi. Abhechand[2] is to be published.[3] The cheque has been received here.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 5638. Courtesy : Chhaganlal Gandhi

209. PUBLIC LETTER TO RATAN J. TATA

[LAWLEY,]
April 1, 1912

I am ashamed to have to own that I am only now able to fulfil the promise I made to you and to myself in my letter[4] acknowledging your second generous contribution of Rs. 25,000

[1] The reference to the famine fund would suggest that the letter was written in 1912.

[2] Son of Amritlal Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin. Abhechand Gandhi had his business at Tongaat in Natal.

[3] Though the list is not available, it is possibly the one published in *Indian Opinion*, 30-3-1912.

[4] This letter is not available. Tata's earlier donation of Rs. 25,000 to the Transvaal Satyagrahis' Fund was made in November, 1909; *vide* Vol. X, p. 83. He sent a further contribution of the same value on November 18, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, p. 379.

towards the expenses of the great Passive Resistance struggle, that I should write a public letter to you, in which I intended to incorporate an account of receipts and expenditure. The reason for this long delay is that my time has been fully occupied with one thing or another arising out of the struggle which I could not very well postpone, and I did not care to address the letter without giving a financial statement. However, with the zealous assistance of Mr. Sorabjee Shapurjee, the stalwart passive resister, I have just finished the account, of which I give you herewith a full summary[1].

You will see, on the expenditure side, "Farm Capital Account". This represents the expense of erecting dwellings on Mr. Kallenbach's farm[2]. The bulk, if not the whole, of it is returnable by Mr. Kallenbach, in terms of the grant of the use of his farm to passive resisters, on its being vacated. The item for *Indian Opinion* has been explained in the previous account rendered in my public letter[3] to the hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. The item "Relief" includes all disbursements made to indigent families of passive resisters and all other help given to them or to their families. All the other items speak for themselves. As to the receipt column, all I need remark upon is that the funds received from Rangoon and London were entirely earmarked for relief purposes, and certain items from India were so earmarked by Mr. Petit. All these instructions have been strictly followed. There are some items in the receipt column included under the heading "Local" which are not, strictly speaking, contributions, but which are either refunds or receipts for disbursements specially made. It also includes boarding-expenses paid by the parents of the boys attending the farm school.

But for the willing assistance rendered free of charge by many a volunteer, the timely assistance of Mr. Kallenbach, and, above all, the readiness with which passive resisters' families fell in with the idea of going to the farm, the expenses would have been much greater.

Before quitting this subject of accounts, I would like to add also that the expenditure shown in the account takes no note of hundreds of pounds raised locally and disbursed by local committees, nor of private collections of which our countrymen will probably never know anything. The financial sacrifice made by

[1] *Vide* enclosure.

[2] Tolstoy Farm

[3] Of April 25, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 229-33.

the community during the struggle which has extended over a period of four years has been very considerable, and it has been my agreeable experience to notice that those who have continuously gone to gaol for the sake of their and their country's honour have been also the men who have cheerfully spent most in aid of the struggle.

You will observe that there is already a deficit, and I am obliged to fall back upon such resources as are available to me to meet it. It commenced nearly three months ago. Happily, two timely remittances were received from Mr. Petit lately. If no assistance is received from India, and it is not possible to raise subscriptions here, it will be a matter for consideration where the pruning-knife should be applied. Most of the passive resisters' families have withdrawn from the farm, and their husbands or bread-winners have found for themselves means of earning a livelihood, but they all understand that, in the event of a revival of the struggle, they are to return to the farm.

Though the Union Parliament is still sitting, and the Immigration Bill, designed to give effect to the terms set forth in the correspondence[1] that passed last year between General Smuts and myself, has been read a first time, it is difficult to say whether the struggle will be entirely closed this year. The Bill itself is open to certain objections from the passive resistance standpoint, as it is also from a general standpoint.[2] In my opinion, it does not entirely carry out the agreement[3], but I have great hope that, so far as objections in terms of the agreement are concerned, the Bill will be amended. If it is not in any vital particular, the struggle will most assuredly be revived. But there is also some ground for the fear that the Bill may not be passed during the current session at all, in which case the farm will, in all probability, have to be continued. As you know, the struggle has centred round the racial bar in the Transvaal immigration legislation, and we have consistently opposed it from the very commencement. So long as the

[1] Negotiations by correspondence began in November, 1910 and continued up to May 20, 1911, when the Provisional Settlement was arrived at. For Gandhiji's letters to the Minister of the Interior during March, 1911, *vide* Vol. X and for letters addressed to Gandhiji, *vide* relevant Appendices. Between April 1 and May 20, 1911, Gandhiji communicated with the Minister of the Interior or his Private Secretary on the following dates: April 7, 8, 19, 20, 22 & 29 and May 4, 18, 19 & 20. For letters from the Union Government, *vide* Appendices I, II, IV, V & VI.

[2] *Vide* letters to Lane, pp. 213-5 & 231-2.

[3] Of May 20, 1911

Transvaal persists in treating Asiatics as prohibited immigrants because they are Asiatics, so long will the struggle continue. Once that bar is removed, and details into which I need not go, are settled in accordance with the written undertaking, passive resisters will have achieved their purpose. How many and who will actually be able to enter the Transvaal or the Union, as the case may be, is a matter on which passive resisters, as such, have not laid any stress. The number of entrants and the manner of entry will largely depend upon the general behaviour of the community here and the demand made by India.

Perhaps the most substantial result of the struggle is the establishment of a school at the farm, which is being conducted by me, assisted until recently by Messrs Medh and Desai, two staunch passive resisters, and assisted at present by a cousin[1] of mine. The pupils number twenty-five, and the desire is not to admit more than fifty. No day-scholars are accepted, and all must remain on the farm. The parents of most of the boys pay £1. 10s. per month for their sons' board. The amounts so received are credited in the passive resistance account. No school fees are charged. Manual training is combined with mental but the greatest stress is laid on character-building. No corporal punishment is inflicted, but every endeavour is made to draw out the best that is in the boys by an appeal to their hearts and their reason. They are allowed to take the greatest freedom with their teachers. Indeed, the establishment is not a school but a family, of which all the pupils are persuaded, by example and precept, to consider themselves a part. For three hours in the morning, the boys perform some kind of manual labour, preferably agricultural, of the simplest type. They do their own washing, and are taught to be perfectly self-reliant in everything. There is, too, attached to the school a sandal-making class, as also a sewing-class, the latter under the supervision of Mrs. Vogl, who so successfully organized the Indian Bazaar[2], held under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association last year. I need hardly mention that Mrs. Vogl's work is a labour of love. No paid servants are kept on the farm in connection either with the school or the kitchen. Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Sodha, assisted by two or three of the pupils, who are

[1] This was Jamnadas Gandhi who possibly taught Gujarati. After the departure of Medh and Desai on March 21, 1912, Gandhiji got Jamnadas over to help him with the school; *vide* "Letter to Chanchalbehn Gandhi", pp. 237-8 and "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", p. 257.

[2] *Vide* "Address to Mrs. Vogl", p. 184.

changed every week, attend to the whole of the cooking. Non-smoking, non-drinking and vegetarianism are obligatory on the farm. Mental training is given for three and a half hours at least, consisting of the vernaculars of the respective scholars, English, Arithmetic, and so much of history and geography as may arise from the lessons in English or in the vernacular. The medium of instruction is chiefly the vernaculars, which are Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil. The Tamil tuition, I am sorry to say, is of a very elementary character, there being no good Tamil teacher available. One hour in the evening is devoted to giving the scholars some idea of their respective religions, and, to that end, lessons are read from the Mahomedan, Hindu and Zoroastrian Scriptures. Readings from the last have been recently suspended, as two Parsee lads who were at the school have just left it. The classification according to religion to the date of writing this is sixteen Hindus and nine Mahomedans, and the classification according to race is eighteen Gujaratis, six Tamils and one from North India. All the boys attend throughout the hour when the respective readings are given. An attempt is made to inculcate in them the spirit that they are first Indians and everything else after that, and that, while they must remain absolutely true to their own faiths, they should regard with equal respect those of their fellow-pupils. The life on the farm is reduced to the utmost simplicity.

The school is in the nature of an experiment. Though therefore, it may be too sanguine to expect the boys to remain, when they grow up, agriculturists and simple livers, it may not be too much to hope that they will carry into their daily dealings, when they enter upon the battle of life, some of the lessons they are now learning.

The question will be asked how the school is to be continued. It is my desire, so long as I am in South Africa, to continue to devote myself to this work, and not to revert to legal practice, which has been entirely suspended for some time.[1] I should still take my share in what may be called purely political work, which here really is that of making a desperate attempt to earn one's livelihood with honour and dignity.

M. K. GANDHI

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 67.

[ENCLOSURE]

ACCOUNT

Receipts	£	s.	d.	*Expenditure*	£	s.	d.
Subscription from Indiain cluding Rs. 50,000 from Mr. Ratan Tata	6723	9	3	Relief for Resisters and their families	2335	1	3
Rangoon	972	0	0	London Committee	1490	6	2
Zanzibar	59	3	6	*Indian Opinion*	1200	0	0
Mozambique	50	0	0	Salaries	530	1	3
Mombasa	18	12	10	Travelling expenses including freight	482	6	11
Delagoa Bay	11	12	0	Rent, etc.	353	19	1
Tamakan	7	17	4	Legal Expenses—Cape Town, Natal, Transvaal	371	1	3
Navisha	2	6	8	Telegrams	121	18	6
Chinde		15	0	Cables	191	9	1
Chaichai		4	9	Newspapers	154	12	10
Blantyre	1	1	0	Stamps	65	12	1
London	159	19	4	Stationery	39	13	11
Local, including the whole of S. Africa, and boarding fees of scholars and refunds	459	10	1	Exchange on Drafts and Cheques	31	10	9
				Farm Capital—Erection Buildings, Material, etc.	492	11	11
To Balance	43	1	3	Farm Expenses Upkeep	659	8	0
	£ 8509	13	0		£ 8519	13	0[1]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1912

[1] The original, however, has £8509.13.0—evidently a printing error. For mention of the deficit, *vide* p. 250.

210. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY,
April 4, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have to thank you for your last telegram[1] regarding the Bill. I see that it has not yet been reached. Could you not tell me whether the Bill is at all likely to be reached this session, or whether it will be abandoned [?] If it is to be abandoned, you will agree that some new arrangement will have to be made. May I ask you to give me, if you can, a telegraphic reply[2]?

Yours sincerely,
[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5643

211. LOCATIONS AND DISEASE

In his evidence before the Tuberculosis Commission the other day Dr. Thornton, Medical Officer of Health for the Cape Province, is reported to have said: "Municipal Locations were very bad. With some exceptions, the huts rarely passed any kind of inspection, and very few municipalities gave anything in return for the revenue from the Locations." Other evidence given before the Commission goes to prove that the "civilizing" policy of the more "enlightened" nations has meant death and destruction to the Native people of this country. Before the adoption by them of European habits and customs, tuberculosis was practically unknown amongst the Natives. One mission station is specially mentioned as being comparatively immune from the disease, owing to the conditions of life approximating to those in the Native Kraal. All this is a serious indictment of the system under which a simple-living, pastoral people is brought from its natural surroundings into the

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 247.

[2] The Minister replied telegraphically on April 9 : ". . . no intention of abandoning Immigration Bill" (S. N. 5644), confirming the same by a letter dated April 9; S. N. 5645.

crowded and unhealthy conditions prevailing in towns and Locations. It shows, so far as the health of the people is concerned, that they suffer severely for the doubtful privilege of becoming acquainted with modern life. We will not for the moment discuss the wider and much more important question of morals, except to say that we believe that the effect upon the people of congregating in crowded areas is the worst possible.

Anyone who has visited a Location, whether Native or Indian, must be impressed with the utter hopelessness of such places. The shameful neglect of the roadways, the utter absence of proper drainage, and the wretched condition of the buildings, all show at once that this is a Location—a place where Coloured people are condemned to spend their days as outcasts. It is whispered that it is "dangerous" to go there alone at night; avoid it as you would a plague-spot. The dust-carts and scavengers of the municipality give it a wide berth and share in the general antipathy towards such unholy places. Rents and rates are regularly collected, but the money goes into the coffers of the municipality. If a new Location is to be laid out, it is considered economical to utilize ground recently used as a dumping-ground for night-soil and dead horses. Is there any wonder that Locations are hotbeds of tuberculosis and other dangerous diseases?

We understand that the Johannesburg Town Council had decided to "tackle" the question of a Native Location, and that they are going to make a "big effort" to solve the question of housing the Natives. This is how they propose to do it: All the people who are at present living where they please are to be rounded up into a huge compound, where they will be compelled to live, whether they like it or not. A fence is to be erected around the Location, and the "inmates" (suggestive term) are to enter through the gateway, which will be under police guard. At a certain hour the gates will be closed, and opened again in time to allow the Natives to get to work for their European masters. A well-known Johannesburg citizen gave it as his opinion that the scheme would be a great success, not only from a public-health point of view, but also from a *police* point of view. Now, as for the public-health point of view, we are quite certain that the public referred to is the white public and not the public which is to receive the special advantage of living in this municipal compound; and we think that Dr. Thornton will agree with us. And what, pray, is the "police point of view"? We think we can guess, but, as there can be no certainty about it, we will content ourselves by merely suggesting that, by segregating all the blacks, it will then be an

easy matter to keep a watchful eye upon the white criminal class which is known to congregate in the cities. But to return to our main point, we would ask all fair-minded and far-seeing people not to ignore the warning contained in the evidence given before the Tuberculosis Commission that to increase Locations is to multiply disease and death.

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1912

212. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Chaitra Vad 5 [April 6, 1912][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I do not mind your writing to me about Virji[2] and Sam. Of course you do right to let me know whenever you notice shortcomings. Personally, however, I would rather you noted people's virtues than their faults. The latter, all of us are full of, so that we would do well to find out people's virtues and think of only these. It is possible to form this habit. So long, however, as you have not succeeded in doing so, do not hesitate to tell me of whatever faults you see [in people]. If things are what you represent them to be, I too feel that they are both wasting their time. About the press, too, your criticism may be justified. But turn your mind to the counsel in the *Gita*: "What is *apariharya*—that for which one has no remedy—one must resign oneself to." If you do your duty, you will feel contented. The world will go its ways in spite of our having done our duty. How can we prevent that? Even to think that we can would be conceit. I have with me what your Carlyle says on this. Only recently I read in it some profound observations, which I shall reproduce for your benefit some other time.

[1] This letter was written from Tolstoy Farm where Gandhiji lived from June, 1911 to the middle of January, 1913. A day in the Gujarati month of *Chaitra Vad* can correspond to any day from April 1 to May 12 of the Gregorian calendar. The only year in which Gandhiji spent the months of April and May on Tolstoy Farm was 1912. Furthermore West, referred to in paragraph 3, arrived at Tolstoy Farm on April 10, 1912 and stayed up to May 7, 1912 recuperating from an illness. The children's sports event referred to in the last paragraph was held on April 8, 1912, which was a Monday. *Indian Opinion*, 13-4-1912.

[2] A Gujarati compositor in the International Printing Press, Phoenix

Mr. West and others are coming here. This may possibly make you feel a little more nervous still. But you should not be afraid. Mr. West's coming here is all to the good. It was necessary for him to meet me.

Do not let anything disturb your studies.

On Monday, we have sports for the children. We got the parents to donate prizes. Fifty other people will also attend. I wish you were here on an occasion like this.

Jamnadas has been taught book-keeping, the method being quite easy. I get him to help me a good deal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 94. Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

213. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE[1]

April 11, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have just seen a newspaper cutting containing a letter from the Acting Secretary for the Interior addressed to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, in which the following passage occurs:

> The object of the draft Bill is not to use the dictation test as a means of permitting the entry of Asiatics into the O.F.S., but to use it to exclude them, so that, under the provisions of the draft Bill, the territory of the Free State will be actually better protected against the entry of Asiatics than it is under the provisions of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book.[2]

I hope that this does not mean that those who are allowed to enter the Union under the Immigration test are to be or can be excluded from the Free State by being called upon to resubmit to

[1] In reply to this Lane wrote on April 17: " . . . the interpretation which you put on the letter written to the Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce is quite the correct one." S. N. 5647.

[2] In this letter, published in *The Natal Mercury* and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 6-4-1912, the Acting Secretary went on to say: ". . . the existing law makes it possible for Asiatics to enter the Free State and to reside there for a considerable period before making application for permission to reside there permanently, whereas under the proposed new law it will be possible to bar their entry on the borders of the Province".

the test and being made to fail therein. I shall be obliged if you will kindly reassure me on the point.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5646

214. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Chaitra Vad 11 [*April 13, 1912*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

Your letter. Since Mrs. Pywell[2] and others took all that trouble over you, it is not surprising that you should have been so deeply moved.

Your undisciplined ways have been causing me much concern. I should like you to make every effort to submit yourself to discipline.

I saw your photograph. Your out and out English dress is not of a kind to please me. Even the collar starched? Certainly, you must have clean dress. But it does not go with our way of living to dress like a fastidious Englishman. It would even be better if you made it a rule to wear the Indian-style cap. Do not be dismayed by criticism of you in these matters. You may ignore what I say if it does not appeal to you. I do not want you to change your way of life just to please me. You need change only if my argument convinces you and you feel you are strong enough to act on it.

It is necessary that you visit Ani oftener.

Also call on Chhabildas's[3] wife regularly and look after her needs.

[1] The reference in the last paragraph to West, who arrived at Tolstoy Farm on April 11, suggests that this letter was written in 1912.

[2] West's mother-in-law

[3] Chhabildas Mehta of Durban

Mr. West has been given rooms adjoining Rambhabai's[1]. He has his meals with us. I do not think he feels inconvenienced in any way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 97. Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

215. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Vaisakh Sud 8 [*April 24, 1912*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I shall pass on to West the papers meant for him.

Print the matter on Prof. Gokhale in full. The comments that you suggest will do. It will be excellent if all of it is brought out in Gujarati as well as in English, with a picture of Prof. Gokhale added. If a Tamil translation appears simultaneously—separately perhaps —that would be fine indeed. I think 1,000 copies can sell. Print the words "the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale" in full.

Wheat should be roasted till it has browned. It will be better to soak it overnight before roasting. The roasted wheat should then be ground coarse into grains. This flour should be boiled to a silken fine [paste]. Add a little ghee to it, while it is still on the boil. This porridge can be taken with milk. It is desirable to keep it boiling for an hour. Just enough water should be added to make the dish a thick *khichdi*-like paste at the end of the hour. The right thing would be to eat it with honey or some home-made jam. Give as much as can be digested.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5774(a)

[1] Rambhabai Sodha

[2] In the second paragraph Gandhiji is referring to Press reports of and comments on Gokhale's second resolution on Indian indentured labour. They were printed in *Indian Opinion*, 20-4-1912 & 27-4-1912. In the year 1912, *Vaisakh Sud* 8 corresponds to April 24.

216. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Vaisakh Sud 8 [April 24, 1912][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have kept for the present the report of the [Gujarati] Sahitya Parishad[2] and the Hindi books. The latter are being used for Budrea's[3] son who is here. The report, I myself want very much to read.

Yours was the right reaction to the *Titanic* report.[4] Such occurrences serve to remind us from time to time that we are no better than fleas.

Jamnadas is extremely restless. He cannot stick to the same idea for two days running. He and Manilal are in the same state. Jamnadas, however, is an obedient lad. I have, therefore, no anxieties [on his account]. Sometimes he is seized by a strong urge to renunciation and at other times sinks into the depths of ignorance and vain desire. The reason for this unsettled state of mind is that he has not been happy with Ba. I have argued hard with him that this is a bitter draught he must swallow. In any case, he has made a promise and I shall hold him to it. When his permit was about to expire, we had a talk at the end of which he showed himself willing to stay on, and intimation has already been received that his permit has been extended for another six months. I have explained to him, therefore, that he must not leave during this period.

[1] The *Titanic* sank on April 14, 1912, in which year this letter was therefore written.

[2] Literary conference

[3] A client of Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 144.

[4] Both Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi often sent Gujarati leaders or articles they had written to Gandhiji before publication; *vide*, for instance, "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", p. 155. The reference here is very likely to a Gujarati article entitled "Act of the Omnipotent Creator" which was published in *Indian Opinion*, 27-4-1912. It said : "Our saints and *bhaktas* have always taught that the minutest act cannot be performed without God's will. Man should learn this truth from the sinking of the *Titanic* . . . [The Americans and the British] worship science and man's power over Nature . . . . They repose so much faith in the muscle and the intellect that they consider themselves worthy of creating anything that their conceited intellect can think of . . ." The views expressed are similar to Gandhiji's. For Gandhiji's own reactions to the fire in the Paris Metro, *vide* Vol, III, pp. 414-5; to an earthquake in Northern India, *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 428-9 and to a famine in Central India, *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 156-8.

Latterly, Ba too has been well disposed [towards him]. Moreover, he was recently away to Johannesburg for three or four days. I believe therefore that he is quite at ease with himself, though he may soon get restless again. Restlessness is a defect natural to adolescence, and has to be tolerated. Boys who, though restless, are obedient, can easily become their normal selves again. I am sure that it will turn out so with Jamnadas.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Ani should be given £4 a month.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5774a(2)

217. LETTER TO "SPORTING STAR"

[THE EDITOR
SPORTING STAR
JOHANNESBURG
SIR,]

You have been good enough to invite my opinion on the suggestion made by "Recorder" in your issue of the 20th instant as to some provision being made for the admission of Asiatics to the Wanderers Ground. I offer my opinion not without some hesitation, for I feel that Recorder's suggestion is not practicable, to say the least of it. I recognize the purity of his motives, but, if I may venture to deal with his suggestion on its merits, I must say that the proposed division between higher and lower class Asiatics is, or should be, totally unacceptable, if only because it is impossible to make such distinctions in matters such as those to which "Recorder" refers. I hardly think that it is character or education that counts in determining the question of admission to a sporting-ground. I should not suppose that any such distinction is made in respect of Europeans. All that can be reasonably expected is that those who apply for admission be suitably and cleanly dressed. Nor will the suggestion that a portion of certain stands be set aside for Asiatics meet with general favour. It is one thing to put us on our honour, and expect us to occupy certain parts only; it is quite another to say that we may go to certain parts, and to no other. I am not blind to the unfortunate prejudice that exists in South Africa against Asiatics and Coloured people. But I do feel that, as long as that prejudice is allowed to influence the deliberations

of a Sporting Committee, so long it is better that we do not have any right of entry at all, than that such right should be recognized in a limited and niggardly spirit.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1912

218. WHAT IS A WIFE?

Mr. Jordan[1], the Johannesburg Magistrate, has presented us with a clear-cut issue. In the case of an Indian wife who entered the Transvaal together with her husband, he has decided that she is a prohibited immigrant, as her marriage cannot be recognized by the Courts of South Africa by reason of her husband having married more than one wife.[2] Mr. Jordan has gone further than Sir John Wessels. The latter left us in a state of suspense. Under the learned Judge's decision in Mrs. Jussat's case[3], it was just possible that one wife of a Mahomedan who had married more than one wife could come. But Mr. Jordan lays it down clearly that, if a man was married to more than one wife whilst the first wife was alive, all the wives become prohibited immigrants. Indeed, we consider Mr. Jordan's judgment to be more honest, if it is also more drastic. If this magisterial decision is allowed to stand unchallenged, the position of Indians with more wives than one will become most precarious. Those concerned are bound to obtain the decision of the highest tribunal of justice. Indeed, the matter cannot even rest with the Supreme Court. In the event of an adverse decision by that august body, the community will have to seek a clear declaration from the Imperial Government as to their attitude. The question is one of honour, and it will have to be thrashed out sooner or later. Mr. Jordan's decision challenges us to have it settled sooner.

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1912

[1] H. H. Jordan; a Johannesburg Magistrate, in whose Court Gandhiji was sentenced for the first time on December 28, 1907.

[2] The reference is to the case of Hassin Mahomed's wife. Hassin Mahomed, a registered Asiatic, had married in India in 1895. In 1905, Hassin Mahomed took a second wife as sanctioned by Muslim law but later divorced her. His first wife was prohibited entry into the Transvaal by Magistrate Jordan who disallowed her claim to enter as a domiciled Asiatic's wife on the ground that polygamous marriages were not valid in South Africa. He declared her a prohibited immigrant as she could not pass the education test under the Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act. *Indian Opinion*, 4-5-1912.

[3] *Vide* "Mrs. Jussat's Case", pp. 243-4.

219. THE JOHANNESBURG SCHOOL

So the Executive of the Provincial Council has decided not to give the Indian community a separate school for the education of Indian children. In the absence of any valid reason why such a school should not have been sanctioned, we are constrained to ascribe the refusal to anti-Asiatic prejudice on the part of the Executive. The School Board had recommended the establishment of the school. There was ample precedent for granting the Indian request. The promoters had guaranteed the rent of the school and guaranteed a large attendance too. In our opinion the fact that the Coloured schools of Johannesburg did not provide any facility for teaching the children their vernaculars was sufficient justification for granting the Indian demand. The state could make little use of Indian youths who did not know their own vernaculars. But we know that the self-styled state does but want its Indian population, whom it regards as an evil, to be got rid of at the first opportunity.

However, we must frankly confess that we do not mind this decision—we rather welcome it; we are now put upon our mettle. A community that jealously guards its youth will not allow them to be neglected because an outside body refuses to help it. The English speaking section of the Free State population answered General Hertzog's intention to starve the English education of their children by opening private schools or finding other facilities for educating their children in a manner they considered best. We have no real schools of our own in Johannesburg where a good education may be given to our children. We hold that it is the duty of the promoters not to sit still but to open the school and manage it without the help of the state. Indeed, if a strong board of management can be formed, we feel sure that the school will better supply our wants by reason of the absence of state interference.

(At the time of going to press, we have received further correspondence from Johannesburg which somewhat alters the case. But we consider that our main argument still holds good.)

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1912

220. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

LAWLEY,
May 21, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have your letter[1] of the 14th instant for which I thank you.

I think that the alternative clause is satisfactory if it means that the declaration[2] referred to in our correspondence will be unnecessary in the case of educated Asiatics. May I suggest that the clause provides definitely that the declaration mentioned in Schedule 2 will not be required.

I beg to thank General Smuts for meeting the difficulty regarding domicile.

I hope too that the other difficulties raised in my letters[3] will be dealt with during the committee stage. They arise out of the provisional settlement as I read it.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5653

221. INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

"The Indian schools have made much progress during the last few years," says the Minister of Education for the Natal Province in his Annual Report. And that is all he has to say about the education of Indian children. He is evidently satisfied at the present condition of affairs where considerably more than £100,000 is spent annually on the education of European children and only a paltry £6,761 on Indian education. Anyone not aware of the position which Indians hold in South Africa would naturally ask the reason for such a wide difference between the educational facilities offered to Europeans and Indians. The population of Indians exceeds that of Europeans. Is it not the duty of the Government to educate its people, to whatever race they may belong?

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVI.

[2] Required of Asiatics entering the Orange Free State to the effect that they had no intention of settling there to trade or to farm; *vide* Appendix XIII.

[3] *Vide* letters to Lane, pp. 213-5, 231-2, 241, 254 & 257-8.

What of the thousands of Indians brought here to exploit the agricultural resources of the Province? Surely there is a heavy responsibility resting upon those in authority. Then, again, we notice that the cost of educating a European is £5. 12s. 2¾d. and an Indian £1. 14s. 5d. So even the education which a few Indian children receive is given in a niggardly manner, and under conditions which would not be tolerated for Europeans. Out of a total of 570 Indian pupils attending Government schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, only 25 are girls. This is due, largely, to the refusal of the Government to separate the sexes in the schools. At one time there was a fair number of girls attending the Higher-Grade Indian School, but the parents withdrew their children and now there are only three attending that school. The reason for the parents' action may be described as sentimental, but sentiment carries weight with many people, and the authorities have no right to disregard those sentiments and ride roughshod over them.

But we are not disposed to blame the Superintendent of Education for the lack of educational facilities for Indians, nor is it of any use blaming the Government. The Indian community itself is negligent in these matters. After all, we get very largely what we deserve. The Natives already are receiving nearly double the amount of public money that Indians receive for education, and they are showing, by their present activity, that they intend to demand their share of Government assistance in educating their children. But the Natives do not depend solely on the Government. They have already a great many very fine institutions in different parts of the country, built up by missionaries and by their own energies, and these are increasing in number and in usefulness.

The Government spent, last year, £9,000 on technical education for Europeans. This is provided because there is the demand for it. Even Europeans do not get anything without demanding it. A new technical institute has just been erected in Durban at a cost of £28,000. This is the result of strenuous efforts on the part of several European gentlemen who have worked away for years, sacrificing both time and money in their determination to give to their children an institution wherein they may receive instruction in scientific, artistic and practical work. One may well ask whether such institutions are not open to all. In theory, it is true, they belong to the whole of the people, but we know that, in practice, no Indian would be allowed to take a course of study there. This is, undoubtedly, a great shame, but we must not lose sight of the fact that we have not demanded technical education for our children as Europeans have. When we are prepared to make a united

demand for a school wherein our children may receive manual training and scientific instruction we may reasonably hope to get it. We would gladly see our Indian youths eager to receive a practical training in some useful profession. But manual work is not in favour. We may well apply to ourselves the words of the Minister of Education, spoken at the Pretoria Conference : "We have a growing number of children . . . with a bookish education, afraid to work, and thinking that manual labour is 'Kaffir's work'. The result is that for these men there is no room in South Africa, and South Africa is bound to suffer unless we seriously set ourselves to solve the problem."

Indian Opinion, 25-5-1912

222. *LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*

LAWLEY,
May 31, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

General Smuts' speech[1] on the second reading of the Bill leaves, I fear, the question of interprovincial migration in a somewhat unsatisfactory state. General Smuts appears to meet the objection raised on this point by lax administration rather than by amending the section as it appears in the measure now before Parliament. As I have already remarked, this will not satisfy passive resisters. I, therefore, hope that the measure will be so amended as to leave the rights of Asiatics residing in the other provinces to enter Natal and the Cape in *status quo ante*.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5654

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVII.

223. "AN UNFORTUNATE CASE"

Under the above sub-heading, the following report of a case brought before Mr. J. Y. Gibson, in the First Criminal Court, Durban, appears in the *Natal Advertiser*:

> Jadubansi, an Indian woman, was charged with refusing to return to her lawful employer, she being an indentured servant. The accused pleaded guilty. It was stated that the circumstances of this case were that the woman had served continuous sentences amounting to six months, for a steadfast refusal to return to her employer. She had been working on an estate at Stanger, and, in some accident, her baby had been burnt. She had come to Durban to make a complaint to the Protector and had since refused on every occasion to comply with her indenture. Argument arose as to whether continual successive punishment could be awarded for the same offence, and it was pointed out by Mr. Gibson that a section governing such cases provided that each successive refusal to comply with an order of the Court was separately punishable. His Worship said that it seemed an unfortunate thing that a woman could thus be punished time after time for a matter wherein she had shown a particular aversion from some especial place of employment. It was stated that the woman was willing to work elsewhere, if she could get a transfer, and Mr. Gibson adjourned the case for a week, Jadubansi meanwhile being sent to the Protector to see what could be arranged.

We have something to add to the above report, as we have been brought into close touch with the woman concerned who, early in April, came to Phœnix and related her story in detail. In the first place, the woman had not been working on an estate at Stanger, but was indentured to a farmer down the South coast whose name it is not necessary to mention for the moment. We learn from the report that Jadubansi's child had been burnt. It was not only burnt, but burnt so severely that it died; and the woman accuses her employer of deliberately refusing to attend to the wounds, after having first put on bandages, with the result that they stank. The woman's duties in her master's house kept her away from the child from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., with the exception of two short intervals for breakfast and dinner. Consequently the child had to be left alone. After a fortnight's terrible sufferings, the child was sent to the hospital where it died a few days afterwards. After the death of her child, Jadubansi tells of great hardships, including the refusal of her employer to give her food for three days, forcing her to grind mealies in a hand-mill, ill-treatment

by kicking, and the withholding of wages. The total wages received in the course of a year, she states, was nine shillings.

We took Jadubansi to the Protector of Indian Immigrants, laid the information before him, and left her in his charge, pending inquiries into her grievances. The matter was referred to the employer who flatly denied that he neglected the child, and accused the mother of neglect. The doctor at the hospital reported the death of the child, but did not consider its condition to be so bad as to warrant special mention.

We have these conflicting statements and we lay them before the public for them to judge which is the more likely: that a mother, whose child gets accidentally burnt, should wilfully neglect it, and refuse to nurse it, or that the employer should seek to shield himself from the consequences of a serious charge. And what is the position of the doctors in such matters? They are employed by the Indian Immigration Trust Board, which consists of planters and farmers,[1] and one can easily imagine that the doctors are not over-anxious to report cases which reflect upon employers. So we must not place much importance on the non-report of the bad condition of the child. It is a crying scandal that these medical men are not under the control of the Government. We are very much afraid that many a gruesome tragedy lies hidden because of this. And what of the employer? Jadubansi states that, in one room which is a part of the stable, four Indians—two men and two women—and four Natives had to cook their food together. Of the Indians, two were married and the others not. But they all had to sleep in the same room. Some months before, Inspector Waller, of the Protector's Department, visited the place and saw these conditions. He ordered the employer to make alterations, which instructions, evidently, were not carried out. Thus we see that the employer is not a man who is careful over the welfare of his Indians and that is putting it very mildly.

Well, to continue the story, the Protector tried to persuade the employer to transfer the woman elsewhere as it was clear that, for some reason, she did not wish to remain with him. But the employer refused, and it seems that it was not possible for the Protector to carry his protection any further, and the officers of the law arrested Jadubansi and she was sent to prison for desertion. After serving a month in prison and again refusing to return to her

[1] *Indian Opinion* editorials had more than once demanded that Indians should be represented on such boards and in the SABI Committee's representation of June 17, 1911 to the Colonial Office, Polak had made a similar request; *vide* Appendix VIII.

employer, the latter seems to have given up all hope of getting her to return and so he has given his consent to her being shipped back to India where she wished to go and from whence, she alleges, she was forcibly brought against her will, a recruiting agent in India having deceived her.

If half of this woman's story be true, it is indeed "an unfortunate case". It must be considered unfortunate, too, by supporters of the indenture system, that such cases are brought to light. Even one such case condemns the whole system, because it shows what horrible things are possible in the outlying districts. We have to thank the Magistrate, Mr. Gibson, for having prevented the further punishment of this poor woman.

Indian Opinion, 1-6-1912

224. *THE HEALTH OF INDENTURED INDIANS*

The evidence of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, given before the Tuberculosis Commission, brings to mind once again the fact that, in matters of health, as in some other matters, he is powerless to protect the people under his charge. The Protector is a Government servant, independent of the Immigration Trust Board and is therefore in a position to act independently without interference by its members. Not so the sanitary inspectors and medical officers, appointed to look after the conditions of the barracks and the health of the occupants. They are employed by the Trust Board, and, therefore, are under the thumb of the employers. We maintain that it is impossible for these officers to do their duty under such conditions. In answer to questions by the Tuberculosis Commission regarding the ground surrounding some of the Indian barracks, which was in a filthy condition, with slop water and refuse lying about, Mr. Polkinghorne[1] said that there was a sanitary inspector who was supposed to look after these things. Of course, we can quite understand that a sanitary inspector, at any time, is looked upon by employers as a troublesome nuisance. His faultfindings mean increased expenses and less profits. The consequence is, in many cases, that the much needed improvements are not even suggested by these officers because they know that it will only bring a hornet's nest about their ears. Naturally, they will let matters slide rather than create trouble for themselves and make their position untenable. So far back as 1908, the Protector, in his

[1] J. A. Polkinghorne, Protector of Indian Immigrants, Natal

annual report, called attention to this matter. He said that, in his opinion, the high death-rate among indentured Indians working in the coast districts of Natal was due in no small measure to this state of affairs, and as a kind of protest against the scandal, he asked for no reports from the medical officers.

The Immigration Trust Board consists of seven members elected by employers of indentured Indians, with the Protector and one other member nominated by the Government. Referring to the constitution of the Board, the Protector said in his report: "In no other Colony, introducing Indian immigrants, is there any such Board of Employers, and I am strongly of opinion that such a constituted Board should not in any way have any power to deal with, or in any way influence, the treatment of the indentured Indians in the Colony." We quite agree with Mr. Polkinghorne, and we think that he might have brought this matter a little more forcibly to the notice of the Tuberculosis Commission.

Indian Opinion, 22-6-1912

225. *MRS. VOGL'S BAZAAR*[1]

Mrs. Vogl, whose name and work our readers have now become thoroughly acquainted with, has an insatiable ambition. As will be seen from Miss Schlesin's letter[2] to the ladies in India, Mrs. Vogl is organizing, under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association, another Bazaar on a larger scale than before. The last Bazaar was successful, both financially and socially. But Mrs. Vogl thinks that the funds should be considerably augmented if the Nagappen memorial is to be worthy of the cause to which the lamented lad gave his life. She thinks, too, that the education work of the Association will receive greater encouragement if Bazaars are held periodically. We are sure that the ladies in India will return a liberal response to Miss Schlesin's appeal, and we hope that those, both here and in England, who are at all interested in Indians in this subcontinent, will take note of the appeal and help the great movement inaugurated by Mrs. Vogl.

Indian Opinion, 22-6-1912

[1] *Vide* also "Address to Mrs. Vogl", p. 184.

[2] Miss Schlesin, who was the Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association, in this letter of June 14, had requested that fancy goods and specimens of Indian hand-work be sent for the Bazaar to be held towards the end of 1913. She also appealed to all willing Associations in India for help. *Indian Opinion*, 22-6-1912.

226. *TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

June 25, 1912

TO
INTERIOR
PRETORIA & CAPE TOWN

VIEW PROROGATION PARLIAMENT MAY I KNOW GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION REGARDING IMMIGRATION BILL AND FUTURE WORKING SETTLEMENT.[2]

GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912; also photostat of handwritten office copy: S.N. 5656

[1] In reply, the Acting Secretary for the Interior said in his letter of July 16: ". . . I have the honour, by direction of the Minister, to inform you that the Government was most anxious to secure the passage of the Bill and that it was with regret that it was found eventually impossible to carry the matter to a conclusion. . . . an amended measure will be introduced during the course of the next Session, and that in the meanwhile, it will be necessary to continue the administration of the existing legislation on the subject as in the past." *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912. On July 16, Lord Gladstone in a memorandum informed Secretary Harcourt of the Imperial Government that there was no prospect of the bill being passed that session. Harcourt wired back expressing "regret and disappointment" and hoping that "the bill would be re-introduced at the earliest opportunity and pressed through". In reply the South African Minister explained that the bill had to be abandoned due to "strenuous opposition to it and the pressure of other business". On July 17, they sent a further telegram stating that they "would re-introduce the bill at the earliest possible date the next session". From a White Paper published following Lord Ampthill's questions (Appendix XVIII) in the House of Lords. *India*, 13-9-1912.

[2] Gandhiji had written to Lane on April 21 (the letter itself is not available) presumably asking him when the Union Parliament was likely to be prorogued. Lane replied on April 25 saying that while "I am unable to give you any fixed date . . . in my own opinion, I should say on the 12th of June". S. N. 5648. The Union Parliament was prorogued on June 24 without having considered the new draft immigration Bill and was not due to meet until September 23.

227. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE

[JOHANNESBURG,]
June 26, 1912

THE SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
231-2, STRAND
[LONDON] W.C.

EUROPEAN OWNERS OF STANDS AT VREDEDORP HAVE RECEIVED PEREMPTORY NOTICES[1] TO REMOVE ASIATIC TENANTS WITHIN THREE MONTHS' TIME. FAILURE IN COMPLIANCE WITH NOTICE INVOLVES FORFEITURE OF STANDS, SOME OF WHICH ARE EQUITABLY OWNED BY INDIANS. ELEVEN INDIAN STORE-KEEPERS AT VREDEDORP ARE FACED WITH RUIN IF DISPOSSESSED.

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 551/35

228. LORD AMPTHILL'S COMMITTEE

Owing to a shortage of funds for defraying the expenses of our Committee in England and of public work in Johannesburg, a collection has recently been started in the Transvaal. It is Sorabji, in fact, who has taken this work upon himself. Mr. Cachalia also accompanies him sometimes. Dulabhbhai Kalyanji, Dayal Parbhu, Manchha Gosai, G. K. Patel, Bhikhubhai Karsanji and Jeram Gosai also go out [with them]. Mr. Sodha, too, goes round for the collection. A sum of about £350 has been collected, including £27. 12s. received from Vereeniging towards the expenses [of the SABI Committee]. Soon they will visit other towns for collection.

[1] These were served on June 6, 1912 under Section 4 of the Vrededorp Stands Act of 1907 on those Stand-owners on whose premises Asiatics, Natives or Coloured persons were residing. The Vrededorp Stands Ordinance, which prohibited leasing or subletting of land to Asiatics and Coloured persons and even their residence in premises erected there except as domestic servants, was published in the *Government Gazette* on September 28, 1906 before the Transvaal had attained responsible government, and on October 8, 1906 the British Indian Association represented to Lord Elgin against this measure asking that Royal assent be withheld; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 463-5. Consequent upon this and further efforts by the SABI Committee (Vol. VI, pp. 342-3 & 347-8) a new bill which envisaged a notice period of four years and compensation in respect of buildings constructed by Indians was passed in 1907; *vide* Vol. VII, p. 171.

But the entire [burden of the] expenses of Lord Ampthill's Committee should not devolve on the Transvaal alone. Natal and the Cape ought to share in them. The Committee functions in the interests of all parts of South Africa, and all the Indians should share in its expenses.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-6-1912

229. *SPEECH AT DURBAN FAREWELL TO PILGRIMS*

[*June 29, 1912*]

. . . The Ottoman Cricket Club organized a function on Saturday [June 29] night at the same place [Mr. Rustomjee's residence]. About 200 to 300 persons were present. Mr. Gandhi was requested to take the chair and he said:

I came here to honour the Haj pilgrims. I had no intention of presiding over this function. However, two of the office-bearers of the Club urged me to take the chair. I gladly complied after they had promised, in return, to join in the satyagraha movement if it were started again. It has indeed become my sole occupation to seek out people willing to go to gaol for the country's sake. I wish the members of this club, too, would equip themselves to become satyagrahis and be ready to go to gaol when the occasion arises. Why should we fight shy of gaol? Students of the school attached to Tolstoy Farm walked to Wightrust seven miles away. On the way, they came upon streams and bathed in them. When they were arrested [for trespassing], they admitted to having done wrong. On being told that they could be sent to gaol, they said that they would prefer going to gaol to being let off. At this, the authorities responsible for arresting them released them. The point is that, instead of being afraid of gaol, we should become courageous and learn to fight in defence of truth. This kind of education is necessary for the Indian community.

Mr. Gandhi then expressed his heart-felt happiness at having been able to attend this function to bid farewell to Mr. Dawad Mahomed and other pilgrims and then commenced the business of the meeting.

In his concluding remarks as Chairman, he said:

I offer my hearty congratulations to Dawad Mahomed, Mahomed Coovadia[2], Dawad Seedat and Moola on their undertaking

[1] For earlier appeals for funds for the SABI Committee, *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 322-3 & 371-2, Vol. VII, pp. 266, 278 & 318 and Vol. VIII, p. 148.

[2] Mahomed Cassim Coovadia; merchant; President of the Durban Anjuman and a trustee of the West Street Mosque

the Haj pilgrimage. As a Hindu I am glad of their decision to go on the pilgrimage. A true Muslim cannot do Hindus harm. A true Hindu cannot do harm to Muslims. Those who are capable of harming their own Indian brethren are neither true Muslims nor true Hindus. I consider any selfless work done in the service of the community as a religious and not a worldly act. I accordingly believe the services rendered by Mr. Dawad Mahomed by going to gaol[1] will be acknowledged in the court of God. On the other hand, I believe that an ostensibly religious act is not a godly one if not done with a pure heart. Secondly, it is repeatedly asserted that there is no unity among Indians.[2] But one should not believe that this is really so. At the same time we should not shut our eyes to the disunity among us and say that there is none. In any case it should be remembered that the cause of our sufferings in South Africa is not disunity but lack of courage. I do not wish to say that we are wholly wanting in courage. When the Imam Saheb came forward to court imprisonment, who could have predicted that he would be able to bear up with [life in] gaol? His offer to go to gaol was a courageous act and it was again due to his courage that he could remain steadfast till the end. Our chief need is to be truthful. Our motto should be Truth and nothing but the Truth. With the aid of Truth we shall be able to cross even oceans of misery. No action undertaken with a sincere motive ever goes unrewarded. Therefore, work for the community with purity of motive. It is not difficult to preserve unity. As long as the Muslims do not want to quarrel, Hindus by themselves cannot do so. If the Hindus are not spoiling for a fight, Muslims alone cannot bring about one. Even if there are a hundred people out to create dissensions as against one who comes forward to promote unity, the hundred will lose and the one will win. If that were not so, God's divinity would be at an end.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

[1] In August 1908, he crossed over into the Transvaal to assist the satyagraha campaign on behalf of Natal and to test his pre-War rights of domicile in that Colony; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 484 *fn.*

[2] For Gandhiji's earlier remarks on Hindu-Muslim unity, *vide* Vol. V, pp. 50, 121-2 & 166, Vol. VI, pp. 261 & 265, Vol. VIII, pp. 28, 99-101, 117, 170, 393 & 420, Vol. IX, pp. 152, 175 & 265 and Vol. X, pp. 124-5, 153 & 256.

230. DAWAD MAHOMED

The community has honoured itself by honouring Mr. Dawad Mahomed. A person of his ability, presence of mind and good spirits is rarely come by among Indians. There is, likewise, hardly another Indian who commands the same influence among Europeans which he has come to acquire.

Mr. Dawad Mahomed's part in the satyagraha campaign has made his name resound through South Africa. We wish him and his companions success in their cherished ambition.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-7-1912

231. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE[1]

July 6, 1912

DEAR MR. LANE,

I see that you are in Pretoria now. As the matter was rather urgent, I sent a telegram[2] on the 25th ultimo, addressed both at Cape Town and Pretoria, inquiring about the Immigration Bill. Whilst I am anxious not to worry General Smuts, I think that I am bound to satisfy the many inquirers who have been asking me about the measure. Is it now possible to let me know what the Government's intentions are regarding the Bill and the future working of the provisional settlement?

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
[M. K. GANDHI]

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5660

[1] For the reply to this letter, *vide* footnote 1 on p. 271.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 271.

Dr. Murison is reported to have said before the Tuberculosis Commission that Indians were given to lying and that "it was difficult to find out much of their private life, owing to their habits". In his opinion, "Indians should be put into Locations as well as Natives." We awaited a public contradiction by Dr. Murison with reference to the charge of lying, and in order to make assurance doubly sure, we wrote, too, to the worthy Doctor, asking whether he had been correctly reported. Not having seen any contradiction and not having received a reply from him we assume that he is correctly reported. Dr. Murison has proved a conscientious medical officer, and we have often had occasion to congratulate him on his even-handed treatment[1] of all classes of the community that came under his notice. It is, therefore, not without pain that we are constrained to take exception to the sweeping charge of lying laid by him against a community, which prejudice has already terribly misrepresented in South Africa. In the first place, Dr. Murison, as medical officer, would come into contact with the unhealthy rather than with the healthy, and to impute the faults of the unhealthy to a whole body of people is, to say the least of it, highly illogical. But is it proper even to charge Indians suspected of suffering from tuberculosis with lying? We are quite free to admit that such Indians, like all other classes of patients, in order to avoid segregation and special treatment which they might not understand, would minimize their trouble, or fail to give notice or even mislead officials, but, we trust that, upon reflection, Dr. Murison will find that to charge these people with lying and then, too, to base upon that charge a recommendation for their compulsory segregation in Locations is not the proper thing. We may remind him that Lord Curzon, when he was Viceroy of India, at a lecture before University students, committed a similar indiscretion,[2] for which he suffered heavily.[3] He lost all the prestige in

[1] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 331.

[2] This was at a Convocation address to an Indian University in 1905. While on the subject of the low place assigned to truth in the moral systems of the East, he had said that "craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute" in Eastern countries. Gandhiji had answered this at length at the time; *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 392-4.

[3] The reference is to his resignation following a controversy with Lord Kitchener; *vide*, however, Vol. V, p. 47.

India that he had previously enjoyed and laid himself open to the justifiable taunt of himself not having hesitated to lie when he thought that the occasion demanded it. Zangwill[1] once said that if a Jew committed a crime it was the whole race that committed it; if a Gentile committed a crime, it was the individual only.

Replace the word "Jew" by "Indian", and we have the whole ugly truth in a nutshell. Whenever an Indian does anything that is considered reprehensible, the newspapers do not hesitate to publish it in black type, and some public men do not hesitate to speak from platforms against the whole body of Indians residing in this country. We do hope that Dr. Murison will not wish to belong to the category of public men above referred to, and that he will not forfeit the esteem in which he is at present justly held by the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

233. *THE NEW BROOM*

Mr. Cousins, who has been appointed Acting Immigration Officer for Natal, has signalized his advent by issuing what purports to be a circular—which we give elsewhere—as to the evidence he would require to satisfy him as to the wives of domiciled Indians who might intend to enter the Province of Natal. We can only hope that the circular is not dictated from headquarters. Nothing could be better calculated to deeply wound Indian susceptibilities than this circular. In rejecting the ordinary evidence that was submitted to him, Mr. Cousins stated that he would want unmistakable proof that the husband had no other wife, and that he should have a marriage certificate, which, too, would be accepted only when it was accompanied by proof of identity,[2] and that, if such a certificate were not produced, he would want the certificate of a superior European magistrate bearing the thumb-marks of the wife, and to the effect that she was the wife of the applicant, whose identity also must be established by unmistakable means, that the superior

[1] Israel Zangwill (1864-1926); Jewish teacher, novelist and playwright; was born and brought up in England; founded and edited *Ariel* and *The London Puck*; his works deal mostly with Jewish life and serious social problems; had earlier advocated settlement for Jews within the British Empire and later became a Zionist leader.

[2] The circular, "addressed to applicants for the admission of their wives", also stated that the applicant would have to satisfy Cousins that he was lawful resident. *Indian Opinion*, 13-7-1912.

officer had personally held an inquiry upon oath as to the date of the marriage, etc.[1], and that he was to forward all the original statements declared before him, accompanied by means of identification of both the husband and the wife, and much more along the same lines. Thus in a single circular Mr. Cousins has insulted Indian women, has impugned the honesty of Indian magistrates and even judges (for, we presume, he will not accept the testimony of even High Court judges, if they are Indian), and has insulted even European officials because he wants certificates from superior European officers, who, in turn, are insulted by being called upon to send all the records on which they issued the certificate required. We should hope that to this extraordinary circular the Government of India will have something to say, that the people of India will not sit still under the unwarranted affront offered to them, and that the Indians of Natal will treat the circular letter as it deserves and will decline to allow their wives to give thumb or any other impressions. It was one thing to require Indian males to identify themselves when there was a charge[2] of personation and surreptitious entry levelled against them. It is another to wantonly insult Indian womanhood. Let us hope that the Union Government will have the circular recalled, and that the practice of taking ordinary evidence will be continued, and may we suggest to Mr. Cousins that the quality that is required in a public officer is not over-zeal in the direction of browbeating those members of the public with whom he comes into contact but that of showing kindly courtesy to all without in any way interfering with the administration of the particular laws which he may have been appointed to administer. We cannot believe that the circular in question is required in the interests of the administration, and it certainly shows a lamentable want of tact.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

[1] The circular added that the Magistrate should also declare that: (a) the "facts declared to" by him were correct; and (b) that he had "caused a police inquiry to be made". He was also required to attach a copy of the police report of the inquiry which "should embrace various independent parties", and to state that he was satisfied as to the relationship alleged.

[2] The charge of surreptitious entry and impersonation had been made repeatedly against Indians since 1906; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 222-3 & 423, Vol. VI, pp. 1 & 52, Vol. VII, p. 286 and Vol. VIII, pp. 9-10, 122-5 & 180-1.

234. INDIAN INTERPRETERS

Our attention has been drawn to the fact that there is only one interpreter for three Indian languages (Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu) in the Supreme Court (Natal Divison). This gentleman may be qualified to interpret in these different languages, as it is stated he is, but we contend that it is not possible for one man to give satisfaction when he is called upon to interpret in all these lanugages with their various dialects in one breath, so to speak. The Supreme Court has to decide questions of life and death, and upon the true interpretation of the evidence rests the fate of a prisoner. When invited to ask questions, the prisoner is unable to do so as he cannot understand the languages in which the evidence is given. Take the case of two Indians, speaking Tamil and Hindustani, tried under one charge. A Telugu witness goes into the box and gives his evidence against the two accused. The prisoners, not being represented by Counsel, are given the opportunity of cross-examining the witness. The Tamil man puts a question to the Telugu witness through the interpreter, who gives the answer in Tamil and to the Court in English. Although it is desirable that the Hindustani man shall also understand what is going on, we believe, under the present circumstances, the evidence is not interpreted to him. The interpreter is supposed to remember the proceedings and give a summary to the accused. Even with one language, much will necessarily be missed, but with two prisoners and three Indian languages, the chances of both men being properly informed by the same interpreter are very small. One can easily imagine that a man might be condemned to death wrongly in the midst of such a maze.

We have before called attention to the want of Gujarati interpreters, the large community speaking this language having always to speak in Hindustani before the Court, a language which they have never learnt and which has only been picked up in South Africa.

The whole question is one of stinginess on the part of the Government. Whilst the authorities strain at the gnat of spending a few hundred pounds a year in providing sufficient competent interpreters for the courts, they swallow the camel of spending a million and a quarter over the Union Buildings, an expenditure which has been so severely criticized by Mr. Merriman and other members of Parliament. Not until there are competent inter-

preters for all the Indian languages can it be said that substantial justice is done to Indians.

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

235. DOMICILE CERTIFICATES IN NATAL

Natal Indians are no longer issued fresh domicile certificates. Even worse, old certificates, whoever is found to possess them, are taken away and exchanged for new ones only on the production of fresh affidavits. This causes the poor Indians much hardship. We believe the Congress should fight out the case regarding domicile as it had intended to. Meanwhile, those who have old certificates need not surrender them in order to obtain new ones. Even if they want new ones, it is unnecessary to produce fresh proof before the official. Those who do not have any certificates can leave the country without their having filed affidavits and [generally] strengthened the proofs of residence. No one is obliged to keep domicile certificates. There should be no difficulty, therefore, in leaving the country after collecting the proofs [of residence, etc.].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-7-1912

236. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[LAWLEY,]
July 17, 1912

THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter[2] of the 16th instant, in answer to my communications regarding the Immigration Restriction Bill, for which I beg to thank you.

I understand your letter to mean that the provisional settlement of last year is to continue, pending passage of satisfactory legislation

[1] In reply to this, the Acting Secretary for the Interior wrote on July 19: "I have to confirm the following wire sent to you today, viz: . . . provisional settlement last year will continue pending passage legislation. Six educated Indians will therefore be admitted this year not subject to registration. . . With reference to the above wire I have to request you to furnish me with the names of the 6 educated Asiatics whom you wish admitted for this year." S.N. 5667.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 271.

contemplated by the settlement. I take it, therefore, that a certain number of educated Asiatics will be admitted for this year in anticipation, as was done last year. On receipt of your letter, names of educated Asiatics for entry into the Province will be submitted to the Government for permits.

I have, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912; also photostat of typewritten office copy: S.N. 5663

237. *MORE OF THE NEW BROOM*[1]

Mr. Cousins is still "going strong". He is not satisfied with insulting our womanhood—though that was the utmost he could have attempted. He wishes to touch us at every point. The latest is that those who return from India must not only identify themselves with the documents they produce, but Mr. Cousins must go behind those documents. He insists on reopening the evidence which secured those documents to the holders. In other words, he rejects the very title-deeds. This is exactly what the late Transvaal Government attempted to do and burnt its fingers over.[2] Mr. Cousins can fare no better. Holders of certificates of domicile will certainly decline to let their title-deeds be treated as of no effect. They will demand entry on the strength of their certificates, if they are theirs.

This is a matter essentially for the Congress to take up, and that without a moment's delay. The situation is becoming intolerable. It is the poor who are suffering. And the Congress will justify its existence only if the voice of the poor does not go unheard with it.

[1] *Vide* also "The New Broom", pp. 277-8.

[2] Lord Milner had demanded in 1903 that Indians should exchange the receipts for £3 paid to the Boer Government as proof of pre-War residence and their right of domicile in the Transvaal. Most Indians voluntarily exchanged these for Peace Preservation Ordinance permits at the instance of Lord Milner who promised that, "once on the Register, their position is established and no further registration is necessary, nor is a fresh permit required"; *vide* Vol. III, pp. 304-5 & 310 and Vol. VI, pp. 47-8. Again, in 1905, the Indians were required under the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance to establish the genuineness of their PPO permits as well as of those £3 Dutch certificates which had not been exchanged for the former; *vide* Vol. V, p. 411. In 1908 Indians offered to re-register in return for repeal of the Asiatic Registration Act (which was only a variation of the Asiatic Ordinance of 1905) and by May 9, 1908, 8,700 had voluntarily registered; of these over 6,000 registrations had been accepted by the Government; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 226 & 521.

The responsibility will be its if a single honest but poor Indian, having rights of domicile, is turned away from the shores of Natal.

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

238. DR. MURISON'S LETTER

We print elsewhere Dr. Murison's reply[1] to our letter[2] referred to in our columns last week. We sympathize with Dr. Murison in his troubles. But we venture to think that the worthy Doctor unconsciously exaggerates the incidents that have come under his notice. We take leave to say that the other classes give him much the same trouble that Indian patients do. We suggest to Dr. Murison that his work will be no smoother by his flinging charges of lying against a whole community. The only remedy is gentle yet firm handling of patients who want to evade his department. If Indians suffering from smallpox concealed their disease, other Indians helped him to combat the disease. No one can deplore more than we do the fact that there should be any disease at all among Indians, or that, having contracted an infectious disease, Indians should, in their ignorance or fear, attempt to conceal it. But a serious charge, such as that of lying, cannot be sustained because of the painful experiences related by Dr. Murison.

However, the community must feel thankful to Dr. Murison for his frankness and for his evident desire to serve Indians as well as the others. Those of us who claim to be responsible persons must see to it that Dr. Murison receives all the help he may need in order to keep the Borough free from disease and danger, from careless or timid persons disregarding or concealing any disease that may be suspected to be infectious. It is no consolation to be able to refute a general charge of lying. The real consolation can only be derived from efforts being made to remove the smallest ground for making such a charge.

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

[1] Dr. Murison, Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Durban, in the course of his evidence before the Tuberculosis Commission, had stated that Indians were given to lying. On this Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Murison on June 28, 1912, to which the latter replied on July 10, 1912. He maintained that, in matters dealing with public health and sanitation, "it is impossible to obtain truthful replies from this race". *Indian Opinion*, 20-7-1912. *Vide* also "Dr. Murison's Charge", pp. 276-7.

[2] This letter by Gandhiji and also the others in the series are not available.

239. DR. MURISON'S CHARGE

Dr. Murison's reply to our letter seeking his explanation regarding the charge of lying he had brought against Durban Indians deserves careful study. His explanation certainly does not substantiate the charge of lying against the entire community. But we cannot just sit back having put forward this defence. We must admit the [individual] instances Dr. Murison has cited. For it is true that some Indians habitually conceal [the incidence of infectious] diseases and give false replies to the [inquiries of] officials. This habit must go. Often men lie out of fear, and fear is the consequence of ignorance. If ignorance goes, so will fear. And with the passing of fear [the habit of] lying will vanish. For instance, if a case of smallpox is declared we might be threatened with we know not what or we might be harassed in hospital; so we conceal [the incidence of] the disease due to ignorance of this kind and the fear arising from it. In fact, nobody is going to hang us for it, and if we are spirited enough nobody can harass us in the hospital either. Why then should we be afraid? Moreover, by lying we cannot [successfully] conceal a case of smallpox. If anything, we should be afraid of telling a lie. Suppose we tell a lie and conceal a patient and the matter comes to be known, we may be put to shame, charged and even punished. Moreover, if we have concealed a patient, we are likely [afterwards] to be harassed even at the hospital and our relatives may also become involved. If we learn to view the matter thus, there should be no cause for fear.

However, many of those who deceive the authorities are unlikely to read these comments of ours. Thus, the responsibility rests solely on the leaders. If we are truthful and remain so, and if we wish others also to act likewise, we can do much. It is the duty of the leaders to keep in touch with the poorer section of the community, to point the right path to them now and again and themselves follow it. If we do this, there should be no occasion for a single charge against us.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-7-1912

240. *LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS*[1]

July 22, 1912

[THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th instant. In reply, I beg to state that the inconvenience felt by Indians who are waiting in the street outside your office is very considerable. As you are aware, many have to wait for a long time, and, apart from anything else, to be standing in the street indefinitely must be extremely fatiguing, as, indeed, those who have been obliged to wait there have so often complained to the British Indian Association. Moreover, they have no protection from the wind, sun or rain, and often, when they are in any considerable number, it is difficult for them to know where they should stand—on the pavement or in the street— as, wherever they stood, they would be causing an obstruction. In my humble opinion, as part of the public having to do business in a public office, they are entitled to the same respectable accommodation as is provided in all other public offices.[2]

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

[1] This was sent in reply to a letter from M. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics, dated July 13, which read: "With reference to the interview I had with you on the 11th instant, I shall be obliged if you will put in a written statement regarding the inconvenience to which Indians are put while waiting in the streets outside my office, and setting forth what it is they desire." *Indian Opinion*, 3-8-1912.

[2] In reply to this, Chamney wrote on July 26: ". . . there is no special accommodation available for the convenience of Asiatics who attend at my Office, nor are there any funds available by which such special accommodation could be furnished at the present time. With regard to the sentence which closes your communication, I have the honour to state that I have ascertained that there are many offices attended by the general public, including Europeans, where no special accommodation is provided." *Indian Opinion*, 3-8-1912.

241. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

July 22, 1912

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram and letter of the 19th instant[1], for which I thank you.

I shall submit the names of six educated Indians for entry for this year, in due course.[2]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Indian Opinion*, 27-7-1912; also typewritten office copy: S.N. 5668

242. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*[3]

July 22, 1912

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

Mr. R. M. Sodha is one of the British Indians admitted last year in virtue of the settlement. As was mentioned by me last year, Mr. Sodha intended to do business in the Transvaal for a living, but, as it was thought legislation would be passed during the last session, Mr. Sodha was publicly supported. But he naturally does not wish to remain idle, and is anxious to take out a licence to trade. I take it that, on the strength of the permit issued to him, he will be unable to take out a licence. Will the Government, therefore, be pleased to authorize the Receiver of Revenue to issue a licence to Mr. Sodha without production of a registration certificate.

I have, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5669

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 280.

[2] If Gandhiji did propose the names in a letter, it is not available.

[3] M. Chamney, the Registrar of Asiatics, replied to this on August 1, saying, ". . . the settlement, as I understood it, was meant to allow six educated Asiatics per annum to enter the Transvaal for the good and benefit of their compatriots, who had not similar advantages of education. I do not think it was ever intended that the six Indians should be allowed in here for their individual benefit. I shall be glad to have your views." S.N. 5682.

243. THE SETTLEMENT PROLONGED

The correspondence[1] between the Union Government and Mr. Gandhi forms interesting reading. According to it, the Provisional Settlement of last year[2] continues pending the passing of satisfactory legislation which the Government again intend introducing during the next session. Meanwhile, six educated British Indians will be permitted to enter the Transvaal Province as if the legislation had already been passed.[3] This is all good. The correspondence avoids recrudescence of passive resistance on the points in dispute.

But the indictment of Lord Ampthill, who has been, with tireless zeal, championing our cause, remains unanswered.[4] The gravamen of His Lordship's charge is that, though the letter of the settlement is being kept, the spirit of it is being broken. The spirit of it—indeed, General Botha's public declarations[5]—require that the resident Indian population is allowed to remain in South Africa in peace. But there can be no peace so long as wives, recognized by Indian laws, are turned away, the Gold Law[6] and the Townships Act[7] are administered so as to bring virtual ruin to

[1] Between January 29 and July 17, 1912

[2] Of May 20, 1911

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 280-1.

[4] For Lord Ampthill's question on July 17, 1912, in the House of Lords regarding the implementation of the Provisional Settlement, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

[5] As early as 1909, Botha had assured Lord Curzon that he would treat British Indians with liberality and justice; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 173. Commenting on the Provisional Settlement on May 23, 1911, General Botha declared that he was very satisfied with it and that it had come about at an opportune time. While warning that only those Indians covered by the Settlement could enter the country in future he promised he would make every effort to make the living conditions of Asiatics as bearable as possible. Indeed, he said, he had no hostility against them. Again, speaking at Rietfontein on September 26, 1911, having returned from the Imperial Conference at London, he said that General Smuts "had wasted away to a shadow" trying to settle the Asiatic question. In answer to a petition which he claimed he had received and which demanded that all Indians be deported from the country, he said the difficulty was "that under the British flag they had to act according to British principles".

[6] *Vide* "Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 4-5 and Appendix XXI.

[7] Indians living in "proclaimed areas" or other places where they had built up flourishing businesses were being forced into Locations either by virtue of the Gold Law or the Townships Act. The areas immediately affected were Klerksdorp ("Extract from Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 4-5), Krugersdorp

Indian merchants, residents of long standing are being forced out of Locations pointed out to them, residential title-deeds are disregarded, impossible proofs demanded as to marriages or domicile,[1] and trade made well-nigh impracticable by a tyrannical administration of licensing legislation.[2]

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

244. *THE GERMISTON INDIANS*

The Germiston Municipality has evidently succeeded in ruining the Indians living in its Location. After the case of *Kalasing* v. *the Municipality*, several Indian buildings have been pulled down by the Municipality. And now the following characteristic notice has been served upon several Indians suspected of trading in the Location:

> It has been reported that you are selling groceries, etc., at premises on Stand—, at Georgetown Location. Now I am instructed to obtain evidence in support of this report. An attempt will be made to trap you, which, if successful, you will know what to expect.

What they are to expect is virtual confiscation of their buildings. And thus the Municipality expects to send the Indians, by a process of slow starvation, to the dung-heaps they have chosen for the new Location. Law 3 of 1885 specially authorizes Indian trade in Locations. But now, even this is being successfully prevented by the Germiston Municipality.

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

("The Storm Gathering", p. 140.), Roodepoort and Germiston ("Germiston Indians", pp. 158-9).

[1] As far as the Transvaal is concerned Gandhiji is referring to the sweeping powers proposed in the 1912 Union legislation for Immigration officials who would have rights unlimited by the jurisdiction of courts in determining the domiciliary rights of would-be Indian immigrants. As for proof of marriage, although it was from the Transvaal that Mrs. Sodha, Bai Rasul and Mrs. Jussat were turned away by virtue of very stringent judicial interpretations on the sanctity of marriages contracted under the law of other religions, Gandhiji here seems to have in mind the Natal circular issued only a few days previously by Cousins and referred to in footnote 2 on p. 277 and footnote 1 on p. 278.

[2] While concurring in changes proposed by General Smuts, consequent on Indians' opposition, in the Union immigration legislation of 1911 and 1912, Gandhiji reserved the right of Indians to agitate about their other grievances (this article is a fairly exhaustive list of these); *vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 228, also "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", p.11 and "At Last", p. 93.

245. THE BOKSBURG CASE[1]

The result of the judgment[2] in Mr. Bhyat's case is that trade of British Indian merchants, living within the gold areas, has been

[1] Amod Moosa Bhyat, a well-known Heidelberg merchant who had earlier suffered arrests and financial privation as a passive resister, opened a store in Boksburg on November 6, 1911, in premises registered in L. W. Ritch's name. The Europeans of Boksburg, an East Rand centre which had hitherto allowed no Asiatic to trade in the town, called a meeting on November 8, and protested against the advent of Asiatic competition. A few days earlier the *East Rand Express* had styled Bhyat as an "astute invader" who, with the help of Ritch and his "influential European friends in England", was forcing a test case and promised that the local whites would fight "to the last ditch". An editorial in *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911, agreed that the "clear-cut issue" was whether British Indians could trade or pursue their crafts outside "coolie Locations". *The Transvaal Leader*, too, took up the cry of white self-preservation and the European Press spoke of an "Asiatic invasion" and declared that European traders could never compete with the Asiatics with their "primitive mode of existence", "Oriental ingenuity" and "inferior standard of civilization". This meeting passed three resolutions, demanding that: (a) action should be taken against Bhyat under Section 131 of the Gold Law; (b) the condition under which the leasehold of Ritch's property was converted into a freehold—that no Coloured person should reside thereon or trade therein—should be enforced; and (c) municipal facilities be denied to Bhyat by the Town Council. The Town Council, in its meeting of November 22, 1911, was faced with more extreme amendments to these resolutions and was called upon to instruct the Receiver of Revenue to cancel all existing Asiatic trade licences. In its meeting of December 8, the Town Council, however, rescinded its amendments having meanwhile taken legal advice and forwarded the resolutions to the Government. Meanwhile, the Mayor and the Chairman of the Committee of the Town Council had met General Smuts in deputation and he assured them that the Government would take immediate steps regarding the Stands occupied by Coloured persons in Boksburg. On January 12, 1912 the Government served a notice on Ritch through their lawyers asking him to surrender the Crown Grant of August 21, 1911 which gave him freehold of the Stands since he had "violated the conditions of Grant by permitting Coloured persons. . . to reside on the Stands". On February 12, 1912, the Supreme Court (Transvaal Division) issued summonses against Ritch and Bhyat following an application by the Government and hearing commenced on June 7. The Minister of Justice had moved the Supreme Court for a declaration that the plaintiff was entitled to the ownership of the said Stand since the defendant had refused to cancel the transfer deed and to deliver up the possession of the Stand. *Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1911 to 13-7-1912.

[2] In his judgment Justice Mason declared that Ritch was bound by the conditions under which the Deed of Transfer of Crown land was effected, that is, by the relevant provisions of the Townships Act and the Gold Law.

rendered not worth a day's purchase. The *East Rand Express* has already advised the other municipalities to take action similar to that of Boksburg and force the hand of the Government. It is certainly now open to the latter to institute proceedings in respect of landed property in gold areas occupied by British Indian merchants. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the Bhyat case should be fought to a finish. The Union Government assured the Imperial Government that the Townships Act was not directly aimed at British Indians or other Asiatics, and that there was no clause in it specially affecting them.[1] We now see that, if the judgment given by the Transvaal Bench remains unreversed, the Townships Act has to be read in conjunction with the Gold Law,[2] and the combined effect of the two Acts is such that the Townships Act virtually

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The Union of South Africa were therefore entitled to cancel the Deed of Transfer of these 3 Stands and to order Ritch to deliver up possession of all these. They were furthermore entitled to eject Bhyat, the second defendant. The plaintiff was entitled to the costs of the action. Ritch had contended that the original lease, taken out in 1896, contained no provision against Coloured persons occupying the land. As for the conditions in which leasehold was converted into freehold (that is, that the Stand should not be transferred to any Coloured person), they had been promulgated by Regulation and could not be enforced against persons of non-European descent for, beng a differential provision operating against Asiatics only and not Europeans (that is to say, since it was "class legislation"), it required the "previous instructions" of His Majesty under Section 39(a) of the Letters Patent (Transvaal). *Indian Opinion*, 13-7-1912. *Vide* also Appendix XIX in which Smuts had argued in 1911 that the Townships Act did not bear on such cases.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIX.

[2] While Law 3 of 1885 did prohibit a Transvaal Asiatic from owning landed property outside Locations, it did not prevent a European from doing so on his behalf whether in perpetual leasehold or freehold. In 1905, the Transvaal Supreme Court "definitely recognized these equitable trusts as between nominal European owners and Asiatic virtual owners" (case of *Syed Ismail and Another* v. *Jacobs* cited by Maud Polak). The effect of the Townships Amendment Act and the Gold Law of 1908 was to annul these confirmed rights. Under the Townships Act, Part II, Chapter 3, Section 9(1), leaseholds of all Stands in Stands Townships were automatically converted into freehold on the payment of a licence fee. The lessor or owner was admittedly not obliged to take out a freehold title. If he did so, Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908, prohibiting the subletting of premises or the residence of Asiatics thereon, came into force. Obviously, in cases where the property was held in trust, the Indian could not himself take out a freehold owing to the prohibition on "Coloured ownership". If the nominal European owner did so, he became liable under the Townships Act, Chapter 3, Section 3(1), to criminal prosecution, and his property would become forfeit to the Government, under Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law of 1908, which was brought into operation in such cases. It happened in cases where the laws were read together. That is, he could not then allow

becomes class legislation[1]. Whilst, therefore, it is necessary to take the matter to the highest court of appeal, it is equally necessary for the British Indians in the Transvaal to realize and understand that the courts of justice in matters of this character cannot possibly finally decide the position. In the event of the highest court of appeal upholding the decision, they will have to move in order to secure an amendment of both these laws.

Mr. Bhyat cannot be expected to undertake the burden of appealing. The whole community is in duty bound to come to the rescue. The decision in this case is of general application. We hope, therefore, that British Indians of means will not hesitate to support the proceedings now being taken by giving donations towards the expenses.

Indian Opinion, 27-7-1912

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a Coloured person other than a domestic servant to reside on Township properties. Moreover, when such property passed at the death of the owner to the heirs the conversion of a leasehold into a freehold was made compulsory. So much so that, at the death of a nominal European owner, the property of the equitable owner would pass out of his hands. As Lord Ampthill said, this was how the Townships Amendment Act (Act 34 of 1908) and the Transvaal Gold Law (Act 35 of 1908) provided "in a subtle and indirect manner" that the same prohibitions and penalties as were prescribed by the Gold Law in 'proclaimed areas' shall apply in the case of public Townships also. The effect of both these laws was to force, after January 1, 1909, the entire Transvaal Indian population, whether in Townships or in "proclaimed areas", into Locations. The British Government had opposed this policy before and after the Boer War, but had assented to it in 1908. (Lord Ampthill's letter to the British Press, *Indian Opinion*, 28-10-1911, Maud Polak's letter on behalf of the SABI Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 29, 1911, C.O. 551/22 and "Mr. Polak's Statement", *Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1911 & 16-12-1911).

[1] Gandhiji had always objected to class legislation, that is, legislation which sought to place differential restrictions on any minority among British subjects which did not have political franchise. As Indians had become members of the Empire by virtue of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, the constitutions of Natal and the Transvaal (which became self-governing in 1893 and 1908, respectively) contained a special provision to the effect that any discriminatory legislation directed against British Indians as a class would require special Royal assent. For Gandhiji's references to class legislation, *vide*, for instance, Vol. VI, pp. 3 & 262-3.

246. LETTER TO MANSUKH[1]

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
Ashadh Shukla 14 [July 27, 1912][2]

DEAR SHRI MANSUKH,

I have your letter. I sent you a cable[3] regarding Mr. Manilal Doctor. As there was no reply, I concluded that you were not willing to release him. For some other reasons also, Manilalji decided to go to Fiji. He left the Cape on last Friday. A cable[4] was sent to you. He will go there *via* Australia.

I hope you will all be happy about it and will make Manilalji quite comfortable. The arrangements for his board and lodging should, for the time being, be made by the people there.

If all the friends there encourage him, Manilalji will certainly settle there.

If you feel like writing again, please do.

With due regards from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2553

247. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
July 28, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I was delighted to receive your cable[5]. Everybody has been enquiring about the date of your arrival. I hope that you will be able to give us at least a month. Indian Associations from all the principal towns are most eager to have you in their midst.

[1] This is the first Hindi letter of Gandhiji's to appear in *The Collected Works.*

[2] Manilal Doctor, referred to in the letter, left for Fiji from Cape Town on July 26, 1912. The letter was therefore written in 1912.

[3] Not available

[4] Not available

[5] Of July 25, 1912; he had said he was sailing on October 5.

If you are accompanied by your secretary or anyone else, I take it you will kindly inform me of the fact.

Need I say that yours will be a royal progress through S. A.

I hope that you have greatly benefited by the change. I was rather anxious when I heard from Miss Polak that you were for some days under medical orders not to receive anybody.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[G. K. GOKHALE
ENGLAND]

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3772

248. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[LAWLEY,]
July 29, 1912

[SIR,]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter[1] of the 26th instant. In my humble opinion, want of funds cannot be considered a sufficient answer by a great Government to the request of a section of the public for some reasonable accommodation in a public office.

I am afraid that the closing part of my letter has not been understood. I did not wish to convey that there was any special, that is, extraordinary, accommodation for the general public in the other public offices, but it was submitted, as it is submitted now, that there is always sufficient accommodation for the public in other public offices. I certainly know of no offices where the public are compelled to wait on the foot-paths or public roads, as they have to in connection with your office.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 284.

249. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG BANQUET TO V. A. CHETTIAR[1]

August 1, 1912

The worst days of the Indian passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal were recalled last night [August 1], and a warning was given by Mr. Gandhi to the people who voluntarily underwent imprisonment with hard labour at the time, to be in readiness for a possible repetition of their sufferings.

It was at a banquet given in honour of Mr. V. A. Chettiar, . . . who is now on the eve of returning to Madras.

Mr. Gandhi, called upon by Mr. Hosken, as the teacher and prophet of passive resistance, warned his hearers that the great struggle in South Africa was by no means ended. It was, he said, only in suspense, and it might be that the community might again be called upon to undergo much suffering.

Proceeding to propose "The Guests", Mr. Gandhi paid a warm tribute to Mr. Hosken and other Europeans present, and said it was due largely to them that they were all gathered at that table on terms—might he say—of equality. To his mind equality should be a matter of course in every civilized country, and especially in every Christian community; but, labouring as they did under terrible difficulties and terrible prejudices, it was a matter for congratulations when any sort of equality could be attained.

The Transvaal Leader, 2-8-1912

250. THE GERMISTON LOCATION

We publish elsewhere the report of Dr. F. Arnold, the Acting Medical Officer of Health for the Union, on the proposed site for a new Asiatic Bazaar in Germiston. The report, in our opinion, is a special pleading for the site chosen by the Town Council. Dr. Macnab's strong remarks have been brushed aside. It is true that some of the objections have been withdrawn by Dr. Macnab. But the main objection—that the Location is to be near a depositing site and a site where anthrax animals have been buried—remains. The fact of Dr. Arnold having laid down certain conditions under which only the site can be passed medically shows,

[1] The banquet was arranged by the Tamil community of Johannesburg on the occasion of Chettiar's departure for India and was attended by about 300 guests including a number of Europeans sympathetic to the Indian cause. Rev. Dr. Ross, Rev. Doke and Hosken also spoke.

too, that Dr. Macnab's strictures were quite justified. It must not, again, be forgotten that even the very ground where night-soil has been deposited is part of the site chosen by the Germiston Municipality. No doubt, from a purely scientific standpoint, it is a consolation that this portion of the Location is not to be used for building purposes for some time to come, but, in matters of this character, a favourable medical report cannot become a conclusive answer to the various objections raised. An old cemetery, from a medical standpoint, may be a good enough site for habitation, but, from other perfectly justifiable points of view, it may be a totally undesirable site. As we have already pointed out, it is a curious circumstance that, for Asiatic Bazaars and Native Locations, Municipalities always succeed in finding the most favourable spots near depositing sites. All we can say is that the Indians of Germiston decline to remove to this wretched spot, notwithstanding the favourable report given by Dr. Arnold. We are aware that they will require to have more than ordinary grit in refusing to remove to this site. The Municipality has made it well-nigh impossible for them to remain in the old Location, because all trade there is entirely stopped. Several buildings have been razed to the ground, and the Municipality have threatened to do likewise with the other buildings, if their owners are caught in the act of trading in the Location. We hope that, no matter what difficulties they have to face, the Indians in Germiston will take up a firm stand and decline to fall into the trap prepared by the Municipality.

Indian Opinion, 3-8-1912

251. LETTER TO SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
August 3, 1912

[TO
THE] SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] of the 1st instant No. 34/E/15330. I have not before me the letter of the 22nd ultimo referred to by you, but I believe it is my letter[3] addressed to the Secretary for the Interior regarding Mr. Sodha and I am replying from the Farm as the matter is rather urgent.

In my humble opinion there was no question as to whether the educated Indians who might enter did so for their individual benefit or otherwise; they were to be highly educated men required for the wants of the community. I imagine that after the legislation is passed such men up to the number understood will enter on their own merits. Those who have fought for the principle of legal equality have assumed that highly educated Indians would certainly serve their community while serving themselves. The cases of those who are admitted last year were specially discussed by me with Mr. Lane. I then expressed the hope that while I could give no guarantee that they would not trade—all but Mr. Sodha would not, I told him—that Mr. Sodha was a pre-war resident, —of three years' standing and that he certainly intended to trade, but Mr. Sodha's trading does not by any means imply that he will be lost to the community; it was certainly expected that all who

[1] To this the Registrar of Asiatics replied on August 16: ". . . until legislation has been passed validating the residence here of the specially exempted educated Asiatics, it will not be lawful for Receivers of Revenue to issue General Dealers Licences in their favour. I regret that I am unable in consequence to issue orders to any Receiver of Revenue to issue a trading licence to Mr. Sodha, who is meanwhile only residing in the Transvaal on a temporary permit." S. N. 5696.

[2] *Vide* footnote 3 on p. 285.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", p. 285.

entered the Transvaal as educated men would earn their living by following some independent calling among their own compatriots. I hope that an early decision will be arrived at regarding Mr. Sodha. May I trouble you to send me a copy of this letter as I have not been able to copy it myself.

I have, etc.,

[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5697

252. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO BALIBEHN VORA AND CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI*

[After *August 3, 1912*][1]

CHI. BALI AND CHANCHI,

I have letters from you both.

A part of the blame at least for Rami's fractured hand should, I think, go to you. But such accidents always occur. If we are destined to survive, God saves us even from these.

Chi. Veni[2] writes to me to say that Chanchi now wants to come over here. She should know that she is free to come whenever she likes. I allowed her to go, believing as I did, and as I still do, that she would feel she was happier there and that Harilal too would feel likewise. That is why she is there. As to when I shall be able to go there, it is impossible at present to say. I do not think I can leave before the Act is passed at any rate.

It is good news that Kanti is growing stronger. My advice is that no foreign foods be brought into the house. My experience of them has been bad. I am more convinced each day that almost all these foods are objectionable.

Bali has done well in taking up the study of Sanskrit. If ever it is my good fortune to go to India and I have to take up my work there, I intend to use Bali's services fully.

Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas are on the Farm. Jayakunvar, Dr. Mehta's daughter, is also with me. She is a great help to me in teaching the children. You must have read in *Indian Opinion*

[1] Manilal Doctor, referred to in the last paragraph, sailed for Fiji from Cape Town on July 26, 1912, but the information was published only in *Indian Opinion* of 3-8-1911. (The news-item because of a printing error mentions the 20th as the date of the departure.) This letter must, therefore, have been written some time after August 3.

[2] Wife of Jayashanker Vyas, a Pretoria Indian

that her husband has gone to Fiji.[1] Chi. Jamnadas, too, is with me. Ani is likewise on the Farm. Devibehn[2] . . .[3]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9530

253. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

TOLSTOY FARM,
August 4, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Many thanks for your long letter[4]. I would not dream of having you here at the cost of your after-cure. But I assume that you would be able to complete your cure before sailing for S. A. Roughly this is likely to be the programme, subject to your consent : 22nd & 23rd Oct. at Cape Town, 25th & 26th at Kimberley, 27th at Johannesburg. I take it that most of the time will be passed in Jo'burg. Two days may be given to Pretoria. Unless you cable to the contrary I propose to ask General Botha & Mr. Fischer[5] to receive you. If Lord Gladstone returns by that time I propose

[1] In his "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", pp. 169-71, Gandhiji discussed his views on Manilal Doctor's plans for the future—whether he should return to his public work in Mauritius or stay on in the Transvaal. On April 29, Gandhiji wrote to Lane presumably asking him if Manilal Doctor could be admitted to the Transvaal as one of the six educated Asiatics who were to be permitted to enter the Colony each year under the Provisional Settlement; but this letter is not available. In his reply of May 3 (S.N. 5649), Lane said that, pending legalization of the Settlement, he could only issue Manilal Doctor a temporary permit. On July 8, Gandhiji wrote in his "Diary, 1912" that M. Doctor did not really want to go to Fiji but added a few days later that he had sailed for Fiji on July 26.

[2] Ada West

[3] The rest of the letter is missing.

[4] Of July 27, 1912; *vide* Appendix XX.

[5] Abraham Fischer; Premier of the Orange River Colony, December 1907-May 1910, he became Union Minister for Lands following the formation of the Union in 1910. Some time in June 1912, after the Defence Bill (Act 13 of 1912) had been passed, Smuts relinquished charge of the Ministry of Interior and took over Finance while still retaining the portfolios of Defence and Mines. On this Eric Walker (*A History of South Africa,* p. 542) remarks " . . . Botha had to rearrange the portfolios in a way which detracted from his ministry's efficiency and enhanced the power of his two Free State colleagues." These were Hertzog and Abraham Fischer and the latter took over the Ministry of Interior from Smuts. These cabinet changes were not noticed in the columns of *Indian Opinion.* Fischer piloted the 1913 Immigration Bill through the Union Parliament.

asking him also. I shall ask Mr. Merriman[1] to receive you. He is the greatest statesman of S. A. Addresses will be presented at all the places named by me. It is also the intention to have a mixed banquet in Johannesburg. Probably the Mayor will preside. The last week of your stay will be in Durban and Phœnix. You will sail from Durban. Your passage for India may conveniently be booked after your arrival.

I have first sketched the programme so that if you wished to propose any change you could do so by cable as also by letter.

It would be no calamity if Mr. Fischer goes back upon Gen. Smuts' promise. It can only strengthen our cause. But I hardly think it is possible for the Union Government to do so. What is quite likely is that the Parliament (local) may not pass the Govt. Bill. The Govt. may not make it a point of honour and simply tell us as also the Imperial Govt. that they are helpless. In that event the struggle will be bitter and fierce; but it will go on so long as some of us have a spark of life left in us.

Mr. Sorabji is now there and I dare say he has already paid his respects to you.

How very nice of Mr. Tata to have given Rs. 25,000 again.[2] I know that I owe it all to you. Each time the donations have arrived in the nick of time. It was becoming a difficult question to conduct the farm.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3773

[1] John Xavier Merriman; English-born farmer, "South African by adoption", he was according to Eric Walker (*op. cit.* p. 535), "the Cape Parliament with all its honourable traditions in the flesh" and "cultured, eloquent, imposing" "with a great knowledge of men and of affairs"; Treasurer in Rhodes' first cabinet, 1890-93, and Premier of the Cape Colony, February, 1908-May, 1910, he was the only serious rival to Botha for the Union premiership in 1910. In 1901, he accompanied Sauer to England to urge on the Imperial Government the case for a South African federation; went again in 1909 to discuss the formation of the Union, travelling on board s.s. *Kenilworth Castle* as a fellow-passenger of the Indian Deputation. Gandhiji, who met him during the voyage, found him "full of sympathy for the satyagrahi prisoners", but later he regretted his inability to keep his promise to Gandhiji about helping with the Transvaal Indian problem; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 273, 278 & 307. *Indian Opinion* (Golden Number, 1906-14) describes him as "a consistent champion of fair play to Indians". *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. V & XXXII.

[2] For earlier donations by Tata, *vide* footnote 4 on p. 248.

254. MR. TATA'S MUNIFICENCE

Mr. Ratan Tata has outdone himself. At the Sheriff's meeting[1] held at Bombay on the 31st ultimo and presided over by Sir Jamsetji, it was announced that Mr. Tata had given a third contribution of Rs. 25,000 to the Transvaal passive resistance fund. The total given by Mr. Tata therefore amounts to £5,000—a fortune in itself. Mr Petit has already cabled to Mr. Gandhi £1,500. Mr. Tata's munificence shows not only his large-heartedness, but also his keen appreciation of the struggle. Mr. Tata has laid the passive resisters, as also the whole Indian community of South Africa, under deep obligation. He has made the lot of passive resisters easy; and the fact that there are at the back of the struggle such distinguished Indians, encourages those who are engaged in it, and probably brings them nearer their goal. The moral effect of such help on those who, from prejudice, are opposed to us, is also obvious.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

255. THE SHERIFF'S MEETING

A meeting called by a Sheriff in India is equivalent to a meeting called, say, by the Mayor in Durban. The term Sheriff has a meaning different from what we understand by it in South Africa. The Sheriff's position is honorary and it is conferred upon the most distinguished citizens in India. Those of our readers who do not know India much, will now understand what the public meeting recently held in Bombay and called by the Sheriff means. The meeting naturally represented the voice of all the sections of the Bombay public. Its resolutions must, therefore, carry weight. The meeting very properly took up the whole question of the status of our countrymen settled in the British Colonies. East African Europeans want to hound our countrymen out of the British East

[1] This meeting, held on August 1, protested against the treatment of Indians in the colonies, particularly in South Africa, East Africa and Canada; approved a memorandum to the Indian Government for transmission to the Marquess of Crewe, condemning the continuance of the indentured labour system; and sent a message of encouragement to South African Indians, strongly approving the forthcoming visit of Gokhale to that country.

African Protectorate. They do not even realize that, if Indians withdrew from it, the country would soon become a howling wilderness. Canada will not allow the wives of domiciled Indians to join their husbands, thus disregarding every canon of decency and fair play. It is possible to understand prejudice against successful rivals, but it is impossible to appreciate selfishness run mad, as it has in Canada—the oldest and most civilized among British Colonies.

The meeting presided over by the Parsee Baronet dealt with all these questions. We, who are living in far-off lands, have a right to look up to the motherland for help. As time goes [by] and knowledge of the condition of the emigrant spreads more generally in India, the volume of sympathy there increases.

For all this great work of education, we have, primarily, to thank Mr. Polak for his persistent and tactful advocacy. There is hardly a town of importance which Mr. Polak has not visited, hardly a public man he has not seen; hardly a newspaper he has not instructed. The Sheriff's meeting was by no means the most important result of his work. It is fortunate that we have a worker of Mr. Polak's stamp in our ranks.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

256. *INVALID REGULATIONS*

A Boksburg Indian[1] was defended by Mr. Ritch the other day in the Magistrate's Court for a breach of municipal regulations, in that he was conducting a compound where Natives were kept as tenants. The accused was convicted. Mr. Ritch appealed. Mr. Gregorowski argued the appeal and the conviction has been set aside, the Court holding that the regulations were *ultra vires*. This is an important decision. Many Indians would have been seriously affected if the regulations had been held to be valid.

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

[1] Moses. He was convicted for contravening Section 38 of the Boksburg Public Health Bye-laws. On appeal being preferred, the judge declared that the bye-law was not valid inasmuch as it discriminated as between Europeans and Coloured persons, for which there was no authority in the enabling law, and he set aside the conviction. *Indian Opinion*, 10-8-1912.

257. THE HON. MR. GOKHALE

It is for the first time that an Indian such as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale is visiting this country. He has helped us much. We can never thank him enough for his work in regard to the abolition of indenture. It was again through his efforts that we received substantial contributions for the satyagraha fund. He has strong sympathy for the satyagrahis. He has helped Mr. Polak considerably. He wields much influence in the Indian Legislative Council.

Mr. Gokhale is visiting this country specifically to study the conditions of Indians here and he will meet local officials. He will be President of the forthcoming session of the [Indian National] Congress.

For these reasons, even from the standpoint of self-interest, it is but fitting that

(1) we should give him a big welcome;
(2) in doing so we should raise no issues about Hindus and Muslims;
(3) individual associations, welcome though they are to give receptions in his honour, should bear in mind that he is an Indian above all;
(4) he should [therefore] be treated as the guest of the entire [Indian] community in South Africa.
(5) If we want it to appear that he is a Hindu, Muslims should take the lead in honouring him, that being the only way to promote fraternal relations between the two sections [of the community];
(6) For welcoming Mr. Gokhale we need to raise a large sum of money.
(7) In the interest of our prestige, and for the sake of the work for which he is coming here, we would do well to put him up in a decent place.
(8) Even where there is disunity and public bodies refuse to come together on the same platform, unity should prevail on this occasion.

An occasion such as this will not recur. The efforts we make and the unity we display on this occasion will stand us in good stead forever.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-8-1912

258. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

Shravan Sud 4 [*August 16, 1912*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Ba has been seriously ill[2], Ani is passing through a crisis and Kisan[3] has been none too well. All the three are practically bed-ridden. Being occupied with this, I can do nothing else. At night, Kisan and Nagin[4] share the bed with me, so that I don't get much sleep either. Gokuldas[5], who is here, has his bed beside Ani's. All the three patients, I think, are on the way to recovery, though not completely out of danger yet.

The error in the figure for the Famine [Relief Fund] has been found. It now remains for me to go through the thing. I shall send the figure by and by. I got Popat's letter. I have got everything that you sent. Your letter is not with me at the moment and hence I cannot recollect the items in the list you sent.

The booklet[6] about Prof. Gokhale should be as good as you can make it. I can only ask you to do what we ourselves do here. Saturdays and Sundays may be availed of for this work. Anyone who wants to may help. Here, Devibehn and Mr. Kotwal have been of invaluable assistance. Devibehn starts work at seven [in the morning] and goes on till nine at night. She cooks her own meals and eats them hurriedly, standing. Mr. Kotwal gets up at three in the morning to cook for those keeping the *roza*[7]. Jeki has greatly improved in health now. She too, therefore, makes herself quite useful. All of you having joined in spoiling

[1] Kasturba Gandhi and Ani Desai's illness referred to in the letter are both mentioned in "Diary, 1912". Moreover it was during 1912 that Kotwal worked as a member of the Tolstoy Farm. In that year *Shravan Sud* 4 corresponds to August 16.

[2] She and Ani fell ill on the 11th; *vide* entry for that date in "Diary, 1912".

[3] & [4] Sons of Ani and Purshottamdas Desai

[5] Son of Parmananddas Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

[6] *The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System,* which contained a brief sketch of Gokhale's public career and a full report of the debate on the resolution moved by him in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Calcutta. The booklet was being published by Phœnix to mark the occasion of Gokhale's proposed visit to South Africa.

[7] The fast that Muslims keep during *Ramzan*; *vide* entry for August 14 in "Diary, 1912".

Jamnadas's health, he cannot give of his best, though he is willing enough. He is always suffering from one ailment or another. While there, he let himself go in the matter of food, and all of you, in your affection, allowed him this liberty. He is suffering the consequences now, as he himself admits. He has, on his own, described [to me] all the liberties he took. It is possible that I may be able to go there in September.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have Devibehn's help, but that has not reduced my work. I have to be careful still, because of fear on Ba's account. I shall have some time to myself only after she has got used to things. However, about sending the account, I have it on my mind all the time. I shall send along with it the papers about Devibehn also.

Lallubhai simply wants to get the most he can out of his book. By all means let him. Why did you publish the matter advertising it in the news columns?

Remember that we are not to publish anything relating to the Hindu Conference. Not even its advertisement material, if received. You must have seen that the whole thing is a humbug.

I am not in a position to leave immediately to look into the affairs of the [Natal Indian] Congress.

Mr. West's statement of expenses on fare, etc., is all right. He is not to be asked to reimburse the amount. He has drawn nothing here.

Manilal Doctor may be going to Fiji to keep his promise. He is in no position to start legal practice immediately. He can do so only after the new law has been passed.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5710

259. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

We invite the attention of the Johannesburg Indians to the extracts[1] we give from the *Sunday Post* in connection with the second outbreak of smallpox in Johannesburg. So far, Indians appear to have remained immune, but it is none the less their duty to help the authorities by removing all causes that might lead to an outbreak among themselves. There is, in that article, the suggestion that we do not conform to the laws of sanitation. The best way to meet this charge is, without doubt, that we put our houses in perfect order. We ought not to wait for prosecutions or notices before we observe the ordinary rules of sanitation. Dr. Porter is reported to have said to an interviewer that some houses in the heart of Johannesburg deserve nothing but total destruction, and that they are being inhabited by Indians, as also others including many Europeans. We feel that Indians residing within that area should at once set about vacating such houses, where they are not capable of proper repair, and they will find that, although it may cost them a little more in rent, the extra cost would be more than made up for in times of panic and by the people themselves keeping better health. Dr. Porter deserves, and is entitled to, all the help that can be given to him in his war against the dreaded disease.

Indian Opinion, 17-8-1912

260. SMALLPOX IN JOHANNESBURG

Smallpox has again broken out in Johannesburg. Once the disease appears in a large and crowded city like Johannesburg, it is difficult to stamp it out quickly or [even] to check it. The news of the outbreak has therefore created a panic and thousands of people rush to get themselves vaccinated against smallpox. In order to control the epidemic, however, the chief thing is to prevent the contagion from spreading. Stress has therefore been laid

[1] Dr. Porter, Medical Officer of Health, said in the course of an interview: "Judging by past experience, the remedy for such outbreaks lies in the segregation of white and Coloured in the city. . . . What is wanted by the Council is the power to force all Coloured people—Malays, Indians, Cape Coloureds and Chinese[—] to reside in fixed Locations. At present the Council has no such power, while the Provincial Council . . . is also powerless." *Indian Opinion*, 17-8-1912.

on segregating the various communities, and the question of obtaining the necessary powers is also being considered.[1] When segregation is being considered, the proposal, needless to say, is bound to include the Indians. It will be impossible to raise the issue of racial discrimination if it is proposed to segregate Indians in Locations because of the epidemic. It cannot also be denied that our people, more than others, withhold information about [the incidence of] the disease with the result that the contagion spreads further. Thus, the outbreak of the epidemic will provide an occasion for some serious suggestions to be made which, we want the Indians to note, it will be almost impossible to oppose. Though the epidemic did not originate this time with Indians and though only a few cases appear to have occurred among them, they should not be any the less careful in the matter. Dr. Porter has stated that some of the houses in the central part [of the city], occupied by Indians and others, are so dirty that they should really be burnt down. It is the duty of the Indians [concerned] to vacate the houses forthwith and take up residence elsewhere. And they should maintain the utmost cleanliness in the new houses. Even if this means their having to incur some expenditure, it will be worth while doing so. The community should extend its full co-operation to the Medical Officer. If it shows itself to be negligent, the severest possible measures will be taken against it in the name of the epidemic.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 17-8-1912

261. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[LAWLEY,]
August 19, 1912

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter[2] of the 18th instant. I hope to be able to forward the list of six British Indians at an early date. Consultations are now being held as to the names, the fittest to be submitted out of the many received.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5699

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on the opposite page.
[2] This letter is not available; *vide*, however, footnote 1 on p. 280.

262. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

JOHANNESBURG,
August 22, 1912

Although Mr. M. K. Gandhi is not resident in Johannesburg at the present time, he continues to keep in close touch with public affairs, in so far as they affect his own people. Yesterday morning [August 22] a *Leader* representative had a chat with the one-time passive resister, who had trudged in from the farm Tolstoy, where he is now living in comparative retirement.

When asked whether he had read the various articles published during the past few weeks in connection with the outbreak of smallpox, Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative. In regard to the suggestion that the Coloured races should be segregated he stated that, although he approved of voluntary segregation, he was opposed to compulsion in any shape or form.

Segregation would in any case be totally ineffective. Even if you kept the Indians in one district, the Eurafricans in another, you could not prevent them intermixing outside in the ordinary course of their business. Segregation would not remove the danger of infection. You would find that the Indian fruit-hawker would, if he came from an area infected with smallpox, carry the disease into other areas. During the present outbreak there have been very few Indian cases, and the health officials cannot blame us on this occasion. We are only too anxious to help the authorities, but we are opposed to compulsory segregation. Dr. Murray gave some very valuable evidence on the point some years ago, when he appeared before the Insanitary Area Expropriation Commission. He stated that any neglect of sanitation that existed among British Indians or the others would not be dealt with successfully by relegating them to inaccessible Bazaars or to places which would not lend themselves to effective control by the health officials.

DRASTIC BY-LAWS APPROVED

I fully approve of drastic by-laws where the health of the community is concerned. I would show no mercy to offenders against such measures.

[QUESTION:] Do you approve of the action of the Public Health Committee in applying for the powers of demolition in the case of insanitary dwellings?

Yes, I would enforce the law in this respect with the utmost rigour. The proper way of dealing with all classes of the community, European, Asiatic, Eurafrican and Native, is to allow them

freedom of movement, subject to a strict supervision as regards health conditions. I've had close on 20 years' experience in such matters, and if you were to segregate the Indians and force them to live in Bazaars, say 4 or 5 miles out of town, you would run a big risk of the spread of such diseases as smallpox.

We as a community have been accused of a desire to hide the outbreak of any disease. What would happen if the Indians were cut off for residential purposes from the rest of the population? I can assure you that the danger of contagion would be far greater. In any case, I am convinced that the Imperial Government would not sanction any class legislation such as a policy of segregation would entail. As a race we are only too anxious to obey the laws, and I trust that the sanitary by-laws which will come into force under the new Municipal Ordinance will be enforced in a firm and just manner.

The Transvaal Leader, 23-8-1912

263. A SPLENDID RECORD

The subject of this sketch is so well known that it is almost superfluous to explain who and what Mr. Gokhale is. South African Indians remember with deep gratitude his continued advocacy of their cause and his sympathy with them in their troubles. He will be always remembered as the man who largely brought about the stoppage of recruiting indentured labour in India for Natal. Mr. Gokhale's energies have been recently thrown into the introduction of a Bill in the Viceroy's Council to provide free and compulsory education for every child in India. Although unsuccessful, Mr. Gokhale is not the man to be discouraged by failure. When he knew that the fate of his Bill was sealed, he made no complaint. In his speech before the Council he said: "I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures." Such is the man as he is today. His life has been spent in serving the Motherland, and it is the prayer of millions in India and elsewhere that he may be spared many more years to continue the work he loves so well.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born in 1866 at Kolhapur, India. His parents were poor, but they sent him to the local college to be educated. He was a successful student and took his B.A. course

principally at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and partly at the Deccan College, Poona. After taking his degree, in 1884, he was admitted to membership of the Deccan Education Society. The life-members of this Society bind themselves to serve in the Fergusson College and in the schools of the Society for a period of twenty years on a monthly salary of 75 rupees. For some time Mr. Gokhale lectured on English Literature and Mathematics, but for the greater part of his term of service he filled the chair of History and Political Economy, subjects which he has so thoroughly mastered that he is acknowledged to be an authority on them. Such was his devotion and love for the work that, for several years, he devoted all his holidays to the work of collecting funds, travelling incessantly, bearing hardships, and submitting to indignities. Mr. Gokhale, though never occupying the position of Principal, was a man of great influence in the conduct of its affairs. About the time that he entered the Fergusson College, Mr. Gokhale came under the influence of the late Mr. Justice Ranade[1], and for many years they studied together great world problems, and especially those concerning India. In 1887, in compliance with Mr. Ranade's wish, Mr. Gokhale became the editor of the *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. Subsequently he became Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha. He was also for four years one of the editors of the *Sudharak*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly of Poona. He was Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Council for a similar period, and when, in 1895, the Indian National Congress held its eleventh session in Poona, Mr. Gokhale was elected as one of its Secretaries. In 1897 he was selected, along with other prominent public men of Bombay, to go to England and give evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure. There, thanks to his excellent training, he was able to stand the severe heckling to which the expert Commissions subjected him, and showed a thorough grasp of principles and mastery of details. The character of the man was brought out in connection with some letters which he addressed to the British Press on the plague administration in India. When he returned to India, he was called upon to substantiate his charges, and, on his friends, who had furnished him with the information, failing to come forward to support him, Mr. Gokhale acted in accordance with the best traditions of public life and offered a generous apology. For this gentlemanly act, Mr. Gokhale suffered a great

[1] Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901); economist, historian and social reformer; became Judge of Bombay High Court in 1893; author of *Rise of the Maratha Power, Essays in Indian Economics* and other books.

deal of unpopularity in some quarters. During 1900 and 1901, Mr. Gokhale was an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council where he did most useful work. In 1902, he was elected a member of the Supreme Legislative Council, which is presided over y the Viceroy of India. His first Budget speech came as a revelation to the public. Ever since, his speech on the occasion of the Budget has been looked forward to with eager interest. His mastery of facts and figures and his detailed knowledge of administrative problems, together with his command of simple, clear, vigorous expression and earnestness of purpose, call forth the admiration of even his opponents. Some of the most highly placed officials in India are his personal friends, and even Lord Curzon recognized in Mr. Gokhale "a foeman not unworthy of his steel". The Viceroy is reported to have said that it was a pleasure to cross swords with Mr. Gokhale and that Mr. Gokhale was the ablest Indian he had come across; and, in token of his admiration for his ability and character, decorated him with the title of C.I.E.

The Servants of India Society was formed by Mr. Gokhale in 1905. Mr. Gokhale believes that the Motherland is greatly in need of men who will devote their lives to willing service, and it is through the medium of this Society that he is training men for the noble work of educating the people of India in matters concerning their physical and moral welfare. In the same year Mr. Gokhale went on a mission to England, on behalf of the Bombay Public, and, just before leaving again for India, he received a pressing invitation to become the President of the forthcoming Congress at Benares. Mr. Gokhale was not at all well at the time, and would have been excused from the arduous duties, but he at last yielded to the public demand. The speech delivered by Mr. Gokhale as President dealt in a masterly manner with Lord Curzon's administration, the Partition of Bengal, the *Swadeshi* movement, and the demand of the Indian people for a greater share in the Government of their own country. It is not possible in this brief outline of Mr. Gokhale's career, to go further into this and other speeches, but we would recommend readers to obtain a copy of Mr. Gokhale's published speeches and study them. We cannot do better than conclude by quoting the closing lines of the excellent introduction to Mr. Natesan's publication, *The Speeches of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale*, from which we have gleaned the facts for this sketch:

> Magnanimous by nature, he seldom wounds the feelings of his adversary even when he hits the hardest. Identified as he is with the moderate school of political thought, he is far from being a party man. Scorning all mere strife, his great anxiety is to unite all parties by the common tie of

patriotism. Brought up in a school of severe self-examination, he is always on the guard against the insidious influences of the partisan spirit, and will not allow his love of his fellow-countrymen to be affected by irrelevant distinctions. Chaste in thought, word and deed, a master of lucid exposition, a speaker who inspires without inflaming, a citizen who is not afraid of strife but loves amity, a worker who can obey as well as command, a soldier of progress with invincible faith in his cause— Mr. Gokhale is indeed a perfect Servant of India.

Indian Opinion, 24-8-1912

264. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

JOHANNESBURG,
August 25, 1912

In accordance with the notice issued by the British Indian Association, a general meeting was held at the Hamidia Islamic Society's Hall on the 25th instant, Mr. Cachalia presiding. . . .

Mr. Cachalia, in opening the proceedings, said that it would be a great day for the Indians in South Africa when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale arrived. . . . He then called upon Mr. Gandhi to explain the programme to be recommended to the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi said that Mr. Gokhale would land on the 22nd October, at Cape Town, and would not be able to prolong his stay in South Africa beyond three weeks.[1] He would have to reach India at the beginning of December, as he was President Elect of the Indian National Congress, and had also been appointed a member of the Public Service Commission. So far as he could see, therefore, Mr. Gokhale would be able to give two days to Cape Town, one day to Kimberley, from which place an invitation had already been received, and would reach Johannesburg about the 27th October. He could give the Transvaal about ten days, most of which time could be passed in Johannesburg. A suitable address should be presented from the Association on the day of Mr. Gokhale's arrival, and, if the various sections of the community desired also to emphasize their sentiments beyond a general expression thereof in the Association address, their addresses should be presented at the same time. They were bound to recognize that the hon. gentleman did not enjoy the best of health, and they would have to bear that in mind in considering the programme. On the day following, the speaker suggested, there should be a banquet, attended by about 1,000 persons. Both the functions should take place, if it were possible, at the Wanderers', and the Mayor should

[1] *Vide* Appendix XX.

be requested to preside. There should be also an arch erected, if permitted, at the railway station, or at the place where the addresses would be presented; otherwise, at the residence that would be hired. The speaker said that no honour that could be paid to Mr. Gokhale could be considered too much. If he had been born in Europe—in France—he would probably have been the President of the Republic; in England, the Prime Minister; such were his moral and mental attainments! His special work for South Africa was known to everyone. In estimating the cost of the celebration, Mr. Gandhi suggested that £1,000 would be necessary. He suggested, too, that volunteers from all sections of the community should be ready to give the whole of their time during Mr. Gokhale's stay here, and for some days before. Mr. Gandhi also announced to the meeting that there was a cablegram to the effect that His Highness the Aga Khan intended to visit South Africa and East Africa in the near future, and suggested that a cablegram should be sent expressing the pleasure of the community at the news and inviting His Highness.

Mr. Hajee Habib, Pretoria, then moved that a Committee with all the necessary powers be appointed to make collections, to arrange the programme and to do all things necessary for honouring Mr. Gokhale on his arrival, and that the Committee should also appoint delegates to proceed to Cape Town to receive the hon. gentleman. He moved, too, that the suggested cablegram should be sent to His Highness the Aga Khan.[1]

Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, the Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, seconded the resolution, and said that there was no doubt that it was the duty of the whole Indian community to give a royal welcome to Mr. Gokhale. The community would simply be honouring itself by honouring such a distinguished visitor. . . .

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

[1] The following cable was sent to His Highness the Aga Khan: "British Indian Association read with pleasure cable announcing your intention visit South Africa. Community gladly welcomes Your Highness. Could you time your arrival with Mr. Gokhale's? Cachalia."

265. SPEECH AT MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
August 25, 1912

In response to an invitation, Mr. Gandhi, speaking in the matter of the school[2], said that it had always been their desire, as a result of the passive resistance movement, to build what might be called a Federation Hall[3]. This certainly was a very suitable opportunity. If a building worthy of the community were erected, combining a meeting hall, a public school, residential quarters for pupils, residential quarters for guests, etc., it would certainly be a most proper step. It might cost £10,000, but that sum ought not to be beyond the power of the Indian residents of the Transvaal. . . .[4]

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

266. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Shravan Vad 2 [August 29, 1912][5]

CHI. HARILAL,

It would seem you have made up your mind not to write.

I enclose a letter from uncle Karsandas[6]. I just do not understand this debt. I do not know how the expenditure on Gokuldas's[7] marriage came to be incurred, and by whom. If you remember anything, however, let me know what expenditure I had agreed to. It is unlikely that I agreed to so large an amount. All the same, tell me what you know.

At present, preparations for Professor Gokhale's visit are going on. Mr. Kotwal has been working hard on the Farm. Jekibehn

[1] This as well as the preceding speech was made at the same meeting.

[2] At Tolstoy Farm

[3] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 89 & 118.

[4] A committee was then nominated including Bawazeer, Cachalia, Ebrahim Coovadia, Fancy and Sonja Schlesin, presumably for the purpose of collecting funds.

[5] This letter was written in 1912 as is clear from the reference to Gokhale's forthcoming visit.

[6] Gandhiji's elder brother

[7] Gokuldas died in 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 233-4 & 254-5.

has also been helping. Manilal is occupied with his studies. Ramdas and Devdas, too, study regularly, and work on the farm as well.

Anibehn is also on the Farm.

I shall be going to Durban in a day or two to receive Mr. Polak[1]. Ba and Devdas will go with me and stay in Phœnix for some time.

Chanchi can come over here whenever she feels like it. I should like you to send me some news from your end.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9536

267. DEATH OF MR. HUME

By the last English mail comes the news of the death of Mr. A. O. Hume[2], who was known as the "Father of the Indian National Congress". We give elsewhere tributes to his memory reprinted from *India.* Real friends of India are so rare that we feel specially grateful to those who have taken pains to understand the peculiar and in many ways unfortunate position of India in the British Empire. Too often we find that retired Civil Servants of India are out of sympathy with the Indian people. This was not the case with the late Mr. Hume. He believed that it was not beneath his dignity to meet Indians on an equal footing. He worked side by side with the leaders of the people, encouraging them with his kindly sympathy and urging them on to higher and nobler things. We learn that, even though his strength failed him, his enthusiasm never flagged. The memory of such noble men renews again our drooping faith in the righteousness of the British people. We still hope and trust that England can produce men of the stamp of Mr. Hume—men who will stand up for justice, cost what it may. By the death of Mr. A. O. Hume, India has lost a true friend.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

[1] He arrived in Durban from India with Mrs. Polak on September 4.

[2] Allen Octavian Hume; one of Sir George Trevelyan's "Competition Wallahs", was Magistrate of Etawah during the Mutiny; became Secretary to the Government of India in 1870 and did commendable work organizing the Revenue, Agricultural and Commercial departments; author of *Old Man's Hope*, *The Star in the East*, *The Rising Tide*, etc., the last being on political activity in India.

268. *RAILWAY TRAVELLING IN THE TRANSVAAL*

We publish in another column the correspondence that has passed between Miss Schlesin and the Railway Administration.[1] The question raised by Miss Schlesin is undoubtedly one of very great delicacy, and requires, on her part, a great deal of tact and carefulness. It is equally necessary, on the part of the Administration, to use tact and discretion. We consider that, in her capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Indian Women's Association, Miss Schlesin could take up no other position, consistently with her dignity and with the interests that are under her charge. She could not properly leave her co-workers, who are travelling with her in a common mission and separate herself from them during the railway journey. That would be carrying too far the doctrine of concession to popular prejudice, unreasonable and unreasoned as it is; and we think that Miss Schlesin, in spite of her natural desire to conciliate the Railway Department, is in no way bound by an administration of regulations which is not at all required for the purpose for which the Regulations are intended.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

269. *A "DISTINCT HARDSHIP"*

The administration of the immigration laws of South Africa is a disgrace to a civilized country. Could anything be more heartless and cruel than to send away from their homes men whose only fault was that the ship in which they had travelled from India had been delayed by storms. That is exactly what happened the other day to five Indians at Cape Town.[2] Mr. Justice Searle, who

[1] The correspondence was concerning two incidents in which Sonja Schlesin, while travelling with Indian friends in compartments reserved for Coloured persons, was asked to remove to other compartments. On both occasions she refused to comply, challenging the Railway Administration to prosecute her.

[2] Four Indians, previously resident in South Africa, had gone to India on temporary permits and were returning to Cape Town, one of them accompanied by his son. They were refused permission to enter as the time allowed in the permits had expired. Their counsel argued that, but for the delay caused by bad weather, they would have arrived 12 days earlier. The judge conceded this but had to "carry out the plain meaning of the law" which allowed no exception. *Indian Opinion*, 31-8-1912.

heard the application of the Indians, said that the case was one of distinct hardship, but he was obliged to carry out the plain meaning of the law, having no discretion. All we can say is that there is something very seriously wrong with the law. We do not envy the Judge who has to make the humiliating admission that he is powerless to deal out justice, but we do not blame him either. Judges cannot make or alter laws; they can only interpret them. The Immigration Restriction Acts of the Cape and Natal must be either amended or ended. At Durban, Indians who are domiciled in this Province are being turned away almost daily at the caprice of a man[1] who, being a servant of the Government and therefore of the people, has not the common sense or tact of a schoolboy. The Supreme Court has to confess that it is unable to interfere with the Immigration Officer's autocratic powers. He alone must be satisfied and no one can say him nay. Are the Indians of South Africa going to sit down and accept such an intolerable situation? If they do, they will deserve to suffer.

Indian Opinion, 31-8-1912

270. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[PHŒNIX,]
Shravan Vad 9 [September 5, 1912][2]

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. I am surprised. I cannot recall a single month during which I did not write to you. I am certain that my letters to you have miscarried. You complain that there has been no letter from me and say you are sad on that account. We, in the absence of letters from you. . . .[3] let us see what happens at the address. Ba, Devdas and I have come over to Phœnix. I brought Ba over because she was very ill. Devdas [, too,] was very keen [to come here]. The understanding with him is that he should continue at Phœnix till my next visit, learn composing while still attending to studies and live on a salt-free diet for 28 days in the month. For the present at least, he does all this.

I have made further changes in my way of life, which I hope to describe when I have the time.

[1] Cousins; *vide* also "The New Broom", pp. 277-8 and "More of the New Broom", pp. 281-2.

[2] The references to Kasturba Gandhi's illness and her stay at the Farm and to Kotwal later in the letter would suggest that it was written in 1912.

[3] A page here is missing.

Mr. and Mrs. Polak will stay in Durban for the present. I have advised Mr. Polak to start practice. Let us see what happens.

Since the Immigration Officer here is strict nowadays, Mr. Pragji[1] has not landed as yet. He will probably do so tomorrow.

Mr. Sorabji continues to write.

Manilal is busy with his studies. Ramdas, Mr. Kotwal, Jekibehn, Ani etc., are on the Farm.

Mr. Kotwal and I also live on one meal a day. After hearing from Chanchi about your one-meal practice, I, too, felt strongly inclined to adopt it. Mr. Kotwal offering to join me, the idea was immediately put into practice. Follow any course that you like, so long as you are mindful of your health. I shall not forgive you if you ruin your health. I cannot help feeling that the time and money spent on French are being wasted. I can give you no idea of how much better it would have been if you had spent this valuable time on Sanskrit. The atmosphere, however, in which you move nowadays being corrupt, you thought of French. What a good thing it would have been if you had taken up Sanskrit! Though that might have delayed your passing the examination by a year. Knowledge of Sanskrit opens the doors to all the Indian languages. These doors, you went out of your way to shut. I make these observations, since you opened the subject of French again. I should be happier if you would reconsider the matter even now and start on Sanskrit, sacrificing a year and spending Rs. 8 instead of Rs. 7 on private coaching. Do as you will, however; I do not wish to stand in the way of your joining any standard you choose. Treat my advice as no more than that of a close friend.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have not been able to understand why Chanchi did not come. Cable when you send her so that I can arrange for her landing. It was Chanchi who gave the news about Rami.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9542

[1] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, who had gone to India on a short visit; *vide* "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 245. Gandhiji mentions, however, in his "Diary, 1912" that Pragji visited him on September 4. It is possible Gandhiji started writing the letter on September 3 and posted it on September 5.

[2] *Vide* "Fragment of Letter to Balibehn Vora and Chanchalbehn Gandhi", p. 296.

271. MR. AND MRS. POLAK

Mr. and Mrs. Polak received a hearty welcome from the Indians of Durban on their return from India. Perhaps this is not the place, owing to Mr. Polak's intimate connection with this journal, to review his work[1]. But, before he takes the editorial reins in his own hands again, it may not be considered out of place to remark upon his public work, apart from his editorial activity which, as our readers are aware, is a labour of love with him.

Mr. Polak, by his tact, ability and perseverance, has been able to rouse public opinion in India in such a manner that, probably, there is no question which occupies so much attention and commands such unanimous advocacy as the South African Indian. His persistent effort has enabled the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to achieve the brilliant result he did on the indenture question. His advocacy filled the exhausted passive resistance chest[2] and,

[1] Polak arrived in India towards the middle of November, 1911, primarily as a representative of the Transvaal British Indian Association to lay the problems of African Indians before the Indian public. Soon after his arrival he received a cable from the Natal Indian Congress authorizing him to represent that body in his dealings with the Indian Government and public organizations. He was instructed to lay great stress on the abolition of the £3 Tax. Polak addressed many letters and petitions on the subject to the Secretary, Department of Commerce and Industry. His other communications to the Government of India dealt with the Transvaal Townships Amendment Act of 1908, the Gold Law, and the Transvaal Government's refusal to recognize "polygamous marriages" contracted under Muslim Law. He also addressed the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress held between December 26 and 29 on the Indian situation in South Africa ("Mr. Polak at the National Congress", p. 207) and his speech was received with great ovation. He also surveyed the South African situation in a speech delivered at the sixth session of the All-India Muslim League. Other meetings he addressed passed resolutions condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa and demanded that the Indian Government take steps to end their grievances and abolish the system of indentured labour. The memorial that the Sheriff's meeting (pp. 299-300) addressed to the Viceroy was the outcome of Polak's "stirring speech". Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the chairman of this meeting, entertained Polak at a banquet on August 7 and warmly praised Polak's services to the African Indians' cause. *Vide* also "Polak's Work", p. 115.

[2] While Polak may generally have collected money for the Passive Resistance fund during his tour of India, the reference here is perhaps specifically to the donation of Rs. 25,000 by Ratan Tata announced at the Sheriff's meeting in Bombay; *vide* p. 299.

thanks to his unremitting zeal, the Government of India is posted up with the fullest particulars about our grievances.

Mr. Polak could have done little but for the zealous support ungrudgingly given to him by Mrs. Polak. Nor has Mrs. Polak's work been of a neutral character. She herself moved freely among our womenfolk and enlightened them on our position. Mrs. Polak believes, and rightly, that no reform or movement can succeed completely which does not command the attention of the other half of humanity. She, therefore, lost no opportunity, whether by speaking or writing, of helping her husband in his work. And we know, too, that she did not consider it beneath her dignity to do for Mr. Polak much of his clerical work. Well may the community honour such workers and friends.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

272. HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN

The community has every reason to congratulate itself on the reported decision of His Highness the Aga Khan to visit South Africa. His Highness is the High Priest of one of the most important sections of the Mahomedans of India. He is the undisputed political leader of Indian Mahomedans, and is a cultured Indian, taking an active and intelligent part in all that concerns the welfare of India. As a politician of broad views, he is striving to bring Mahomedans and Hindus more closely together. It is said to be due to his efforts that the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League has suggested more intimate co-operation with the Indian National Congress. What is perhaps of most importance to us is, that His Highness has always espoused our cause and spoken out fearlessly on more than one occasion on our behalf. It was well, therefore, that the prominent Indian Associations of South Africa should have sent invitations to him and suggested that his visit may synchronize with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's.[1] It would, undoubtedly, be a great thing in every way if we could have both these distinguished visitors at the same time. But, whenever His Highness comes, we know that he is sure of a royal welcome from the whole of the Indian community throughout South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

[1] The request for timing his visit with Gokhale's was cabled to the Aga Khan at Gandhiji's suggestion; *vide* "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", p. 311.

278. THOU, TOO, BRUTUS!

Elsewhere our readers will peruse with pain, horror and, no doubt, indignation, the remarks that a Judge of the Natal Bench deemed it necessary to make in the course of his address to the Jury in an Indian murder case. His Lordship allowed himself quite gratuitously to argue from the particular to the general. In the case in question, it appears that the murdered woman, who was employed on a sugar estate, had two "husbands". In rightly calling such a state of affairs an abomination, the Judge said "it was a common form of abomination amongst these Indians". The context shows that the word "these" is not used to specialize Indians but it is used to emphasize the Judge's opinion that it is Indians he is thinking of and no others in this connection. So that the Judge's sweeping condemnation includes the whole Indian community. Evidently, the Jury, being men of the world, knew better. In their rider to the verdict of guilty, they drew attention to the fact that on sugar estates "thousands of men were congregated with a very small percentage of women". Those who know the conditions of life on estates wonder that there is any purity of life left among their inmates, and that violent crimes are as rare as they are.

We take leave to say that the Judge does not know the Indian community at all. We doubt if he has met with even half a dozen Indian cases of the kind mentioned by him. The Judge, in failing even to distinguish between Indians actually undergoing indenture and free Indians, has shown a hastiness of judgment which one rarely associates with the High Court Judges. If the learned Judge had cared to probe the truth, he would have found that such cases are not to be found in any numbers among the free Indian population, that they are not of frequent occurrence even among indentured Indians, that, where they do exist, they are really not marriages at all, but that the women, living in such circumstances, are nothing but helpless prostitutes who have fallen a prey to the lust of men; and these consider the few women, whom the law requires to be brought as a sop to conventional morality, as their natural prey. If the Judge had gone still deeper, he would have discovered that the men were not mere animals when they left India, and that most men, living in their position would have lived like them; and that, therefore, it was the system that was at fault.[1] If the Judge had

[1] In this case, heard in the Durban Circuit Court on August 27, 1912, the Defence Counsel had argued that "these Indians behaved like animals" and had

taken pains to make the inquiry we have suggested, he could have, with advantage, drawn attention to the evil of the system rather than unnecessarily hurt the feelings of Indians by his ill-conceived remarks.

Here there is scope for the activity of our Colonial-born friends, and also, though not to the same extent, for the Congress. The former can investigate the matter and make a detailed protest showing how utterly baseless the remarks are. The latter should promptly address the Department of Justice, drawing attention to the extraordinary summing-up of the Judge and courting an inquiry.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

274. *THE PHŒNIX TRUST DEED*[1]

THIS INDENTURE MADE BY AND BETWEEN

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi of Phœnix, in the Province of Natal, South Africa, of the one part, and Omar Hajee Amod Johari[2] of Durban, Merchant, Parsee Rustomjee Jeewanjee Ghorcoodoo,

"invited" the jury to judge them as such but Justice Carter in his judgment observed that he did not know that "such a[n extenuating] view could be taken", for Indians enjoyed the same law as the Europeans. They were entitled to the protection of the law and they must have it and they must also be amenable to its punishment. *Indian Opinion*, 7-9-1912.

[1] The Trust Deed is mentioned for the first time in "Letter to A. E. Chotabhai", p. 61. Gandhiji had discussed it with Harilal Gandhi in May, 1911, before he left his father's home in South Africa. After that date the Deed is periodically mentioned in letters to Maganlal and Chhaganlal Gandhi (pp. 128 & 133, for instance) who had asked for reimbursement on account of improvements effected by them on their shares of the land. A draft Deed was already in limited circulation among the "settlers". On August 1, 1911, he admits to Chhaganlal Gandhi (p. 133) that the "Phœnix constitution" may have to be changed. The typewritten draft found among Gandhiji's files (Sabarmati Papers: S.N. 5584 & 5592) is witnessed by John H. Cordes, Mark Henry Hawthorn and Jagannath Narayan Dandekar. Cordes signed it at Adyar in Madras on November 12, 1911 and probably returned it with a covering letter; *vide* Appendix X. Variations of a substantial nature between the draft and the version printed above have been noticed in footnotes.

[2] Omar Hajee Amod Zaveri; prominent Durban businessman, who contributed much money for financing public activities of Indians and many books to Durban Library; a founder of the Memon Committee; became honorary Secretary of the Durban Anjuman-e-Islam, 1897; Joint Secretary, Natal Indian Congress, 1907, resigned from that office to go abroad and qualify as a barrister *vide* also Vol. VI, pp. 460-1 & 462-7

of Durban, Merchant, Hermann Kallenbach, of Johannesburg, Architect and Farmer, Lewis Walter Ritch, of Johannesburg, Barrister-at-Law, and Pranjivandas Jugjivan Mehta, of Rangoon, Barrister-at-Law, all of the other part,

WITNESSETH

1. Whereas the said party of the one part is the owner of a certain piece of land situate in Phœnix aforesaid and comprising one hundred acres in extent and containing thereon certain buildings and machinery particulars of which are more fully set out in the Schedule hereunto annexed and marked A,

2. And whereas the said party of the one part is also the sole proprietor of the weekly newspaper called *Indian Opinion* which said newspaper is printed and published at Phœnix aforesaid,[1] and of the International Printing Press situated thereat,

3. And whereas the said party of the one part did in the year 1904 establish a settlement at Phœnix aforesaid for the accomplishment of the objects hereinafter mentioned,

4. And whereas certain persons are at the date of the signing of these Presents living at or connected with[2] the settlement at Phœnix aforesaid and are employed in various capacities at or in connection with[2] the Printing Works of the said newspaper *Indian Opinion*, (which said persons and any others who hereafter may join the said settlement, and sign the Schedule B hereto[3] are hereinafter styled "the settlers"),

5. And whereas the majority of the settlers at present established on the said settlement joined the said settlement for the following objects and purposes and under the following conditions, namely,

(1) So far as possible to order their lives[4] so as to be able ultimately to earn their living by handicraft[5] or agriculture carried on without the aid so far as possible of machinery;

(2) To work publicly so as to promote a better understanding between the Europeans and British Indians established in South

[1] The rest of this clause is not found in the earlier draft.

[2] The words "connected with" and "in connection with" have been added in this version evidently to cover the executors and trustees none of whom was living at the Phœnix settlement at that time.

[3] "and sign the Schedule B hereto" not found in the earlier draft. Schedule B is not available.

[4] The earlier version has "to so order their lives" instead.

[5] "handicraft" added later

Africa,[1] and to voice and work to remove the grievances of the latter;

(3) To follow and promote[2] the ideals set forth by Tolstoy and Ruskin[3] in their lives and works;

(4) To promote purity of private life in individuals by living pure lives themselves;

(5) To establish[4] a school for the education principally of Indian children mainly through their own vernaculars;

(6) To establish a sanatorium and hygienic institute, with a view to the prevention of disease[5] by methods generally known as "nature treatment";

(7) To train themselves generally for the service of humanity;

(8) To conduct the said *Indian Opinion* for the advancement of the ideals mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs;

6. And whereas the said party of the one part now desires to assign, transfer and make over the said land, buildings, machinery, newspaper and all other the [*sic*] appurtenances, stock-in-trade, book-debts[6], fixtures, fittings and other things connected therewith and with the said settlement, including the business of the International Printing Press,[7] unto and in favour of the said parties of the other part together with himself the said party of the one part IN TRUST for the use of the said settlement and for the fuller carrying out of the objects and purposes set forth in paragraph 5 thereof,

7. And whereas the said parties of the other part have each and all of them agreed to the assignment to them and to the party of the one part of the said land, buildings, et cetera, hereinbefore mentioned and together with the said party of the one part to accept the said trust on the terms and conditions hereinbefore and hereinafter mentioned,

NOW THEREFORE THESE PRESENTS WITNESS

8. That the said party of the one part does hereby transfer, assign and make over unto the said parties of the other part and to himself as Trustees, all his right, title and interest in and to the said land at Phœnix, Natal, and to the said buildings, machinery,

[1] The rest of the sub-clause is not found in the earlier version.

[2] The draft has "advertise" instead of "promote".

[3] The rest of this sub-clause was added in this version.

[4] The draft here has "at Phœnix" in parenthesis.

[5] The rest of this sub-clause was added later in this version.

[6] "book-debts" added later

[7] "including the business of the International Printing Press" added later

newspaper, fittings, fixtures, stock-in-trade, book-debts[1] and appurtenances, et cetera, aforesaid, to hold the same for themselves and their successors in trust and to the uses hereinbefore enumerated as being the objects, purposes and conditions of the said settlement, and subject to the following further conditions, namely,

(a) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall be Manager of the Trust during his lifetime, subject to the control of the said Trustees for the due fulfilment of the objects of the Trust;

(b) In the absence from South Africa or at the death of[2] the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Trustees may appoint from among themselves a Manager for the time being[3] or permanently, as the case may be;

(c) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or any other Manager shall be responsible to the remaining Trustees for due and proper management of the said Trust;

(d) A majority of the said Trustees shall bind the minority in all matters falling within their authority in virtue hereof,[4] and, in the event of the Trustees being equally divided, they shall be bound by a majority vote of the settlers;

(e) An account to be known as the Phœnix Trust Account shall be opened at a Bank and shall be operated upon by the Manager of the Trust or his substitute or substitutes to be by him appointed;[5]

(f) In the event of the death or resignation of any of the Trustees, the remaining Trustees shall be competent to carry out the Trust. The settlers may, however, nominate, by a decision of the majority of them at the time residing in South Africa,[6] Trustees to fill vacancies, which nomination shall be accepted by the remaining Trustees;

(g) The Trustees, with the consent of the settlers, shall have the power to add to their numbers;[7]

(h) In their deliberations the Trustees shall be guided by and accept[8] the decision of the settlers; but the settlers shall not be

[1] "book-debts" added later

[2] The words "from South Africa or at the death of" are not found in the draft.

[3] The rest of this sub-clause was a later addition.

[4] The rest of this sub-clause has been added in this version.

[5] This sub-clause read as follows in the earlier version: "The account at present conducted at the Natal Bank Ltd., Durban, shall be altered to the Phœnix Trust Account and shall be operated upon by the Manager of the Trust."

[6] "at the time residing in South Africa" added later

[7] This entire sub-clause was added later in this version.

[8] The words "and accept" not found in the draft

competent to impose upon the Trustees any change of policy or ideals;

(i) The Trustees may, subject to the consent of the settlers, but not otherwise, expand the objects of the Trust;

(j) The Trustees may, subject to the consent of the settlers, introduce new settlers or temporary workers, and, subject to such consent, dismiss any settlers or temporary workers. No settler may, however, be dismissed except for dishonesty, gross misconduct or gross neglect of duty assigned to him;

(k) The Trustees shall respect and ratify all existing arrangements or contracts;

(l) The said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi reserves to himself the use of[1] the two acres of land and buildings at present used by him and his family on the same terms as the other settlers, and the right to draw sustenance money from the income of the Press or other undertakings, not exceeding five pounds (£5) per month;

(m) On the death of the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, his wife, should she survive him, shall draw from the income of the settlement not more than five pounds (£5) per month for herself and the two minor sons, Ramdas and Devdas, during her lifetime[2] and the same amount shall be paid to the guardian of the minor sons or son after her death until the younger or the survivor of them attains the age of twenty-one years; the use of the said two acres of land and buildings thereon to be similarly reserved to the wife and minor children of the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi;

(n) The Trustees may part with the ownership of *Indian Opinion* in favour of the settlers or any number of them[3] and may lease to them the printing-press, type, and other necessary appurtenances;

(o) The Trustees shall have the right to amend or alter the terms of the Trust from time to time, subject always to the consent of the settlers;

(p) The Trustees shall have the right, subject to the consent of the settlers, to sell or mortgage the assets described in the said Schedule A and any assets hereafter acquired, and to purchase more land, build more buildings and buy more machinery or stock;

(q) The term "settlers" shall mean and include all those at present residing at or connected with the said settlement, and who have

[1] The words "the use of" were added later.

[2] The rest of this sub-clause read as follows in the draft: "or until the reaching of the age of majority by Devdas, whichever event happens last".

[3] The rest of this sub-clause was a later addition.

signed the schedule attached hereto, marked B[1] or who hereafter may be residing at or connected with the said settlement and who shall subscribe to the objects and conditions herein set forth and sign Schedule B.[2]

9. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein, this Indenture shall come into force as and from the date of registration hereof, and shall be registrable without the signature of the said Pranjivandas Jugjivan Mehta, whose signature shall be incorporated so soon as it is received from India.[3]

In witness whereof the respective parties have hereunto set their hands in the presence of the subscribing witnesses.

SCHEDULE A[3]

	£	s.	d.
Land	1,087	10	3
Buildings	1,535	14	1
Plant and Machinery	1,548	1	0
Stock	307	7	10
Book Debts	600	18	3
Library and School Books	50	13	0
	£5,130	4	5

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

275. OURSELVES

The Trust Deed[4] which we publish in this issue, and which is in course of registration, marks a step forward in our work. Mr. Gandhi ceases to be the sole legal owner of the concern known as the International Printing Press, where this journal is printed. Nearly eight years ago we migrated to Phœnix, the idea being that the workers might be able to look more to the land for their sustenance than to the proceeds of the sale of *Indian Opinion* and the advertisements inserted in it. During this period we have not given that attention to the land which it was thought we should be able to give, and we have certainly not been able to pay our way by means of agriculture. That the journal itself has not been

[1] Not available
[2] The earlier version makes no reference to Schedule B.
[3] Clause 9 and Schedule A were added later.
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

self-supporting is a widely known fact.[1] The assistance received by it from Mr. Tata's gift of 1909 enabled it to tide over a crisis in its career.[2]

We have also come to the conclusion that, consistently with our ideals, we could not accept advertisements for paying our way. We believe that the system of advertisement is bad in itself, in that it sets up insidious competition, to which we are opposed,[3] and often lends itself to misrepresentation on a large scale; and that, if we may not use this journal for the purpose of supporting us entirely, we have no right to cater for and use our time in setting up advertisements. We have always used our discrimination and rejected many advertisements which we could not conscientiously take. Our friends and well-wishers, who have hitherto extended their support to us, will not, we hope, take it amiss if we discontinue the practice of inserting advertisements. The object of issuing this paper is twofold[4]: to voice and work to remove the grievances of the British Indians of South Africa, and to do educative work, by publishing matter of an elevating character. We hope that our readers will appreciate our position, and continue to give us their support, by subscribing to the paper.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 96, 132 & 231.

[2] On November 30, 1909, Ratan Tata intimated by cable to Gandhiji a donation of Rs. 25,000 "to enable Indians to continue their struggle. . .against the Asiatic Registration Act"; *vide* Vol. X, p. 83.

[3] Gandhiji had earlier thought of discontinuing advertisements altogether; *vide* Vol. X, p. 383.

[4] For earlier statements on the objectives of *Indian Opinion*, *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 99-100, 319-21, 332-3 & 340-1 and Vol. VII, pp. 186-7; also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XIX & XX and *An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XIII & XIX to XXI.

The latest reply received by Mr. Habib Motan regarding the proposed Indian school, whilst an improvement upon the preceding one[1], is, in our opinion, quite unacceptable. It still retains the highly objectionable system of inequality. Not merit, but the colour of one's skin, is to be the deciding factor in determining salaries.[2] We do not know that a superintendent is at all necessary, but, if one is required, we hope those concerned will strongly object to the restriction of the choice of a superintendent to white persons only.

Apart from the vital objection raised by us, the proposal of the Government will frustrate the object the promoters have in view. They will not be able to give Indian children education through their vernaculars. Indian teachers of standing and character are certainly not to be found at the ridiculously low salary offered by the Government.

But we think that, if the Government are sincere about granting an aid to the proposed school, they should modify their offer by granting a certain sum yearly, say £1,000, towards the salary of the teachers, etc., the teachers to be chosen and their salaries fixed by a superintending board, consisting of Europeans and Indians, nominated by the Indian community and approved by the Government. This board could also fix the syllabus, define the languages to be taught, and report upon the working of the school from time to time. We trust that Mr. Habib Motan will embody our suggestions in his letter to the Government, and that the latter will accept them. Now that they are prepared to spend a substantial sum, the rest is a matter of tactful management and respect for Indian sentiment.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

[1] *Vide* "The Johannesburg School", p. 263.

[2] The annual salaries sanctioned by the Witwatersrand Central School Board were £200 for a European Principal, £150 for a European Assistant, £120 for a female European Assistant and £40 to £60, depending on qualifications, for each approved Indian teacher. In his letter of September 4, the Secretary of the Board also prescribed qualifications for the Principal and for the teachers of the proposed school. He had, moreover, recommended the appointment of a European Superintendent *Indian Opinion*, 14-9-1912.

277. MORE OFFICIAL ILLEGALITY[1]

It is with the utmost regret that we have, almost issue after issue, to heap coals of fire upon Mr. Cousins' head, but that official, if not by his gross tactlessness, then by the illegality of his actions, as constantly renders it impossible for us to maintain silence.[2] Mr. Laughton, in his recent letter[3] to *The Natal Mercury* already quoted by us, points out that the Immigration Officer, appointed to administer the Natal Immigration Act at Durban, takes upon himself to decide who shall and who shall not immigrate into the Cape Colony, where the law is of a different kind, and where appeal may usually be made, and has, in fact, not seldom successfully been made, to the Supreme Court against decisions of the Immigration Officers appointed under the Provincial statute. We are quite sure that, whilst stationed in Natal, Mr. Cousins can exercise no authority whatever under the Cape Immigration Law, whose interpretation does not fall to our local division of the Supreme Court. He has, actually, exercised an authority not vested in him, and in preventing Mr. Laughton's client—there are other cases of which complaint has been made—from proceeding to his destination in the neighbouring Colony, thereby denying him access to the Courts of that Province, Mr. Cousins would appear to have incurred a serious liability. We have reason to believe that suitable action is being taken in the proper quarters. It is intolerable that Immigration Officers should be allowed to proceed as though existing Provincial statutes did

[1] *Vide* "The New Broom", pp. 277-8. and "More of the New Broom", pp. 281-2.

[2] Gandhiji met Cousins on September 6, 1912 and Laughton on September 11; *vide* the entries for those dates in "Diary, 1912".

[3] In his letter, Laughton agreed with *The Natal Mercury* that the Immigrants' Restriction Act should be administered tactfully by officials. While he strongly opposed further introduction of Indians into the Colony, he equally strongly upheld the maintenance of rights already acquired by them. He cited two instances of unjust administration of the law by the Immigration Officer, in one of which an Indian returning to Kimberley from India and passing through Durban had been prevented from proceeding either overland to Kimberley or by steamer to Port Elizabeth. He then attempted to sail from Delagoa Bay to Port Elizabeth *via* Durban where he was again detained and, this time, transhipped forcibly to s.s. *President* bound for India. Eventually, he went directly to Cape Town where the Immigration Officer allowed him to proceed to Kimberley. *Indian Opinion*, 7-9-1912.

not, in point of fact, exist, and as if they had been already superseded by a Union measure that may, after all, never mature. If anything further were needed to prove to the Imperial Government the impossibility of leaving enormous powers in the hands of apparently irresponsible and certainly arbitrary officials, Mr. Cousins could not have offered a more effective demonstration of the fact.

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

278. *OURSELVES*

It is more than seven years ago that this journal began to be printed at Phœnix. We are now taking a step forward. So far the legal proprietor has been Mr. Gandhi, but the ownership is now being transferred to [a board of] Trustees, and the objectives which will govern the management of Phœnix have been precisely laid down. We feel this is a step in the right direction and we are sure our readers will feel the same.

The paper has never been in a position to pay its way. It is here needless to go into the reasons for that. It, however, needs to be recalled on this occasion that the paper would have been in dire straits if Mr. Tata's generous help had not been drawn upon to meet its needs.

When the workers decided to settle in Phœnix and start a journal there, it was expected that the income from it and the land would not only give them enough to live on but also enable them to put by substantial savings, for they were to be the masters of whatever profit might accrue from the enterprise. Experience has shown that the assumption was incorrect. We realized that the Phœnix way of life could not be reconciled with monetary gain. And so, for the last several years, the Phœnix settlement has been worked on that basis.

Our principal object was that, while living by agriculture, we should give of our best in the service of the people and publish the paper for them. We have not so far succeeded in that aim.

We gave up job-work many years ago. We now feel that we should also discontinue the practice of publishing advertisements. We believed then that advertisements were a good thing to have but on reflection we see that the practice is wholly undesirable. Advertisements are inserted by people who are impatient to get rich, in order that they may gain over their rivals. They are so

much in fashion these days that any and every kind of advertisement is published and paid for. This is one of the sorriest features of modern civilization, and for our part we wish to be rid of it. If, however, we published non-commercial advertisements, which serve a public purpose, free of charge, they would fill the entire number each time, so we shall only accept them against payment. Other advertisements, we shall stop publishing forthwith. As for advertisements which we have on hand, we shall try to negotiate with our clients and free ourselves of the commitments. We shall then be able to work more on the land and more effectively fulfil the main object of the Trust Deed[1] which we publish in this issue.

We believe that the proposed changes will enhance our capacity for public service. We also hope that we shall be able to publish worthier and more valuable [reading] matter in the journal. It has been our endeavour daily to add to its value as an instrument of moral education. There are two, and only two, reasons for its existence: to strive to end the hardships suffered by Indians in this country and to promote moral education. The second purpose can be best served by our improving our way of life. That is why we are doing our best to eschew the commercial aspects of our work, such as jobbing and advertisements. Progressively as we live up to the ideals enumerated in the title-deed, we shall be able to give our readers more useful material. We want all Indians to help us in this.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-9-1912

279. MAHOMEDAN WIVES

The letter, that we reproduce in another column, from the India Office to the South Africa British Indian Committee, shows that the representations that have been made from time to time, both to the Imperial and Indian Governments, seem to have borne fruit. The India and Colonial Offices are, we learn, in consultation on the question of the immigration of Mahomedan wives into South Africa. Matters were bad enough when the Fatima and Sukina cases were decided, but Mr. Cousins' now notorious circular[2], which took occasion also to suggest that Natal

[1] *Vide* "The Phœnix Trust Deed", pp. 320-5.
[2] *Vide* "The New Broom', pp. 277-8.

Indians were in the habit of introducing women into the Province for immoral purposes, for which there is absolutely no warrant in the past history of the community, has brought them to a crisis. They cannot be allowed to remain where they are, nor can the South African Indian community, who are so greatly prejudiced by these horrible judicial and administrative blunders, submit to the insult and humiliation imposed thereby. The honour of the Imperial Government is very closely involved. The personal law of Indians, that was guaranteed by the Proclamation of 1858, applies to them wherever in the British Empire they may go, and His Majesty's Ministers are wise, even at this late date, to realize how seriously they will jeopardize the Imperial prestige if so grave a scandal as the separation of families and the destruction of domestic ties is permitted to be perpetrated.

Indian Opinion, 21-9-1912

280. *IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AGAIN CENSURED*

The appeal of Natha Ooka,[1] before the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, judgment wherein is reported in another column, has once more afforded to the Court an opportunity of offering its views on the present administration of the immigration laws of the Province and, incidentally, of laws of a like nature in the other Provinces of the Union. The Court has once again criticized most strongly the harrying policy adopted by the authorities towards lawful Indian residents of South Africa seeking readmission to their homes in this country, and has thus completely justified the many and bitter complaints that are heard all over the Union against the Government's repeated breaches of the spirit of the immigration law.[2] Only recently the Cape Courts had to exclude as prohibited immigrants men domiciled in the Province, and who had been delayed a few days beyond the duration of their permits owing to causes over which they had no control, due partly to the dilatory tactics of the

[1] Natha Ouka, a Cape businessman, left for India in 1906 retaining his partnership in a business in East London. On his return in July, 1911, he was prohibited from landing. On appeal, Justice Buchanan of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court granted the application with costs and, condemning the Immigration Officer's action, observed that "more judiciousness in the administration of the spirit of the Act" would be far better "in such cases" than "the strict letter of the law". *Indian Opinion*, 28-9-1912.

[2] *Vide* also "More Official Illegality", pp. 328-9.

Natal Immigration Officer. It will be for the Imperial and Indian Governments to keep such incidents in view when considering the draft legislation that is promised for next session. In the case under discussion, the appellant was apparently able to afford the costly luxury of expensive litigation, a privilege denied to the average poor applicant for readmission. The legislation that is contemplated ought, in our opinion, to provide a cheap and speedy remedy against official blunders of the type condemned by Sir John Buchanan, and we trust that His Majesty's Government will make it their business to see that it is provided. The so-called appeal boards contemplated by this year's defunct Bill were a sorry farce, and will have to be replaced by very much more efficient machinery if substantial justice is to be done. South African Indians cannot afford that their vital rights and most intimate interests should be jeopardized by the high-handed autocracy of the "tin Tsars" of the Immigration Department, backed up, as is known, by a Government that pretend to the Imperial authorities a most solicitous concern for the welfare of the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 28-9-1912

281. HON. MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT

Reuter announces that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale leaves for South Africa today by the s.s. *Dover Castle*, and he is, therefore, due to arrive in Cape Town about the 26th instant. The time at the disposal of the various reception committees is all too short for their purpose of offering him an appropriate welcome, and we trust that they will use their best efforts to make the visit a successful and an enjoyable one. It appears that Mr. Gokhale, even before his departure, has been made to bear the burden of South African racial prejudice, for the Union Castle Company are alleged to have refused to carry him unless he agreed to pay for a whole cabin, "since there might be no European passenger willing to share the apartment with him".[1] We did not believe that such bare-faced audacity was possible in England, but the incident shows how widespread is the influence of South African colour prejudice. As was to be expected, Mr. Gokhale flatly refused to meet the Company's demand, and after some negotiation,

[1] He left by R. M. S. *Saxon* instead and was expected to arrive on October 22, 1912.

it was waived.[1] Mr. Gokhale's firmness of principle should endear him the more to Indians in this country, and his example should encourage them, as occasion demands, to do likewise, in the name and for the honour of India.

Indian Opinion, 5-10-1912

282. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[LAWLEY,]
Aso Sud 6 [October 16, 1912][2]

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter after so many months. My letters to you seem to have gone astray.

I have written to Revashankerbhai about your attending the Congress.[3]

You have not understood the step I have taken regarding Sorabji. The chief thing is that he is a Parsi, and it befits a Hindu to encourage him. If Sorabji succeeds in becoming a barrister, his responsibilities will increase. Sorabji's services cannot be used beyond a certain point, but this is not true of Medh. That is why I would not encourage Medh to be a barrister. How then could I ever encourage you [to become one]? If I did, all my ideas would go by the board; though, at present, you will not appreciate them. We shall discuss them if and when we meet. Just now you should only attend to the strengthening of your character in your own way—that is all I want. I am sure you will change your ideas in future.

You have again succumbed to passion in regard to Chanchal. I can well understand it. The fault does not lie with the Ahmedabad [atmosphere]. The thing[4] itself is so difficult that you cannot attain it without great effort and careful and sustained thought. If you, however, continue in your endeavour you may some day overcome the weakening passion. You will

[1] For a detailed description of the incident by Gokhale himself, *vide* Appendix XX.

[2] In paragraph 3 Gandhiji discusses his choice of Sorabji Shapurji Adajania as the satyagrahi who was to be educated in England at Dr. Mehta's expense; *vide* "Fragment of Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 1 and "Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta", p. 66. It was on July 21, 1912 that Sorabji left for London to qualify as a barrister. That year *Aso Sud* 6 corresponds to October 16.

[3] This letter is not available.

[4] *Brahmacharya*

be a different man altogether when you have succeeded in overcoming it. You will have a new strength. From your letter I gather that Chanchi will not now be able to come here for a couple of years.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9544

283. *MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT*

So far as can be ascertained at present, the following is the Johannesburg programme regarding the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit. A special train carrying about 500 passengers will leave Park Station at about 10 p.m. on the 27th instant, to meet the Diamond Express bringing Mr. Gokhale, at Klerksdorp, at about 2 o'clock in the morning. The coach that will be specially reserved for Mr. Gokhale and party from Kimberley will be detached from the Express and attached to the special. Mr. Gokhale will receive an address at Klerksdorp, and will probably drive through the town. The special will leave Klerksdorp on the return journey at about 10 a.m., reaching Potchefstroom about the middle of the day, when there will be a prolonged halt to enable Mr. Gokhale to receive an address from the local community and to drive to the Experimental Farm. The special will then proceed to Krugersdorp, where there will be another brief halt to enable the local community to present an address. The train will then run to Park without a break, reaching there exactly at 4 p.m. Here Mr. Gokhale will be received by (in addition to the Indian community) the Mayor of Johannesburg and other European townsmen. The party will then proceed to the platform erected for the occasion at the station where, under the Chairmanship of the Mayor, addresses will be presented. The address on behalf of the British Indian Association will be read; the others will be formally handed to Mr. Gokhale, without being read, by the Chairmen of the respective Societies—the Hamidia Islamic Society, the Hindu Community, the Tamil Benefit Society and the Patidar Association. In order that the function may be finished within an hour, beyond a speech of welcome by the Chairman of the British Indian Association there will be no speeches on behalf of the Reception Committee. His Worship the Mayor will then say a few words and call upon the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to reply, whereafter the meeting will disperse with the singing of the National Anthem. On the 30th, a meeting of the European Committee will

take place at Mr. Hosken's house to enable Mr. Gokhale to meet the Committee and to discuss the whole Indian question. On the 31st, there will be a Banquet at the Masonic Hall. Arrangements are also being made to enable the European townsmen to hear Mr. Gokhale. The Indian Women's Association will give an At Home at a place and time to be appointed. Saturday and Sunday Mr. Gokhale will pass at Tolstoy Farm. During the week following, he will interview the Ministers, and, immediately afterwards, proceed to Natal. Mr. Kallenbach has placed his residence at Mountain View at the disposal of the Indian community, and offices are being engaged for him in town, where he may receive visitors during the day.

Indian Opinion, 19-10-1912

284. INTERVIEW TO "CAPE ARGUS"[1]

CAPE TOWN,
October 22, 1912

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by the *Argus* regarding Mr. Gokhale's visit, said he had come with the knowledge of the Indian Government, but entirely on his own intiative. He considered it his duty as an Imperialist to investigate the whole Indian question in South Africa for himself, and to make the acquaintance of the Union Ministers. Mr. Gokhale had not yet settled what position he was going to discuss and what he wanted discussed. There were no outstanding questions, but certain standing grievances in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal. He (Mr. Gandhi) was not hopeful that Mr. Gokhale's visit would result in a final settlement of all questions; they were too large to be settled in the course of a single visit by one distinguished legislator. He hoped, however, that the visit would result in a better understanding between Europeans and Indians, and that a better tone would be adopted by the two communities towards each other. That certainly was part of the mission that brought Mr. Gokhale here. Mr. Gokhale informed him that the feeling in India over the South African question was very intense and there was no question over which all sections in India were so much agreed as this.

Indian Opinion, 26-10-1912

[1] This interview was given soon after Gokhale's arrival at Cape Town on October 22.

285. SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN RECEPTION TO GOKHALE[1]

October 22, 1912

The Mayor (Mr. Harry Hands) presided . . . Dr. Abdurahman and other leaders of the Asiatic community also occupied seats on the platform.

The Mayor, in opening the proceedings, said they were met together to extend a welcome to a very distinguished Indian subject of His Majesty the King; a gentleman who was a member of the Council of the Viceroy of India, and who had come to the Union of South Africa, with, he believed, the full consent of the Union Government, to inquire at first hand into an economic difficulty which had arisen in their midst and which their fellow Indian subjects had been feeling for some time. He had pleasure in extending to him a warm welcome to the Mother City of South Africa, and ventured to express the hope that the result of his mission would be the solution of the difficulty in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. (Applause.) . . .

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said the name of Mr. Gokhale was sacred to him; Mr. Gokhale was his political teacher, and whatever he had been able to do in the service of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa—of which he claimed to be a citizen—was due to Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers.) This South African question was not a new one to him; but they loved him not only for his interest in that question, but because of his life's work. Although he was a candid critic of the Indian Government, he was also a friend to it. (Applause.) He thought it a hopeful sign that they had this representative gathering over which the Mayor of the city presided. And the hospitality accorded to Mr. Gokhale showed that though there had been hard knocks given between the European and Indian communities, there was no bitterness. In every town where these meetings were to be held, the Mayors had signified their intentions to preside. Mr. Gokhale had come to help them in bringing the two peoples closer together, and his mission would let them know that behind this country was another, in which the people were watching its representatives in this country. They knew His Highness the Aga Khan was expected to arrive some time next year in connection with this same question.[2] The British Indian Association had only just received a letter from His Highness, in which he expressed his intention of arriving in South Africa to study the question at first hand, in so far as it affected his countrymen here. But he (Mr. Gandhi) wished to utter one word of warning,

[1] The reception was held in the City Hall, Cape Town. A number of prominent whites were present and addresses were presented by various organizations.

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", p. 311.

and it was this: that many of them had, in their ignorance, false expectation that Mr. Gokhale's visit would act as a charm, and that all their disabilities would disappear. He hoped his countrymen would not have those expectations, or, if they had them, that they would dismiss them. Mr. Gokhale was certainly going to assist them, but they had to remember that there was nothing so valuable as self-help. (Applause.) They would have to work out their own salvation, and men like Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Schreiner[1] could only point the way to the solution, and make the path easy. They could get nothing that they did not deserve, and it was only when the time came that they would reap the reward of their past actions. (Loud applause.)

Indian Opinion, 2-11-1912

286. *SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY MEETING*[2]

[*October 25, 1912*]

Mr. Gandhi said an occasion like this was one of sacred memory. He paid great tribute to Mr. Gokhale's gentleness, his self-effacement, his great love of India, and consistently with that love of India, his love of humanity and

[1] William Phillip Schreiner (1857-1919); brother of the well-known authoress, Olive Schreiner; Gandhiji noted his "sense of justice" and his friendly feeling for Indians; member of Rhodes' second Ministry, 1898; barrister and sometime leader of the Cape Bar; twice Attorney General; Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1898-1900. Eric Walker, historian of South Africa, calls him an outstanding champion of federalism. In 1909, he vehemently opposed Section 35 of the draft South Africa Act (of Union) which disfranchised Cape Coloureds, went on their behalf to England and persisted in his efforts even after the House of Lords had passed the bill for unification of South Africa; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 273, 339 & 364. In March, 1911, Gandhiji contemplated consulting him regarding the Union Immigration Bill; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 427 & 438. The Golden Number (1906-14) of *Indian Opinion* mentions his strenuous fight for justice for the Indian community; became in 1914 High Commissioner for Union of South Africa in England. *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. V.

[2] The meeting, arranged for Gokhale, was held in the Town Hall, which "was crowded to its utmost capacity with members of the Indian community and a large sprinkling of Europeans". After the Mayor, who presided, had made a speech of welcome an address was presented to Gokhale on behalf of the Indian community. Gokhale himself in this, the first of his public utterances in South Africa, expressed satisfaction that the system of indentured labour in Natal had been stopped, dwelt briefly on the Indian question in South Africa which he said he would like to study from all standpoints before expressing an opinion on it. Gandhiji's memory of this incident must have been a cherished one, for writing of it without notes several years later in Yeravda Jail, he recalls Gokhale's speech on the occasion—"concise, full of sound judgment, firm but courteous which pleased the Indians and fascinated the Europeans". Gandhiji

his love of the Empire of which he was such a distinguished citizen. He regarded Mr. Gokhale as a political asset. He referred in glowing terms to Mr. Gokhale's services and sacrifices in the interest of Fergusson College, and in the cause of education. He declared with a show of pride that had Mr. Gokhale been an Englishman he would have been occupying the position now held by Mr. Asquith, and possibly had he been born in France he would have been President of the French Republic. He hoped the result of this mission would be a better understanding between Europeans and Indians residing in South Africa. He uttered a note of warning to his countrymen not to raise false hopes and expectations from Mr. Gokhale's visit. The advent of Mr. Gokhale in their midst would not bring about the millennium among the Indian community, nor did they expect that all their disabilities would disappear as if by magic. His arrival, however, might bring about a better understanding and a better knowledge of one another, and would lead to better possibilities of a solution of the great problem that not only faced South Africa, but faced the whole Empire. The remedy lay mainly in their own hands. (Applause.)

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 26-10-1912

287. SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY BANQUET TO GOKHALE[1]

[*October 26, 1912*]

. . . Mr. Gandhi, who was cordially received, said he thought they might well drink the toast of the guest of the evening, if what Mr. Oliver, who was good enough to pay them a visit, had playfully said was true, namely, that Mr. Gokhale had brought with him the much-needed rain which the parched land of Kimberley required so badly. He only hoped that that rain had reached Johannesburg, and not merely Johannesburg, because he lived there, but throughout the whole Union. We Indians were supposed to be a superstitious nation, and he had no doubt many of his countrymen would share his (the speaker's) superstition that Mr. Gokhale had brought with him that much-needed rain. (Applause.) But he thought there was another reason

adds: "I requested Senator W.P. Schreiner. . .to take the chair. . .and he was good enough to consent"; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXVI. Although Schreiner spoke on the occasion and was in fact the principal speaker of the meeting, it was the Mayor who presided.

[1] The banquet was given by Kimberley Indians, and the Mayor of Beaconsfield, T. Pratley, presided. Among those that spoke were W. Gasson, the Mayor of Kimberley, Kallenbach, Cachalia and Gokhale. "It is the first occasion in local history when Indians and Europeans have met at a common table. . . ."

also why this toast might be commended, both to their European friends, who had been good enough to respond to the invitation issued by the reception committee, as also to his countrymen, and it was this, that Mr. Oats was good enough to take the guest of the evening, together with his following, over his great mine, and when he took them over those huge pieces of machinery he (Mr. Gandhi) could not help thinking what a great thing it was. Some of his (Mr. Gandhi's) friends present at that function knew he was no believer in machinery. He for one was quite willing to admit that he could have done with Kimberley even had there been no diamonds and no machinery. He was no believer in millions and in diamonds, but he realized that he was now before diamond kings and he therefore bowed his head before them. One thing struck him forcibly when watching that machinery, and that was that if they as human beings worked so well together as this marvellous piece of machinery, what a happy family they would be. Then, indeed, their swords would be beaten into ploughshares, and the lions would certainly lie down with the lambs. He also felt that if one nut in that piece of machinery went loose it was possible for the whole machinery to become disjointed, and to carry that analogy to human beings, they had seen so often that one obstreperous man could break up a whole meeting, and one rogue in a family could damage the reputation of that family. Similarly, to take the reverse position, if the chief part of the machinery did its work regularly they found the other pieces working in harmony without being disjointed. He (Mr. Gandhi) regarded Mr. Gokhale's mission as a holy one, and it was a matter of pride to him that Mr. Gokhale had been instrumental in bringing about such a happening in Kimberley as a meeting of the most representative Europeans and Indians at a common board. He hoped such gatherings would be multiplied. As a humble student of the life and teachings of Tolstoy, he felt also that functions like that were unnecessary, and that they sometimes did a great deal of mischief if only by way of interfering with one's digestion. (Laughter.) But although a student of Tolstoy, for the time being he was prepared to reconcile himself to those functions even, if they brought them together, and if they enabled them to know each other better. He recalled the magnificent hymn,

We shall know each other better
When the mists have rolled away,

and though they might have their differences they would know each other better when the mists of ignorance had rolled away. His distinguished countryman had come to South Africa in order to dispel those mists of ignorance. He had come as the brightest jewel that India could present to them. He (Mr. Gandhi) knew that he deeply wounded Mr. Gokhale's susceptibilities whenever he made mention of what he had done, but he (Mr. Gandhi) had to perform a duty, though painful to him. There was no one who could tell them so much of Mr. Gokhale as he could about his life in the political arena of India. He

it was who gave 20 years of his life to the cause of education for a mere pittance. Even today Mr. Gokhale lived in poverty, although he could command riches. Hundreds of pounds were always at his disposal whenever he wanted them for public institutions. A Viceroy of India carried the burden of Empire on his shoulders for five years (unless he was a Lord Curzon, and then held office for seven), and even then had a train of workers to assist him, but here was a distinguished countryman of his carrying the burden of Empire on his shoulders unaided and unassisted and undecorated. True, he carried the C.I.E., but in his opinion he was worth a much better decoration. The decoration that Mr. Gokhale loved best was his love for his countrymen, and the approval of his own conscience. To those Indians who were educated with Western ideas he had given a lesson in humility and gentleness. (Applause.)

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 28-10-1912

288. BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION'S ADDRESS TO GOKHALE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
October 28, 1912[2]

THE HON'BLE GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, C.I.E.
JOHANNESBURG,

DEAR SIR,

On behalf of the British Indian Association, we beg to extend to you a very hearty welcome to the Union in general and to the Transvaal in particular. The estimation in which you are held by our countrymen in the Motherland would suffice to ensure for

[1] This address, along with others by the Hamidia Islamic Society, the Johannesburg Hindus, the Tamil Benefit Society, the Patidar Association and the Pietersburg Indians, was presented to Gokhale on his arrival at Park Station, Johannesburg, where, according to *The Transvaal Leader* report, the crowd gave him "a welcome of Oriental warmth and magnificence" and "showered rose-leaves upon him". Gokhale "accompanied by Mr. Gandhi stepped. . .on to a richly-decorated and carpeted platform. . .and was there received by the Mayor and Mayoress of Johannesburg." This address, the only one read out, was engraved on "a solid gold plate representing a map of India and Ceylon". *Indian Opinion*, 9-11-1912.

[2] Although *Indian Opinion*, 9-11-1912, one of the sources of this item, mentions October 29 as the date of Gokhale's arrival in Johannesburg and the presentation of this as well as the Hindus' address (the following item), the special number of *Indian Opinion* issued to commemorate Gokhale's visit, our other source, mentions October 28, which date is also borne out by an entry in "Diary 1912".

you a warm welcome from us here. But you have a special claim to our gratitude.

When Passive Resistance was at its height, and when hundreds of our countrymen were undergoing imprisonment in this Province for conscience' sake, we knew that we had your most active support and co-operation. We are aware that it was because you threw the whole weight of your influence in our favour that the Passive Resistance Fund was swelled by munificent contributions from India. Mr. Polak has told us how invaluable your advice and guidance were to him whilst he was our delegate in India. It was due mainly to your efforts that the supply of indentured Indian labour to South Africa was stopped. For this, not only are your countrymen most grateful to you, but we believe that the European residents of South Africa also have warmly welcomed your work in this direction.

You have crowned this special South African work of yours by now paying us a visit for the purpose of making a local study of the situation. We know what this visit has meant to you. We shall never forget the sacrifice made by you in coming to us. We thank you for it, and hope that you will carry with you pleasant recollections of your visit to South Africa; and we pray God that He may spare you for many a year to continue your service of the Motherland, which you have so patriotically made the work of your life.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY

Indian Opinion, 9-11-1912; also *Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912*

289. *JOHANNESBURG HINDUS' ADDRESS TO GOKHALE*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
October 28, 1912

THE HON'BLE GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, C.I.E.
JOHANNESBURG

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, representing the Hindu population of Johannesburg, desire, particularly, to voice our veneration and regard for you.

There is not one among us who does not know of your untiring labours in the cause of the Motherland and her sons scattered far and wide throughout the globe. Your name is a household word with us, your image graven on our hearts, your noble example an ever-present spur to duty.

We bid you welcome to this land of our adoption, and trust that your sojourn in our midst may be a pleasant one. May you long be spared to us, and granted health and strength to continue your glorious work.

M. K. GANDHI
[AND 57 OTHERS]

Indian Opinion, 9-11-1912; also *Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912*

290. *INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
October 30, 1912][3]

The Hon. G. Gokhale is being kept busy receiving a constant stream of people of all classes and complexions at the rooms which have been taken for him in Chudleigh's Buildings. He received a representative of *The Transvaal*

[1] This followed the address presented by the British Indian Association, the preceding item.

[2] The first paragraph has been taken from a fuller report of the interview which a special number of *Indian Opinion*, brought out in commemoration of Gokhale's visit to South Africa, republished from *The Transvaal Leader*.

[3] Neither of the versions published in *Indian Opinion* mentions the date of the interview but it was on October 30 that Gokhale received Creswell as well as the Parsee deputation referred to in the report.

Leader between a visit from Mr. Creswell, the Labour leader, and the introduction of a deputation of Parsees. . . .

While waiting to see Mr. Gokhale, the *Leader* representative had a chat with Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the local leader of the Indian people, who suggested that there were certain questions about Mr. Gokhale's mission which he could personally answer and which it would be an advantage to put to him, from the point of view of economizing Mr. Gokhale's time.

Mr. Gandhi first of all cleared up the doubt which exists in many people's minds as to the official character, or otherwise, of Mr. Gokhale's visit.

[QUESTION:] Is Mr. Gokhale the formally appointed representative of the Government of India in this matter?

No, he comes in his private capacity but with the full knowledge and approval of both the Indian and the Imperial Governments. Before sailing from England he had interviews with, among others, the Marquis of Crewe (Secretary of State for India), Mr. Harcourt (Secretary of State for the Colonies), Lord Gladstone, Sir Richard Solomon and Sir Starr Jameson.

How long will the visit to South Africa last?

Mr. Gokhale leaves on November 6 for Natal. Elaborate preparations are being made in Durban for his reception—on the 14th he meets Ministers in Pretoria, and he then leaves immediately, via Delagoa Bay on his return voyage to India.

Surely this is a very short time for the accomplishment of so important a mission?

It is an exceedingly brief stay, but Mr. Gokhale has to be back in India early in December for his legislative duties.

But he expects to have all his conclusions definitely formed by the time he sees the Union Ministers?

No Right to Be Surrendered

That is so. Of course, in so far as the rights of Indians are concerned he can have no opinions to form. He has come with an open mind only from the point of view that he is anxious to understand the European side of the question. In theory, he, as a distinguished patriot, could never think of surrendering any of the rights of his countrymen. But his conclusions as to the putting of theory into practice are open to modification by local knowledge gained from contact with those who have carried on ceaseless agitation in this country against British Indians.

In further conversation, Mr. Gandhi expressed his belief, which, he said, was also Mr. Gokhale's belief, that the problem had been virtually narrowed down to the treatment of the Indian population domiciled in the Union.

As to that, Mr. Gokhale has, I think, come to the general conclusion that the Indians resident here are entitled to civic equality. That is to say, their movement within the Union should not be hampered and, under restrictions of a general character applying to the community at large, they should be allowed freedom of trade.

How about the Free State?

With reference to the Free State, Mr. Gokhale is still studying the law, and it is difficult to say what his conclusions will be on that point. Personally, I feel that for yet a few years to come the Free State will retain its policy as far as the holding of land and the carrying on of trade are concerned. As far as the immigration barrier is concerned, it is part of the compromise that under the new Act the few fresh immigrants that will be allowed to come in will be free to move about in any part of the Union. They will, therefore, not be subject to the Free State restriction as to immigration, but they will be unable to trade or farm in that Province. But some day or other, the Free State barrier must entirely disappear. Otherwise the Union will be a farce.

Indian Opinion, 23-11-1912

291. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG BANQUET TO GOKHALE[1]

October 31, 1912

Mr. Gandhi, in proposing the toast of the Chairman and the European visitors, said it was his proud privilege to propose that toast. It was a proud day for Indians that they had all responded so heartily to the invitation of the British Indian Association to join in doing honour to their illustrious countryman, and, as so many of the speakers had said, worthy citizen of the Empire to which they all belonged. Mr. Gokhale himself had tendered his thanks to the Committee that was formed at the time when the struggle was at its height. He thought that that Committee had rendered a signal service to the Empire, as it had certainly rendered signal service to British Indians. It was the formation of that Committee that gave new hope to those who were struggling for the sake of conscience. The Indian community throughout South

[1] The banquet, with Mayor Ellis in the chair, was given by the British Indian Association and was the largest of its kind, about 500 persons attending. A copy of the menu printed on satin was presented to Gokhale by Waingold and Newman.

Africa would never forget the time when the committee was formed, nor would it ever forget that great occasion. They had held many banquets, many European friends and sympathizers had attended those banquets, but he could not recall a single occasion when so many great statesmen of South Africa and so many great citizens of South Africa had gathered together at the invitation of their humble selves. It gave him, therefore, the greatest pleasure to propose that toast.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

292. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 3, 1912

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR[1],

I have heard so much of you that I almost feel we know each other: hence the familiar style.

Mr. Gokhale is taking rest for a day or two here—such as he can get after a most strenuous fortnight. I have insisted on Mr. Gokhale taking the rest he needs. He has therefore commissioned me to write to you. The receptions throughout the tour have been very flattering. Europeans—many prominent leaders —have taken part in them as you will see from the papers sent to the Society. In my opinion Mr. Gokhale's mission is bound to be fruitful. Mr. Gokhale's speeches have been much appreciated everywhere. Owing to bad service to India, Mr. Gokhale's plans have to be altered. He will now sail by s.s. *Umkuzi* leaving Durban on the 20th instant and reaching Colombo about the 7th December.[2] Will you please be on the look-out? Mr. Gokhale would like

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); became President, Servants of India Society in 1914 after Gokhale's death; elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1916, and to the Council of State, 1920; Member, India's delegation to the League of Nations, 1921, and to the Armaments Conference in Washington, 1921; made a Privy Councillor the same year; appointed Agent-General of the Indian Government in South Africa; delegate to the India-Britain Round Table Conference of 1930, held in London and the India-South Africa Round Table Conference of 1932, held in Cape Town; was the "revered friend" mentioned in the translator's preface to *An Autobiography* (1940 Edition).

[2] Actually Gokhale sailed from Zanzibar on November 29, 1912 by s.s. *President*.

Mr. Ranganathan to meet him at Colombo and would like you to join him at Madras.

Passage has not yet been booked. Ere this reaches you a cable will be sent giving exact particulars.

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From *Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*; Asia Publishing House, 1963

293. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG RECEPTION TO GOKHALE[1]

November 7, 1912

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said he had been a resident of South Africa for the past 18 years. The Ganges was a holy river, and, if its waters had flowed into the Umsindusi in the person of Mr. Gokhale, then it was a proud day for the City. Whether Mr. Gokhale's mission towards helping the Indian would be successful still remained to be seen. It would rest a good deal with those in South Africa as to whether that devoutly-hoped-for success of Mr. Gokhale's visit would materialize. Entered into with a generous and noble spirit his mission should be signally successful. (Applause.)

Indian Opinion, 16-11-1912

294. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG LUNCHEON TO GOKHALE[2]

[November 8, 1912]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in proposing "Our European Friends", said he spoke as an Indian and on behalf of the Indians. He voiced their feelings when he said that they were doubly indebted to the Europeans who had so heartily assisted the Indians in welcoming and assisting their visitor, an illustrious son of India. They were all actuated by the best of feelings. The Indians were now going through the process of Union, and in that process he would ask them

[1] The meeting included all the leading Maritzburg citizens and a great number of Indians and was presided over by the Administrator of the Province. The Indians presented Gokhale with an address. The Administrator, Mayor Sanders and other Europeans also addressed the meeting.

[2] The luncheon was arranged by the Maritzburg Reception Committee. Among the speakers were the Maritzburg Administrator and Gokhale.

to remember the advice of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and Mr. Merriman before Union, and every time there was a jarring note he would urge them to look at the matter in the "Convention spirit". In the matter of the great problem now present in their minds, he would ask all to look at it from the Gokhale point of view. (Hear, hear.) If that was done he thought they would not have sat together at that table in vain. Wherever Mr. Gokhale had gone there had been the spirit of peace. He could only hope that that spirit would not vanish with his departure, but would continue and intensify, because there was not, after all, any reason why they should not all live together under the same flag in peace, amity and friendship. (Cheers.)

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

295. SPEECH AT DURBAN RECEPTION TO GOKHALE[1]

[*November 8, 1912*]

By an accident, my name has got into some corner of the Voters' Roll and I am therefore able to address this audience—the whites in it—as my fellow-citizens.[2]

Mr. Gandhi pointed out that Mr. Gokhale was recognized to be a great statesman, not only by the millions of Indians but also by the people of England. Viceroys had called upon him to give them advice, because he had been able to keep his fingers on the pulse of India. He had guided the deliberations of the National Congress of India, and was one of the greatest educationists of the country. Had he been born in England he would today be occupying the position Mr. Asquith occupied. Had he been born in America he probably would be occupying the position to which Dr. Woodrow Wilson had been elected, and if he had been born in the Transvaal he would be occupying General Botha's position. He warned his compatriots against building hopes too high. They would still have to agitate. Mr. Gokhale could not give them the rights they had been clamouring for, and they might still have to go to gaol for these rights. The addresses which had been presented to him were not given in any spirit of anticipation of what was to come, but simply as a tribute to the great character of the man who stood before them that evening.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

[1] At this Town Hall meeting, Royeppen read the address. It was engraved on gold plate and the shield was mounted on ebony.

[2] This sentence is translated from the Gujarati version of the speech published in *Indian Opinion*, 16-11-1912

296. *SPEECH AT DURBAN BANQUET TO GOKHALE*[1]

November 11, 1912

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, proposing "The European Guests", asked his fellow-countrymen to drink that toast heartily, although they had had to drink many a bitter draught in South Africa. Still, there was a silver lining to every cloud, and there were many European friends who had come to their aid, including Mr. Silburn, although that gentleman thought that the Indian Empire had been won by the sword, and that it had been kept by the sword.[2] He differed from him on that point, because he believed that it was inconsistent for England to deal out justice with one hand and hold the threat of the sword with the other.

Indian Opinion, 23-11-1912

297. *SPEECH AT PRETORIA RECEPTION TO GOKHALE*[3]

November 14, 1912

Mr. Gandhi said that he had been asked by the Chairman of the Pretoria Committee to say a few words. He had to thank the European friends who had accepted the invitation to be present, and he had to thank the Deputy Mayor. Throughout the tour Mr. Gokhale had received every kindness and courtesy. It was a matter of the greatest gratification that the Europeans had joined with the Indians in extending the hand of hospitality to the visitor. He read letters of regret at inability to be present from General Botha, Mr. Abraham Fischer and General Smuts. He then asked the Deputy Mayor to open the proceedings.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912

[1] About 500 Europeans and Indians were present at the banquet. Among others who spoke were Sir David Hunter, who presided, F. C. Hollander, the Mayor of Durban, and Gokhale.

[2] Silburn had made the point that the Indian problem in South Africa was one for South Africa to deal with, and that no interference either by Great Britain or by India would be tolerated by the British people of that country.

[3] The reception was arranged to bid farewell to Gokhale and was presided over by J. H. L. Findley, Deputy Mayor.

298. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LAWLEY,]
On or before *November 17, 1912*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

I did not find Professor Gokhale's speeches with Mr. Kallenbach. Inquire at the Lost Luggage Office in the Station there. Possibly a whole bundle has been left behind. It bears the date on which I came away.

Speak to Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen[2] even so about the advertisement. Let me know what reply he gives.

Find out from Dada Sheth what action is being taken about boys being not permitted to attend the school[3]. You should also obtain weekly reports from Mr. Subramaniam[4] and publish them. If, moreover, you arranged for this through Mr. Paul, you may [thus] be able to keep in touch with him and secure valuable news. I know that this will take time. It is to be done during spare hours, and it can be done if harmony prevails in Phœnix. The answer [to the question] how this can be brought about lies with you all and so does the responsibility for achieving it.

[1] Gokhale's speeches referred to in paragraph 2 were presumably those that he delivered during his tour of South Africa between October 22, 1912 and November 12, 1912. Gandhiji, who accompanied Gokhale throughout the tour, arrived in Durban on November 8 (*vide* also entry for that date in "Diary, 1912") and left on November 12. Since the letter is addressed to Maganlal Gandhi, who worked at the Phœnix press, the speeches must have been lost either at Phœnix or at Durban. Gandhiji arrived at Tolstoy Farm—which came towards the end of the itinerary—on November 15. Polak's foreword to the special publication, which was issued by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, in commemoration of Gokhale's visit and contained published texts of Gokhale's speeches, is dated November 20, 1912. It is probable, therefore, that this letter was written on November 16 or on November 17 on which date Gandhiji left for Lourenco Marques to see Gokhale off.

[2] A Durban Indian merchant

[3] The Indian Educational Institute at Durban run by H. L. Paul

[4] An Indian educationist of Natal who had consulted Gandhiji about the school

Ask Mr. Aiyar[1] for information about C. K. D. Pillay's case. Mr. Paul will be able to give you this information at once.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5741

299. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[*November 17, 1912*][2]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letters. I shall reply to them at leisure. At the moment, I shall only say that since you have grasped the significance [of human existence] you should order your life accordingly.[3]

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5639
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

300. SPEECH AT LOURENCO MARQUES BANQUET TO GOKHALE[4]

[*November 18, 1912*]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said he remembered Lourenco Marques when it had the reputation of being a malarious place, but it was almost superfluous to drink the health of the European guests in a town so admittedly healthy as the town was today. They also had partaken of a vegetarian, non-alcoholic repast—these things also were consistent with good health. He considered the gathering was unique; they had with them Christians, Jews, Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsees. He had been ordered to be brief, so would ask all to drink to the guests, coupled with the name of Consul-General MacDonell.

Indian Opinion, 7-12-1912

[1] P. S. Aiyar of the *African Chronicle*

[2] On the back of this is a brief letter to the addressee from Sonja Schlesin and it is dated November 18, 1912.

[3] Gandhiji ended the letter at this point and left for Lourenco Marques. The letter was forwarded to the addressee by Polak, as is clear from the remarks added by him.

[4] The banquet was presided over by Errol MacDonell, the British Consul-General.

301. A CABLE[1]

R. P. D. *KRONPRINZ*
[On or after *November 19, 1912*]

THANKS PROGRAMME CONVENIENT GOKHALE'S HEALTH UNSATISFACTORY SPARE HIM TROUBLE.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5736

302. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

DAR-ES-SALAM,
December 4, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have just heard that the Indian mail closes within half an hour from now (9.30 a.m.). We are in this place for two more days.

On receipt of cable from Johannesburg to the effect that the case[2] was found at Lourenco Marques and that it was being forwarded to you, I cabled to you at Mahe.[3] I hope you received the cable. A cable[4] was also sent to Miss Schlesin, asking her to insure the case.

And now will you forgive me for all my imperfections? I want to be a worthy pupil of yours. This is not mock humility but Indian seriousness. I want to realize in myself the conception I have of an Eastern pupil. We may have many differences of opinion, but you shall still be my pattern in political life.

[1] Gokhale, accompanied by Gandhiji and Kallenbach, boarded R. P. D. *Kronprinz* of German East Africa Line at midnight on November 18, 1912. On the way Gokhale and party disembarked at Beira (November 21 and 22), Mozambique (November 25) and Zanzibar (November 27) and at each of these places he was felicitated and presented with addresses. Some time between November 18 and 26, therefore, Gandhiji must have addressed this telegram to the reception committee in one of these three places.

[2] This was presumably the case containing the address which was presented to Gokhale by the British Indian Association and engraved on solid gold plate; *vide* footnote 1 on p. 340 and entry for November 28 in "Diary, 1912", when the case was first missed.

[3] & [4] These cables to Gokhale and Schlesin are not available.

One word from the quack physician. Ample fasting, strict adherence to two meals, entire absence of condiments of all kinds from your food, omission of pulses, tea, coffee, etc., regular taking of Kuhne baths, regular and brisk walking in the country (not the pacing up and down for stimulating thought), ample allowance of olive oil and acid fruit and gradual elimination of cooked food—and you will get rid of your diabetes and add a few more years than you think to your life of service in your present body.

Mr. Kallenbach wishes to be remembered to you.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

We were both glad to receive your cable. Will you kindly ask Mr. Shastriar or some other S.I.[1] to give me an account of the Mombasa reception for *I.O.*?

M. K. G.

From a photostat of the typewritten copy: C. W. 4842

303. EDUCATION IN VERNACULARS

For the first time in the history of Indian education in South Africa, Indian languages are now acknowledged as being necessary as a medium of training Indian children in schools. One of the conditions accepted by the Witwatersrand Central School Board, in connection with the establishment of an Indian school[2] in Johannesburg, is that the Gujarati language "may be taught as a language and used as a medium of instruction". It strikes us as being remarkable that the Education Department in Natal should have been so blind as not to see that the mother tongue is an absolute essential to school training. The position now is that not a single Indian school

[1] Servant of India

[2] This is presumably the school which Gandhiji mentioned in his speech at the British Indian Association meeting of August 25, and for which a committee was then formed. On November 16, the Secretary of the Witwatersrand General School Board wrote to Habib Motan, who was on this committee, accepting his proposal for the establishment of the school ("Proposed Indian School at Johannesburg", p. 327) on the conditions that: (a) a European Principal would be appointed and paid for by the Government, who would be the supervisor of the school, and (b) that the Indians would bear half the cost of the salaries of the teachers in return for a matching grant by the Government. The Secretary agreed that Gujarati might be taught as a language and used as a medium of instruction. *Indian Opinion*, 7-12-1912.

in Natal, under Government control, gives instruction through the language of the pupils. Nor are Indian vernaculars taught as languages to Indians in the schools, except in one or two cases where the teachers kindly give instruction in those languages after school hours to those who specially wish it. Mr. Gokhale, in his farewell speech at Pretoria, laid emphasis on the need for teaching Indian vernaculars in school hours. He also rightly pointed out that, so long as such instruction is not given, it is a legitimate excuse for the Indian community to ask for the admission of clerks and others so instructed, for the proper keeping of their books. But most of all we would urge the importance of the study of Indian languages because, without a knowledge of one's own mother tongue, it is impossible to be a true patriot; one's ideas become warped and our hearts estranged from the Motherland. The religions and literature of India can never be appreciated through the medium of a foreign language. Much as we admire the bright intelligence of our Colonial-born young men we feel that there is something missing, and that is a knowledge of real Indian thought, history, and literature. Many of them speak nothing but the English language, some few have obtained a colloquial knowledge of their mother tongue whilst scarcely any can read and write the great languages of India. This is a great pity, and we therefore welcome the enlightened decision of the Witwatersrand School Board, and hope that, ere long, we shall see the spread of vernacular teaching throughout the Indian schools in South Africa.

Indian Opinion, 7-12-1912

304. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Magshar Sud 9 [December 18, 1912][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You left the same day as I reached Johannesburg. I have both your letters. I shall myself tear them up after reading them. I also do not understand why your health should have suffered. Chi. Chhaganlal says that you were dispirited this time, that you, known to be the strongest of all, tired [easily]. All this shows that your recent experiment in diet did not suit you. I could have shown you where the fault lay if only I had been with you.

[1] This appears to have been written soon after Jamnadas Gandhi left for India on December 14, 1912.

Chhaganlal says that you had also grown irritable. You should resume taking milk, ghee, *dahi*, etc., when the six-month period is over. Sugar and salt you will not need. Do eat them, however, if you must but improve your health. You may resume your experiment, if you wish, after I go there. If you do not keep very good health, no one will believe in the value of your experiment, and, if you do not keep a normal temper, it will do you no good either.

And now to your questions.

If we eat no *dahi*, naturally butter and buttermilk should also be avoided. Surely, if *dahi* is forbidden, butter and buttermilk are constituents of *dahi*. They are less of an evil because they are less palatable. But you need not worry over this rather subtle distinction. If you take ghee, you may as well take milk, *dahi*, etc. We shall see about it later on.

It is nothing wrong if one who takes coco-nut oil eats copra. In fact, copra should be better. But, just as one who cannot digest wheat may be able to digest its milk[1], so may one who cannot digest copra be able to digest the oil. Moreover, oil is more convenient for a person without teeth. You are likely to find yourself in this state. And the same about gingili. In order to consume two ounces of its oil, one must eat a large quantity of the seed and this cannot be done. True, the cake will be left out, and for some constitutions it is just as well.

One can certainly live on bananas alone. Then one need not eat nuts. I feel that the kernel in the almonds and other nuts contains more nourishment than fresh fruit.

I can think of two reasons why you got boils. Because of unsuitable food the blood became weak and the enervating air at Phœnix had an immediate effect on you. Or else, Phœnix water affects only the skin, in the same way that mere contact with cactus will affect the skin of a person even if his blood is pure.

If some air enters the stomach through an enema, no harm will come out of it. At the worst, there might be stomach-ache, as the body has no use for air entering this way. When this happens, one should go to the toilet and strain, so that most of the wind is expelled. One is unlikely to die if some air enters, though, for a delicate constitution like Krishna's, the result might well be disastrous.

In case of any stomach disorder, a wet-sheet pack will certainly have some effect. The pressing out of fat through the countless

[1] Squeezed out of wheat soaked in water

pores in the skin will undoubtedly reduce pressure to that extent, and this may well induce a motion.

When the patient is in no condition to be treated with earth bandage and is too weak to fast, there is likely to be no unwanted matter in the system and even if there is it will do no harm. In this case, the patient should be given hot milk or similar food to revive him, and he should then be given earth treatment, etc. If he is so utterly weak that one may not even bring him in contact with cold water or give him a glass of water, be sure he is nearing his end. One should be resigned to and wait for it. Even while one waits, the patient may possibly revive.

There is no universal rule that one must always do something. Sometimes, rest alone is the right thing for the patient. Patients like Krishna cannot be given a hard *bhakhri*[1] made from rice or other flour. They have inflammation of the intestines and can only be given the simplest liquid food. This treatment is for enteric and other fevers. Patients like him can be given orange juice, strained. It must contain no trace of the peel or the pulp inside.

If a very weak patient has excessive motions, a wet pack, soaked in ice-cold water, should be applied to the stomach. If this has no effect, the motions should not be interfered with.

When a patient is delirious, one should understand that he is suffering. He should be treated with mud packs over his head and stomach and allowed plenty of fresh air. It does not matter if he continues to be in delirium after this. He will come round by and by. If his vitality is exhausted, he will eventually succumb.

After six months are over, you may cheerfully take whatever food your inner being prompts you to.

You may learn weaving if that can be done without strain. I do not insist on it.

We affectionately address both God and mother as thou, having no fear of either. The father inspires fear, so that one does not, normally, address him that way. As for others, they are all distant. They certainly cannot take the place of God or a mother.

It was certainly not right of Sugriva to have had Vali killed.[2] He can be defended up to a point. It is surely not possible to defend all the actions of the virtuous in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Even the poet has not visualized them as perfect.

[1] Thick, coarse *roti*

[2] They were brothers depicted as monkey-kings in the *Ramayana*. Sugriva besought Rama's assistance in recovering his wife from Vali who had taken her away. Rama, therefore, killed Vali and installed Sugriva on the throne.

If you are so crazy about a bicycle, use it, and then rid yourself of the craze. While riding to a village on a bicycle, one has to face danger from cattle. The latter are utter strangers to our bicycle and, being frightened, charge at us. You may write to Mr. Kallenbach unhesitatingly. I shall continue to write [to you].

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5641. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

305. GOKHALE'S RETURN TO INDIA

Reuter has sent us a partial report of the public meeting held in Bombay to welcome Mr. Gokhale and hear from him an account of his historic visit to this country.[1] It gives us an idea of the hopes he entertains.

Some Indians at home imagine that we demand free entry for all Indians wishing to settle in South Africa. This is the impression one occasionally gathers from newspapers coming from India. Some Indian leaders, too, make this demand. Replying to critics of this sort, Mr. Gokhale declared that we did not demand such [unrestricted] rights, and also that it would not be proper for us to do so. He has suggested that we ought to be content if the legal right was secured. He added that if we hoped-for reasonable treatment, we should understand the underlying reason for the Europeans' anxieties and fears. Our prospects would undoubtedly depend to some extent on such understanding. Mr. Gokhale seems to have succeeded in making the Bombay meeting appreciate this.

The Union Government has assured Mr. Gokhale that the immigration laws would not be applied inconsiderately.[2] Let us see to what extent the assurance is acted upon. That will [of course]

[1] At this meeting, held on December 14, Gokhale had enumerated the problems of Indians in South Africa. He had declared that African Indians, if they wanted reasonable treatment, should respect the reasonable apprehensions of the Europeans who were afraid of being swamped by the Coloured people. It was not a question of right, he had said, but it was a "question of what was best for the people". He also paid the highest tribute to Gandhiji's "wonderful personality and work". *Indian Opinion,* 21-12-1912. For a full report of Gokhale's speech, *vide* Appendix XXIII.

[2] Gokhale met Smuts, Botha and Fischer at Pretoria on November 14, and Gladstone on November 15, 1912; *vide* Appendix XXII.

depend more on our own actions. Mr. Gokhale is convinced that the cruel £3 tax which the labouring class is made to pay will be repealed. We would be surprised [in fact] if a repealing Bill was not brought before the forthcoming session of Parliament.

But the problem of the trade licences—the biggest and the most complicated—will still remain unsolved. We are sure the Indian community will have to put forth tremendous efforts in this matter. Wherever Mr. Gokhale went, he had discussions with Europeans on this question, but none of them was able to suggest a satisfactory solution. The Union Government, too, had explained their problems to Mr. Gokhale. He feels that we here will have to exert ourselves in this regard. He is thinking of setting up an association in India which will exclusively attend to our problems, and he himself will most probably be the secretary. He believes that the London [S.A.B.I.] Committee, too, should continue its work. Mr. Gokhale has also suggested an easy way for keeping the Committee going; we shall write of this later.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 21-12-1912

306. *GANDHI UNDER DETENTION*[1]

PHŒNIX,
December 23, 1912

The Officer asked: "Are you an Indian?"

ANSWER: "Yes."

Q: "Were you born in India?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you have any papers with you?"

A: "No. I am a lawyer practising in the Transvaal Court, and I have with me a return ticket to Johannesburg. And I intend to go there today."

The official said: "Don't you worry about that! Sit here; your case will be disposed of later."

(The foregoing exchange of questions and answers was in English. In English the word corresponding to *tu*[2] is not used. The Immigration Officer used [the English] "you"; but he did so in

[1] The entry for November 29 in "Diary, 1912" contains a brief reference to the incident.

[2] A second person pronoun in the nominative case in Gujarati which implies familiarity or contempt.

a manner that might well suggest *tu*. He used "you" in this contemptuous fashion, and I have rendered it in Gujarati as *tu*.)

Mr. Kallenbach and I travelled as deck passengers on the return journey, having earlier accompanied the Hon. Mr. Gokhale as far as Tanga, beyond Zanzibar. Our tickets were for Delagoa Bay. At Beira we boarded another steamer in order to save time. On board the second steamer, there were, besides us, about 60 deck passengers, who, after they had been interrogated by the Delagoa Bay Immigration Officer, were permitted to land. He questioned them even if they wished to stop there only for a few hours before entraining for Johannesburg. He issued permits only after interrogation.

Most of our co-passengers were Greek and they were poor. I was present during their interrogation. The questioning must have taken up about an hour and a half. After asking them about their residence, occupation, etc., he handed over their permits to them. Most of them were to proceed to Johannesburg, and they were found carrying some papers as well—mostly in proof of their possession of £20 on their persons. When my turn came, the Immigration Officer asked me the questions which I mentioned in the beginning.

It was Mr. Kallenbach's turn next. The official asked him: "Have you got any papers?" Mr. Kallenbach said that he had none. He introduced me and told the Immigration Officer that we had together gone to see the Hon. Mr. Gokhale off. I do not think the official even bothered to hear him out. He only said: "I shall take up his (Gandhi's) case later. I can't give him a permit. He is an Indian." Mr. Kallenbach gnashed his teeth. He was much hurt. He got his own permit immediately, but it was like poison to him. Would he disembark alone, leaving me behind? How could he possibly do that. The thought rent his heart. He felt ashamed to accept his permit, and while taking it, he turned to me and said angrily (but this was really for the benefit of the official): "You take that! You are an 'Asiatic'; your skin is black. I am a European and white. You will have to remain under detention." (Here the word *tu* suggests affection). I kept smiling, but rage flared in my heart: 'I a mere Indian? How overbearing this official is and how wicked the whites are! How despicable my countrymen are! But why blame the whites? What is there the official can do? I must share in the benefits of and pay the penalties for the impression created by my fellows in South Africa. Today I pay the penalty; tomorrow I might reap the benefit. Why blame even the South African Indians? We are after all like the Indians in India.

What would be my duty in this case? To be angry with the official? Certainly not. Authority is blind. Shall I then hold my peace? No, where there is suffering, I must try to seek redress. And how does one try? I must do my duty. I must not become or remain selfish. My Indian co-passengers on the deck are living in filth; I must set them an example through my way of living. I must move about as a deck passenger and request them to think of their self-respect and to preserve it, to remove the causes of filth, etc. They should defer to the simple and reasonable laws of the whites and resist their perverse and unreasonable laws with courage and firmness.

I must learn a lesson from this incident that a person like myself should, in so far as possible, travel deck class. Only thus will I gain a true idea of the condition of deck passengers, and be moreover able to help them.' Such I saw was my duty. These thoughts must all have arisen in the mind within a moment. Those who have not known the immense speed of thought can experience it as they read this. These thoughts must have crowded in on my wounded mind in a medley, but eventually I became absolutely calm. I remember now that my mind did become quiet, and that is how I now infer that it had earlier been agitated.

I sat glued to my chair, half awake, half dreaming, while Mr. Kallenbach was restlessly pacing up and down. He looked a lion caught in a cage. A few Indians were standing about at the pier waiting to receive us. Mr. Kallenbach told them about my detention. They said: "We have been ready since yesterday with arrangements to receive Mr. Gandhi. We shall send a man again and he will soon fetch the permit." Mr. Kallenbach brought me this news; but becoming impatient, he went to the official again. The latter repeated: "I cannot do anything now." When all the cases had been disposed of, he left. But while going away, he told me that my case would take time yet. Some time after the official had left, the Delagoa Bay Indians' attempts proved effective. This messenger had returned with the permit. It was shown to the Immigration Officer's clerk who then issued me a pass; I was set free. Mr. Kallenbach and I disembarked and, having enjoyed the hospitality of the Delagoa Bay Indians, we took the train to Johannesburg the same day.

I for one have learnt much from the foregoing incident. I place it before readers of *Indian Opinion* hoping that they would know about it, and that they, too, may learn something from it. Surely, this has not happened only to me that I should bore readers of *Indian Opinion* with this rigmarole. Let me hope that this

question would not occur to them. Admittedly, suffering a thousand times more severe has befallen Indians at Delagoa Bay and other ports. It is because I know this that I was pained and now write about this incident. I would, I suppose, be considered an educated person. That is, I would know what to do. Many Europeans know me. I would be counted among the "big", and many would come forward to help me. If, in spite of all this, I have had to put up with so much, what must be the plight of other Indians, looked down upon as uneducated and in no wise able to defend themselves?

I wish Indians in my predicament would be infused with the same zeal that I felt. The first step towards our deliverance is the true realization of our condition. During my deck journey an Indian, referring to our condition here, expressed the opinion: "We are as ants. We must endure this suffering somehow and have done with it." This I call ignorance. We set no store by self-respect and are not prepared to defend it. 'Once I get my wages, the whites might call me a coolie, a deck-hand might kick me. I might be obliged to live in a Location; I might be prevented from owning land and mine might be a dog's plight. But I don't care.' Such, generally, is our lot. We have submitted to it all along, so the Europeans treat us in this fashion. Thus we alone are responsible for our condition. That is the lesson to be learnt from this incident. Having learnt it, we must apply it in every difficult situation and act accordingly. Two things need to be done: one, we must rid the community of its defects which may have brought about the present condition and two, every one of us must fight against injustices perpetrated by the whites.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 28-12-1912

307. A CATASTROPHE

We have to thank our stars that the dastardly act of the bomb-thrower at Delhi did not prove fatal to Lord Hardinge's life and that Lady Hardinge had a miraculous escape. That in this century, which is considered an enlightened period in the history of mankind, there are people who believe that assassination can lead to political or other reform is a fact which should make people think and ask whether what passes under the name of progress is real progress. We as Indians deplore that this nefarious institution of cold-blooded Satanic murder should find its votaries in India. We cannot recall instances of the kind in Indian history. Assassination for selfish ends is as old as the hills. It had its sway in India also long before the introduction, in that land, of Western influence. But political assassination is a recent excrescence in the life of India. The mad youth who perpetrated the crime no doubt thought that by striking murders of distinguished men, rulers could be terrorized and an independent India could be thereby secured. We should decline to share any such independence even if it were attainable, which we doubt. We do not believe that good can be brought about by evil.

The fact is that the idea of securing independence by assassination is chimerical. The result can only be greater repression, greater suspicion on the part of the rulers, greater taxation on the people, and consequent increase in the hardships of the poorest in the land. In the midst of this darkness we can but pray for India's deliverance from the curse of assassination and the return of the few misguided youths to the sane teaching of their forefathers that freedom comes only from self-suffering and purification—never by inflicting suffering on others. We pray, too, for Lord Hardinge's quick recovery from the effect of the wound received by him.

Indian Opinion, 28-12-1912

308. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
December 28, 1912

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Chhaganlal's son being ill I was obliged to hurry here as soon as we reached Johannesburg. The youngster is much better now thanks to the hip baths & partial starvation.

Many thanks for your letter from Mombasa & cable from India. The criticism you cable was expected by us. It does not affect me at all. The critics have not troubled to study the question. Even Mr. Natrajan in his paper says that we have made as good a bargain as we could under the circumstances. The fact is that we have made no "bargain". But I must not worry you. I value your time and health too much to inflict a long letter on you.

I replied to your cable early this week. I hope that the souvenir case was received in time. The *Umkazi* remained a long time at Beira.

You were right and I was wrong. The foodstuff bought at Johannesburg for our voyage went to the Farm. All evidently lost their heads, Miss Schlesin most of all. You wanted to know, too, as to who was responsible for the omission to pay our passage. Ismail says he knew nothing about it and that he never received Polak's wire. Polak distrusts Ismail. Poor Rustomjee was upset when he heard that the passage had to be paid at Beira. The omission to give you the diary of your tour was due to Polak's forgetfulness. I admit that all these mishaps were preventable and I could have prevented them had I given them more thought. The lessons I have learnt during the tour will not be lost on me.

I hope to shift to Phœnix during the middle of January.

On my arrival in Johannesburg Miss Schlesin told me that the whole of the passive resistance balance was used up. As I have several calls to meet, I took the liberty of adding to the cable a few words asking you to ask Mr. Petit to cable the balance in his hands.[2]

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 351-2.

[2] Petit had cabled the first instalment of Ratan Tata's donation of Rs. 25,000; *vide* "Mr. Tata's Munificence", p. 299.

I hope that you are keeping well. I should value all the news you could give me about your health and the changes made in your dietary, &c.

If one of the Servants of India could be specially put on S.A. work arrangements could be made to send him a regular letter every mail about the position here, and a few copies of *I.O.* for careful distribution. You have asked me to write to you regularly about the position. But I feel that I ought not to expect you to read such heavy correspondence from fortnight to fortnight. The member whom you may appoint could do all that & take your instructions when necessary.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Enclosed is the bill of lading regarding the lost case and insurance certificate.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3806

309. DIARY, 1912[1]

JANUARY 15, MONDAY, POSH VAD 11

Medh, Manilal, Pragji returned.

Trip ticket book	1. 6. 3
Stamps	0. 2. 0
Bal[ance]	3. 3.10

[1] These brief memoranda were made by Gandhiji from day to day on a copy of "*Indian Opinion* Pocket Diary for 1912" published by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, and advertised for the first time in *Indian Opinion*, 6-1-1912. It measures $4\frac{1}{2}$" × $3\frac{1}{2}$" (Crown sexto-decimo size). Written in Gandhiji's hand, it contains, for the most part, names of persons he wrote to each day and of those who visited him at Tolstoy Farm and references to his visits to Johannesburg or to Phœnix. While all these notes are in Gujarati, the entries of daily receipts and disbursements, made in a single vertical column, are in English. These accounts presumably concern the petty cash he kept with him at the Farm and include sundry credits and receipts and disbursements on account of the school. The punctuation in the Diary is meagre and sometimes misleading. Marks of punctuation have been supplied where absolutely necessary. In transliterating names of persons from the Gujarati, English spellings have been taken over from advertisements or news-items in the *Indian Opinion* issues for the year or from the English entries in the accounts column. As for proper names,

JANUARY 16, TUESDAY

Went to town—Porter met [me]—Returned—Plague in Durban.

Leather	0. 7. 6
Paper	0. 0. 3
Bal[ance]	2.16. 1

JANUARY 17, WEDNESDAY

Went to town—Met the Committee on Crematorium near the graveyard—

Wire	0. 1. 0
Freight Salt	0. 1. 0
Paper	0. 0. 3
Bal[ance]	£ 2.13.10

Post—Harilal, Doctor, Lallubhai, Dulabhai, N. M. Kadir, Editor, *Gujarati*, Chhaganlal, Lallubhai, Gulabbhai.

JANUARY 18, THURSDAY

Went to town—Saw Chamney who said he would telegraph Delagoa. Bhayat's wife sentenced.[1]

Newspaper	0. 0. 3
Buckle	0. 0. 6
R[eceive]d from Bhayat	0. 1. 0

JANUARY 19, FRIDAY

Wrote letters—Ismail Moosa Dhaled, Dulabh Vash, Maganlal

Wire to Chamney	0. 4. 3
Messenger	0. 1. 0
Bal[ance]	2. 8.10

JANUARY 20, SATURDAY, MAHA SUD 1

Went to town. Saw Dr. Porter. Meanwhile Mr. Dunning came to Farm and missed train. Schlesin and Dorabji came together—Wrote letters to Mrs. Shaer.

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which could not be checked with contemporaneous sources, the conventional or phonetic spelling has been used. Of the letters mentioned in the Diary, the few that have been traced have been identified by cross-references.

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 27-1-1912, mentions that on January 18, 1912 one Salomi, wife of Bhayat, was sentenced to detention by a Johannesburg magistrate pending an order for deportation.

Albert	1. 0. 0
Ricksha, etc. fr.	0. 1. 3
The Star	0. 0. 3
Bal[ance]	1. 7. 4

JANUARY 21, SUNDAY

Mahomed Hafejee & two other Musalmans & Bhikhu & Morarji came. Dorabji, Hafejee & his friends, and Schlesin & Dunning left. Wrote to Schlesin, Chhaganlal, Mehta, Winterbottom, Maud, Cole [Kaul?[1]], Purshottamdas. Started Valmiki *Ramayana.*

JANUARY 22, MONDAY

Post—Dada Abdulla, Gokuldas, Lord Ampthill.

JANUARY 23, TUESDAY

Ismail came—Morarji & Bhikubhai left.
Wrote—David Keshavalu, Purshottamdas, Nathu Bhana, Bomansha.

Stamps	0. 2. 6
R[eceive]d re: Ismail	2. 0. 0
Bal[ance]	3. 4.10

The entries above should have been under Monday.[2] Thambi Naidoo came. Letters—Lepin, Saiyad Haji Mia, [Su]bhan Godfrey, Schlesin, Velshi, Burnett.

JANUARY 24, WEDNESDAY

Thambi Naidoo left, Dadabhai came & left, Albert came, wrote —Abhechand, Tyndale, Schlesin, Diwan.

JANUARY 25, THURSDAY

Wrote—Schlesin, Thakkar, Chhaganlal, Maganlal

Wire Hasan	0. 1. 3
Stamps	0. 2. 0
John	0. 2. 6
Balance	3. 0. 1[3]

JANUARY 26, FRIDAY

Mohan Soni came & left. Two whites came for sandals.

[1] This name can also be transliterated as Kaul and occurs frequently in the Diary.

[2] Gandhiji is here referring to a misplaced entry—the two paragraphs preceding this footnote mark belong to the previous day.

[3] Eror of 1s. was later corrected on January 31 (p. 367).

JANUARY 27, SATURDAY

Wrote—Lepin, Shelat, Dularkhan, Shaer, Tyndale, Mrs. Vogl came & left. Bhimbhai came. Naidu came & left. Manilal and Jamnadas went to J. B.

JANUARY 28, SUNDAY

Gordon, Jivanji, Naoroji, Ismail Moosa Dhaled and his two friends—all these had come and left. Ferozesha and Maneksha also left with them. Wrote—Maud, Winterbottom, Chhaganlal.

R[eceive]d from Dhaled	2. 0. 0

JANUARY 29, MONDAY

Lutavan left. I went to town and returned. Velshi and his son Rajabali came. Hoosen and his uncle came to J. B. Wrote to Lane about New Bill.[1]

Wrote— . . .[2], Alexander, Schlesin.

Rd. re. Rajabali	3. 1. 0
Prema re. Lutavan	1.10. 0
P[ai]d fare	0. 2.11
Leather	0.19. 0
Books, etc.,	0. 3. 0
Manilal	0. 6. 6

JANUARY 30, TUESDAY

Hoosen and his maternal uncle[3] came. Manilal and Jamnadas came. Fakiro[4] came & returned. Velshi left. Telegraphed to Lane.[5] Abdoolla Sheth died yesterday.[6] Letters to West, Harilal, Schlesin.

Wire to Lane; [about] Dad[a] Abdoolla; Rustomjee & Cape	0.13. 0

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 213-5.

[2] A word here is illegible.

[3] Husband of his aunt

[4] Fakir; referred to in the Diary variously as Fakiro and Fakiri; also known among the settlers of the Farm as Fakirabhai. Gandhiji refers to him as "the brave Fakira"; he was in charge of stores at Phœnix for a time; served six or seven terms of imprisonment and was sentenced later to deportation; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 209 & 223.

[5] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", p. 216.

[6] Dada Abdoolla Hajee Adam died on January 29, 1912; *vide* "Late Mr. Abdoolla Hajee Adam", p. 219.

JANUARY 31, WEDNESDAY

Essop Mia left—Essack's mother came and left—Kennedy came and left—and also Naidoo. Received a long telegram[1] from Lane. Wrote—Ha[jee], Habib, Prabhashanker, V. S. Pillay, Raghavji, Khanderia

Rd. for sandals	1. 0. 0
Paid Dano	0. 6. 6
Freight	0. 4. 6
Error[2]	0. 1. 0
Bal.	£ 7.14. 8

FEBRUARY 1, THURSDAY

Budrea, Ramlal and two others came. Hoosen left. Dano came. [Wrote]—Schlesin, Chhaganlal, Editor, *I.O.*, Bhayat, Ritch, Kallenbach, Nalji Hari, Rustomjee, Osman Ahmed, Velshi Keshavji, Clement Doke. Telegraphed[3] Registrar [of Asiatics]

Rd. for Essack's father	0. 3. 6
„ John for potatoes	0.16. 6
„ Refund loans	0. 7. 0
„ Paraffine	0. 0. 6
P[ai]d John for milk to Jan.	1.10. 0
Telegram	0.16. 9
Bal.	6.15. 5

FEBRUARY 2, FRIDAY

Budrea and his friends left. Parbhu came. Hoosen came. Wrote to Miss Schlesin.

P[ai]d stamps	0. 2. 0
Wire to Registrar Bhayat	0. 1. 6
Bal.	6.11.11

FEBRUARY 3, SATURDAY, MAHA VAD 1

Wrote in morning: West, Chhaganlal and Purshottamdas. Pragji left. Hoosen left. Valji and Dulabh Bhaga came by evening train. Telegram from Lane saying Smuts would reply on Monday.[4]

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIV.
[2] *Vide* footnote 3 on p. 365.
[3] Telegram not available
[4] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 227.

Pd. Station Master	3. 0. 0
Rd. from Parbhu	0. 2. 6
Bal.	3.14. 5

FEBRUARY 4, SUNDAY

Wrote—Joshi, Maganlal, Thakkar, Winterbottom, Maud, Anandlal, N. M. Kadir, Munu.
Gordon, Quinn, Schlesin and Coopoo, who had come, left, and also Valji and Dulabh. Mrs. Naidoo and Nayana Chaki also left.

Rd. from Gordon	1. 0. 0

FEBRUARY 5, MONDAY

Wrote: Chhaganlal, West, Schlesin, Burnett.

Stamps	0. 1. 9
Wire Kall[enbach]	0. 1. 3
Bal.	4.11. 5

FEBRUARY 6, TUESDAY

Vaja and Raja came and returned. Wrote: Dr. Gool, Schlesin, Kalidas Patel, Dularkhan, Amod Bhayat, Velshi. Drafted telegram to Smuts.[1]

Stamps	0. 0. 6
Bal.	4.10.11

FEBRUARY 7, WEDNESDAY

. . .[2] man came & left. Did not send telegram to Smuts. Received one[3] from him dated yesterday. Sent another[4] in reply. Wrote: Vallabhram, G. A. Makanji, Velshi, Schlesin.

Rd. re. Fakir	3. 0. 0
Pd. wire Smuts	0. 4. 3
Freight & parcel to Gool	0. 5. 7

FEBRUARY 8, THURSDAY

Telegram[5] from Smuts, drafted reply[6]. Pragji came. Wrote: Schlesin

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 227.
[2] A word here is illegible.
[3] *Vide* Appendix XV.
[4] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 227-8.
[5] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 227.
[6] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 228.

Pd. wire Kallenbach	0. 1. 6
Freight balance yesterday	0. 0. 9
Stamps	0. 2. 6
Bal.	6.16. 1

FEBRUARY 9, FRIDAY

Budrea, Ohler [Olive?] & Govind came and left. Kalikasingh came. Budrea's son and Ablak came. Wrote: Chhaganlal, Purshottamdas, Parsee Rustomjee, Joshi, Dada Osman & Anglia.

Pd. wire Smuts	0. 4. 6
Bal.	6.11. 7

FEBRUARY 10, SATURDAY

Ablak, Kalikasingh, Manilal, Medh & Jamnadas left. Bush & Moorgan came. Coopoo and Dahya left.

Jamnadas	0. 5. 0
Coopoo	0. 3. 0
Dana	0. 7. 3
Stamps	0. 2. 6
Medh for wire	0. 2. 6
Bal.	5.11. 4

FEBRUARY 11, SUNDAY

Tailor from Krugersdorp came & left. Brought coat. Schlesin & Coopoo Naidoo came and left. I also left to see K. along with Ritch. Doctor gave £12.

Rd. from the Tailor	0. 5. 0
For *I.O.*	0. 1. 0
St[ation] Master	3. 0. 0
Pd. Trip tickets tr[ai]n	1. 6. 3

FEBRUARY 12, MONDAY

Went to Krugersdorp. Saw K. Lunch at Quinn's. Schlesin incident—Hanif came—The Parbhu boy[1] came to Farm—Kallenbach, Medh, Manilal, Jamnadas, Dahya, Coopoo, Shelat etc. came to Farm—Wrote—West, Devi, Purshottam, Sanghavi, Schlesin.

[1] A student at the Farm School

Coopoo's fare	0. 3. 0
Rd. Dahya's	1.10. 0
Parbhu's fare	0. 3. 0
Pd. fares	0. 5. 0
,, Kallenbach	3. 0. 0

FEBRUARY 13, TUESDAY

Wrote: Chhaganlal, Ani, Anandlal, Abhechand. Kallenbach went to town. Telegraphed Registrar in connection with Velshi's men. Kallenbach & Kasam came—Wrote to West, to Maganlal—Pd. wire to Chamney and Velshi 0. 6. 3

FEBRUARY 14, WEDNESDAY

Wrote—Purshottamdas, Keshav Fakir, Manilal Doctor. Schlesin, Kallenbach, Narottam & Dulabhai came. All left except K. Hoosen left for Vereeniging.

Stamps	0. 2. 3
Wire for Bhayat	0. 2. 1
Bal.	5.10. 7

FEBRUARY 15, THURSDAY

Doctor, Chhaganlal, Editor, N. Kadir, Gangot, Velshi, Schlesin, Moosa Hajee Adam—Govan came & returned. Shelat left. Wrote—Shaer, Dr. Gool, Chhaganlal, Ritch, Tikli, Mayo.

Pd. Freight	0. 1. 3
Bal.	5. 9. 4

FEBRUARY 16, FRIDAY

Wrote—Mrs. Polak, West. Kallenbach & Hoosen came.

Wire Sorabji	0. 2. 0
Freight	0. 1. 3
Rd. Kallenbach	3. 0. 0
Balance	8. 6. 1

FEBRUARY 17, SATURDAY

[Wrote to:] Editor, Nathalia, Abdool Karim, Keshavji Goga, Velshi, Chanchi[1], Harilal[2].

[1] "Letter to Chanchalbehn Gandhi", February 18, 1912 (pp. 237-8)?
[2] "Fragment of Letter to Harilal Gandhi", February 18, 1912 (p. 238)?

Pd. Parbhu and Bhaga	0.10. 0
R[ece]i[ved] from Dahya	0. 0. 6
Bal.	7.16. 7

FEBRUARY 18, SUNDAY

Schlesin and Thambi Naidoo came. Both left. Received telegram about Sorabji's landing at Durban. Dictated letter for Polak to Schlesin. Wrote to Maud & Winterbottom.

FEBRUARY 19, MONDAY, PHAGAN SUD 1

Wrote—Noormahomed, Suleman Ismail Mian, Revashankerbhai, G. S. Kaul [Cole?], Purshottamdas, Raoji—Pragji came. Bhago came.

Pd. wire Sorabji	0. 1. 0
Freight	0. 1. 3
Kr[ishna]samy rail	0. 2.11
Trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Bal.	6. 5. 2

FEBRUARY 20, TUESDAY

Went to town, taking Parbhu with me—Pragji came by evening train—Parbhu & I returned—also K.—From office, wrote letters to Purshottamdas, Doctor Rajkot[1], Mahajan, Joshi, A., etc.—

Pd. leather	0. 9. 6
Fares	0. 4. 5
Bal.	5.11. 3

FEBRUARY 21, WEDNESDAY

Sorabji, Shelat, guests from Zanzibar,[2] Medh, Pragji, Budrea [?], Lalbahadursingh came. Guests, Budrea & Pragji returned. Windmill man came & left.

Rd. peaches	0.18. 6
Budrea	2. 7. 0
[Rd.] Zanzibari for sandals	0.10. 0
Bhagu	0. 5. 1
Freight	0. 1. 5
Bal.	9.10. 5

[1] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta in Rajkot

[2] These were M. Saly, Kanjee Jeewanbhai and Laljee Meghjeebhai; *vide* "Telegram to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 240.

FEBRUARY 22, THURSDAY

Moonsami—Pavade came & left—[Wrote to:] Harilal, Manager *I. O.*, Jussat[1], A. Karim, Dada A.—Mahomed E., Miss Schlesin.

FEBRUARY 23, FRIDAY

Hoosen came—Wrote letters in the afternoon: Abdul Karim, etc. Parbhu came. Suleman and Ali left.

Fares for S. & Ali	0. 3. 9

FEBRUARY 24, SATURDAY

Hoosen, Ferozesha, Maneksha & Parbhu left in the morning. Sorabji, Shelat & Dano left in the afternoon. Coopoo, Hanif & Shiv left for Van Wyksrust. Wrote letters to Ani and Abhechand.

Stamps	0. 2. 6
Bal.	9. 4. 2

FEBRUARY 25, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin, Isaac & Coopoo came. Narayansami came. All except Isaac left.

Paid for leather to Isaac	1.10. 0
Bal.	7.14. 2

FEBRUARY 26, MONDAY

Wrote—Gu[jarati] E[ditor], *I.O.*, Maud, Winterbottom, Manilal Chaturbhai, Motilal Diwan—Manilal, Isaac & Kallenbach left. Talked to Kallenbach last evening about his niece. Suleman & Dano came. Manilal & K. returned.

Rd. for Dana	0.10. 0

FEBRUARY 27, TUESDAY

Wrote: Maganlal, West, Thakkar, Doctor, Purshottam, Polak, Amarsi Joshi, Jussat, Nathalia, Lachman Pandey. Ali came—

Rd. for peaches	1.15. 3

FEBRUARY 28, WEDNESDAY

Wrote: Memon, [M]oosa Alisa, enclosing certificates, Mahomed Ibrahim Kunake, Patel, Shaer—Manilal left. Medh, Ismail, Fakir and Mahomed left. K. also left. Lallubhai, Gandabhai [?], Morarji, Bhikhubhai and Medh came, also K.

[1] *Vide* "Mrs. Jussat's Case", pp. 243-4.

Pd. fares Ismail & Mahomed	0. 3. 0
Manilal	0. 5. 0
Bal.	9.11. 5

FEBRUARY 29, THURSDAY

Went to town. Morarji, etc., left. K. left for Ermillo. Saw Mr. Howard. Ba, etc., & Krishnasamy returned.

Pd. carriage	0. 2. 0
Fare Krishnasamy	0. 1. 2
Ricksha	0. 0. 9
Reuter	0.10. 0
Leather	1.14. 6
Trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Bal.	5.16. 9

MARCH 1, FRIDAY

Telegram to Chamney. Rail letter for Schlesin. Letters to: Chamney, Greg, Ritch, Bhayat [?], Nelson. Fakir, Ismail & Mahomed came. Wrote letters to Maganlal and Manilal.

Pd. [?] & wire Chamney	0. 4. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 6
Rd. fr[om] John for flour	0. 1. 0
Bal.	5.11. 3

MARCH 2, SATURDAY

Miss Knudsen came—Medh, Pragji & Jamnadas left.

Rd. John for potatoes	6/-	[0]. 9. 9
and extras	3/9	
Paid John for milk		[0].13. 6
Jamnadas		0. 4. 0
Bal.		5. 3. 6

MARCH 3, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Roche & Mrs. Roche and Coopoo came. All of them & Miss Knudsen returned. Kallenbach came.

MARCH 4, MONDAY

Winterbottom, Maud, Gu. S., Cachalia, Bhayat & Vallabhram came. Kallenbach, Medh & Desai returned—

MARCH 5, TUESDAY, PHAGAN VAD 1

Wrote letters: Purshottamdas, West, Harilal, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Jivaram Pandya, Motilal, Ramji—Alexander, Schlesin & Vallabhram left. Cachalia, Bhayat and K. left in the morning. Olive & Joan [Doke] came.

Rd. Peaches sale	0.17. 1
Balance	6. 0. 7

MARCH 6, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Miss Schlesin, Ranchhod Hari, *I. O.*, Dr. Porter, Lazarus, Chamney—Ritch came & left—Medh came.

Rd. John for K.	3. 0. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 0
Medh & Desai	1. 0. 0
Telegram Congress re. Nathalia	1. 4. 0

MARCH 7, THURSDAY

Polak, Thakkar, Loren, Dawad Mahomed, Velshi, Schlesin, K., came—Wrote some letters

Rd. fr[om] Kallenbach for cable call	0.10. 0
Medh	0. 9. 6
Desai	0. 7. 1
Rd. from boys	0. 0. 6
Pd. telegrams Dawad Mahomed re. Hoosen & to West & stamps	0. 4. 6
,, Kallenbach for John	3. 0. 0
Balance	5.19.10

MARCH 8, FRIDAY

Posted letters to Velshi, Nathalia, Anglia & those of J. B.—Telegram to Nathalia—Wrote letters: Manager, *I. O.*, Ani, Delaney, Velshi, De Vere[?] Schlesin, Kallenbach, Shelat came.

Wire Nathalia	0. 1. 0

MARCH 9, SATURDAY

All left the Farm leaving Amod Bhayat [?] & K. behind. Schlesin came in the morning & left. Gajadhar from Boksburg came to fetch me.

Fares for boys	0.11. 8
,, Hanif	0. 2.11
Rd. from Dhaled	3. 0. 0
Pd. Hanif	0. 5. 6
Ricksha	0. 0. 9

MARCH 10, SUNDAY

Went to Boksburg, accompanied by Medh and others. Returned by 2 o'clock train—Meeting at 4 about Bhayat [?].

Pd. railway fares	2. 9. 6
Carriage, etc.	0. 4. 6

MARCH 11, MONDAY

Medh & Desai went to Durban—Boys returned to Farm, accompanied by Sorabji & Jamnadas. Bhaga Chhota & Tikli's sons came.

Rd. for Bhaga Chhota	2. 0. 0
Dahya Parbhu	1.10. 0
For phone	0. 1. 0
Telegram re. Medh	0. 1. 0
Bal.	8.13. 9

MARCH 12, TUESDAY

Whittaker came—K. arrived in the evening. Wrote a letter to Ritch, also to Rustomjee.
Vesanram [*sic*] —
At night—[wrote] to Harilal Thakkar, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Rutnam, *I.O.*, Medh, Rustomjee, Schlesin.

MARCH 13, WEDNESDAY

Wrote—Dangare [?], Moosa, Essackji, Schlesin, Chamney, Mahomed Ismail, David Keshavalu. Shelat came & left. Bhago & Sivpujan came. K. came.

Bhaga's board	1.10. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 6
Bal.	10. 1. 3

MARCH 14, THURSDAY

Schlesin & Henry. Letters to Purshottamdas, Suleman Amod, Schlesin, Whittaker left.

Rd. Suleman fare	0. 3. 0

MARCH 15, FRIDAY

Hazurasingh, Lalbahadursingh & K. arrived.
Gave cheque of £4.10.0 for Suleman.

Pd. Kallenbach for tickets	1. 0. 0
Bal.	9. 4. 3

MARCH 16, SATURDAY

Hazurasingh & Lalbahadursingh left—K. went & returned. Letter to Chhaganlal.

Rd. fr. Kallenbach	0.17. 6
Pd. for tickets	0.17. 6

MARCH 17, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Gordon, Moorgan, Naidoo & Bush came—Schlesin, Gordon & Naidoo left. Dhobi from Germiston came over to stay. Letters: Laughton, Medh, Hoosen [?], Tarasingh, Maud, Winterbottom, Mayo, Schlesin.

Pd. Schlesin	0. 4. 0

MARCH 18, MONDAY

K. went & returned. Ba, Moorgan & Bush left. Telegram about Sodha having been detained [?] at Komatipoort. Shelat left. Letters: Schlesin, Cachalia, West, Ritch, Pranjivan.

Mrs. G.	0. 5. 0
Freight	0. 1. 3
Trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Wire Nicely[1]	0. 1. 0
Bal.	7. 6. 9

MARCH 19, TUESDAY, CHAITRA SUD 1

Sorabji came—Kallenbach came. Wrote letter to Schlesin, to Sodha.

Pd. Stamps	0. 1. 0
Rd. fr. Basda [Basela?] for bread	0. 1. 6

MARCH 20, WEDNESDAY

Revashanker went to town—He and Ratanshi returned. Letters: Schlesin, Kastur, Cachalia.

[1] Telegraphic Address of Natal Indian Congress

Wire Smuts[1]	0. 1. 6
Bal.	7. 4. 9

MARCH 21, THURSDAY

Soni, Tulsi & Valji came—Kanabi came. Wrote letter to Schlesin—

MARCH 22, FRIDAY

K. came—Ratanshi went & returned—Suleman came. Tulsi & Valji left—

Rd. famine fund Sodha	2. 1. 4
Rd. Amurandeh [?]	0.10. 6
Bal.	9.16. 7

MARCH 23, SATURDAY

Kallenbach left—Wrote: Velshi Keshavji, Mahomed, Mahomed Belim—

Rd. Bhikha	0. 2. 0
Pd. John loan	0.10. 0

MARCH 24, SUNDAY

About six Kanabis came to see Pana Bhaga—Coopoo also came—Letters: Maud, Winterbottom, Schlesin, Ritch, Chhaganlal[2], Abhechand—Amirudin.

MARCH 25, MONDAY

Ba & K. arrived. Ratanshi went to town.

Pd. for Hanif's mattress & rug	1. 9. 3
Pd. for Sivpujan's milk [?]	0. 5. 9
Stamps	0. 1. 6
	7.12. 1

MARCH 26, TUESDAY

Sorabji left—I went to town on foot. Started at 3 and reached J. B. at 9.15.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 247.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", p. 248.

Pd. Hanif's benzine	0. 1. 0
Stamps	0. 0. 1
Rd. from Sorabji balance	0. 0. 3
Bal.	7.11. 3

MARCH 27, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Omar Zaveri, Manilal, Velshi, Mohanlal, Schlesin, Nathu Bhana, Ahmed Bhana, Padiar, Editor, West.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 2
Freight	0. 2. 1
Bal.	7. 7. 0

MARCH 28, THURSDAY

Wrote letter to Schlesin. Valji Hari and Schlesin [came?] K. came back.

MARCH 29, FRIDAY

Letter: Schlesin—K. came beck.

MARCH 30, SATURDAY

Naidoo came & left. Bhikho left—Ratanshi came. K. went & returned.

Pd. for freight on Forage	0. 1. 3
Bal.	7. 5. 9

MARCH 31, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin and Annie [?] came. All left.

APRIL 1, MONDAY

Letters: Winterbottom, Maud, Mr. MacDonald, West, Langston, Halim—K. arrived—A boy, Feda, came for the night. Ratanshi & Rajabali left.

Rd. stamps	0. 1. 0
Bread Basda	0. 0. 3
Kallenbach	0. 2. 6
Pd. freight on soap	0. 1. 0
Rajab's fare	0. 3. 8
Bal.	7. 4.10

APRIL 2, TUESDAY, CHAITRA VAD 1

[Letters:] Medh, Hoosen Dawad, Rustomjee, West, Anglia, Chamney, Thakkar, Fancy, Diwan, Maganlal, Mahomed Ismail, West, Tata[1], Nathalia. Ritch, Schlesin, Kennedy came & left. Kallenbach came.

Stamps	0. 3. 6

APRIL 3, WEDNESDAY

Dano went to town, K. also—Letters: Medh, Anandlal, Ani, Editor, Maganlal, Andrews, Lachman Pandey, Ranchhod Hari.

Dana's fare	0. 2. 0

APRIL 4, THURSDAY

Went to Johannesburg on foot & returned. K. & I with Sorabji, Ratanshi, Dano, Rajabali and his brother came. Reached office at 8.50.

Rd. from Luxman	3.[0. 0]
for prizes, etc.	0.12. 0
Pd. for bag	0. 0. 9
Fare Ratansi	0. 2. 3
Paper	0. 0. 3
Leather	0.17. 6
Buckles & tube	0. 2. 0

APRIL 5, FRIDAY

Editor, Umiyashanker, Ritch, Schlesin, Isaac, Marimootu, and a relative of Parbhu came. Alibhai, Parbhu's relative, left. Schlesin having missed the train stayed over.

Rd. from John	0.10. 0
Stamps	0. 1. 7
John for milk	0.12. 6

APRIL 6, SATURDAY

[Letters:] West, and Lane. Raoji Manibhai, Naik, Schlesin, Manilal[2], Mr. [?] Editor, Cole came. Ratanshi & Miss Schlesin left—Ratanshi returned—

[1] "Public Letter to Ratan J. Tata", April 1, 1912 (pp. 248-53)?
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", pp. 256-7.

Coriander, currants, potatoes, railage vegetables, coconut covers...[1]	1.16. 0
Pd. for stamps	0. 0. 6
Freight	0. 1. 0
Bal.	7. 7. 0

APRIL 7, SUNDAY

Mrs. Naidoo, Mr. Naidoo, Rangasamy, Miss Bush, Moorgan came. Hanif's health remained pretty bad.

APRIL 8, MONDAY

Mr. Phillips' choir came. Ritch, Gordon and many others came. Avabai stayed over, & so also Maneksha. About 200 persons came. All left. Naidoo & Mrs. Naidoo too—Wrote letters to Winterbottom and Maud.

Pd. Schlesin for Mrs. Vogl re. Ind[ian] W[omen's] Ass[ociatio]n	1. 0. 0
Bal.	6. 7. 0

APRIL 9, TUESDAY

Letters: Mehta, Editor, Gool—Ratanshi, Miss Bush, Moorgan, Cole, K. & Essack left. Wrote to Schlesin at night. K. & Cole returned.

Rd. Basda for sugar	0. 0. 3
Essack's fare	0. 2. 0
Bal.	6. 5. 3

APRIL 10, WEDNESDAY

Avabai left, Sorabji also—Dorabji came at night.

Paid freight	0. 1. 6

APRIL 11, THURSDAY

Both went to town on foot—West, etc., came yesterday—accompanied to Farm today. Wrote to Schlesin. Sodha came.

Paid Moorgan for expenses	1. 0. 0

[1] A word here illegible

APRIL 12, FRIDAY

Cole went to town & returned—Wrote to Schlesin.

Pd. for stamps	0. 1. 0

APRIL 13, SATURDAY

Krishnasamy, Dano, Dahyo and Bhago went to town—Wrote letters—

Pd. for freight on timber	0.10. 5
Dana's fare	0. 2. 3
Bal.	4.10. 7

APRIL 14, SUNDAY

Schlesin & Coopoo came & left. Essack came. Bhai Ismail left. Letters: Tayob Haji Khan Mahomed, L. Pandey, A[bdul] Ka [dir], Noormahomed, Mahomed Halim, Gokuldas, Chhaganlal, Manilal[1].

Bal.	4.10. 7

APRIL 15, MONDAY

K. & Cole went & returned—Dana & Bhago returned—Letters: Winterbottom and Maud in the morning—Chhaganlal, Schlesin at night.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 6
Trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Bal.	3. 1.10

APRIL 16, TUESDAY

[Letters:] D. M. Khan, Dada Abdulla, Harilal Thakkar, Nana, Omar Zaveri, Parsee Rustomjee, Naik, Hajee Dada, Hajee Habib, Purshottamdas, Harilal, Manager, *N.A.* [?], E[ditor] *I. O.*, Cole, West, Miss West and Mrs. left.

Rd. fr. Kal. for freight	0.10. 5
„ for Maud	0. 9. 0
Stamps	0. 0. 2
Pd. for stamps	0. 1. 9
Bal.	3.19. 8

1 "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", April 13, 1912 (pp. 258-9)?

APRIL 17, WEDNESDAY

Letters: Budrea, V. S. Naidoo, Chunilal, Anglia, Dawad Mahomed, Harilal Thakkar, Manager *I.O.*, Ani—Mrs. Naidoo & Marimootu came. K. went & returned.

Rd. guest carriage	0.11. 8
Pd. stamps	0. 1. 9
Bal.	4. 9. 7

APRIL 18, THURSDAY, VAISAKH SUD 1

K., Jamnadas & I left at 6 o'clock on foot. K. took 4.45 hours to reach [Johannesburg], J. & I six hours.

Rd. for Naidoo	0.10. 0
Books for the boys	0. 3. 0
Potash	0. 2. 0
Tape and pins	0. 1. 6
Cheddar cheese	0. 1. 3
Paper	0. 0. 3
Bal.	4.11. 7

APRIL 19, FRIDAY

K. went to town & to Pretoria. Letters: Chhaganlal, Tavaria, Manilal, Ismail, Jada, Thambi Naidoo.

APRIL 20, SATURDAY

Fakira & Bhanabhai left—Ratanshi, Velshi, Jivan Bojo & Ibrahim came. K. returned. Schlesin also came. Velshi sent a cheque for £3.

Rd. cheque fr. Velshi	3. 0. 0
Rd. for sugar	0. 0. 6
Pd. freight	0. 1. 0

APRIL 21, SUNDAY

Vethan, Kallenbach & his wife came by car. Gordon & Jamnadas came on foot. Schlesin, etc., left. I also. Meeting in Hamidia Hall. Slept in Office. Boys slept at Van Wyksrust.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3

APRIL 22, MONDAY

Naidoo's sons & I returned. Heard that Revashanker was beaten up by the police yesterday.

Pd. for freight	0. 1. 0
Rd. for young Bhayat	1.10. 0
Bal.	4.13.10

APRIL 23, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Khushalchand, Lakshmichand, Karsandas, Meghji Raoji, Revashanker Jagjivan.

APRIL 24, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Purshottamdas, Chamney, Editor.

Rd. for Bhaga	0. 1. 0
Coffee	0. 0. 6
Stamps	0. 2. 0
Bal.	4.13. 4

APRIL 25, THURSDAY

Fifteen boys, K. & I went to town on foot. Rajabali and two of us returned. Saw Kitchin[?]. Depositions before Chamney.

Pd. for Rajab's ticket	0. 1. 2
Bal.	4.12. 2

APRIL 26, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Mahomed Belim, Sorabji, Schlesin.

APRIL 27, SATURDAY

Hanif & K. went to town—Letters: Chhaganlal, Revashankerbhai, Doctor, Manilal, Jeki, Maganlal, Velshi, Motilal. K. returned. Suleman Kasu brought his certificate.

Pd. Hanif	0. 7.11
Stamps	0. 0. 9
Bal.	4. 3. 6

APRIL 28, SUNDAY

Gordon, Schlesin & I went to Germiston on foot. Ramdas, Ratanshi & Sivpujan followed. Ritch came by train. Slept last night at Ritch's. Cachalia, Sorabji & Naidoo also came.

APRIL 29, MONDAY

Slept last night at Gordon's. Arrived at Farm at 6.20 a.m., along with the boys. K. met us on the way & turned back. Albert broke

fifteen days' old fast. Hanif came at night, so also Cachalia, Aswat, Vaja & other gentlemen and also Sodha. Krishnasamy, Ali & Mahomed are out.

Rd. Gordon	0. 1. 0
Fakir & Essack	3. 0. 0
Bal.	£7. 4. 6

APRIL 30, TUESDAY

A. Cachalia, Aswat, etc., left. Ali, Mahomed came. Mahomed Essack came. Ratanshi & Rambha left.

Pd. Sodha	0.16.10

MAY 1, WEDNESDAY

K. and I went to J. B. on foot, starting at 1.40 a.m., and from there to Germiston. K. went to Pretoria. Krishnasamy came. Ba ill.

Rd. fr. John	0. 0. 6
Pd. fare Germiston	0. 1. 7
Freight	0. 1. 7

MAY 2, THURSDAY, VAISAKH VAD 1

Went to town with K. in morning on foot. Took 5 [hrs]-40 minutes. West, etc., returned. Chhotalal also came.

Pd. watch repair	0. 3. 6
Rail	0. 0. 2

MAY 3, FRIDAY

West went to town. Letters to Lane, Mahomed Hasam Mitha, Chhaganlal, Dangare, Mahomed Aba, Captain Stuart—Velshi, West returned.

Rd. for West tickets	0. 7.11
Rail Naidoo boys	0. 5.10
Whip lash	0. 0. 9
Stamp	0. 1. 0
Bal.	6. 1. 8

MAY 4, SATURDAY

Jamnadas, . . . [1] Dano & Hanif went to J. B. Hanif returned by afternoon train. J. & I reached in 4[hrs]-37½ minutes. Wrote letters to Hoosen & Ismail Gora.

[1] A name illegible here

MAY 5, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Jamnadas, Dano & Bhago came walking—Parbhu, Hanif, Dahya and also Ismail met Imam. Isaac, Miss Ploughman and Gordon arrived by train—Schlesin, Gordon, Isaac & Miss [Ploughman] left—

Pd. freight	0. 2. 0

MAY 6, MONDAY

Kallenbach went to J. B. on foot having missed the train through forgetfulness & came back. Sorabji arrived. Wrote letters to Miss Winterbottom, Maud, etc.

Rd. fr. West fr. Vyas	1. 0. 0
Stamps	0. 2. 0

MAY 7, TUESDAY

The West family left. All went [to the station] to see them off. Miss West stayed on. Letters: Dawad Mahomed, A. E. Jada, Chhaganlal, Manilal, Ved Dharma Sabha, Boksburg, West, Purshottamdas, Chamney; [also] letters to Ani, Chhaganlal, Rahim, Naik, Anandlal, Vyas.

Rd. for West	0. 6. 1
Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Pd. John for milk	0.10. 0
	5. 7. 0

MAY 8, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Schlesin, E. Kotwal, Lazarus, Raoji, Cole, Dahyabhai, Chunilal, Roche, Lane. At night Lalbahadursingh & Ramavatar came.

Pd. stamps & freight	0. 2. 0

MAY 9, THURSDAY

K., Sorabji & I went to J. B. on foot. K. & I returned.

Rd. for Laxman	3. 0. 0
Pd. for sultanas, broom, barley, etc.	0.11. 0
Hanif's socks and gloves	0. 2. 6
Freight	0. 0.11
	7.10. 7

MAY 10, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Parekh, Chamney, Polak.

Pd. freight	0. 2. 0

MAY 11, SATURDAY

Jamnadas, Dano, Sivpujan, Coopoo & Suleman have gone to town on foot. Sent Ramdas to sleep at Devi's.

Pd. Vyas for West	0.17. 0
Rd. for Vyas for int[erest] next year per p.c. note	0.17. 0

Payment not entered in cash book as £1 rd. 1st May not entered.

MAY 12, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Mrs. Naidoo & her sister came & left. Jamnadas, Shivpujan & Coopoo returned. Wrote letters to West, Manilal, Yashwant Sadashiv, Lazarus, Abdool Karim Zaveri, Velshi, Dawad Mahomed.

MAY 13, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Manilal Doctor, Anandlal, Chhaganlal, Pranjivan. K. went to town & returned.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 0

MAY 14, TUESDAY

[Letters:] West, Ismail Gora, Omar Zaveri, Moosa Hajee Adam, Pragji.

Rd. fr. John	0. 0. 9
Pd. wire to Manilal	0. 1. 3
Stamps	0. 0. 9
Bal.	7. 5. 4

MAY 15, WEDNESDAY

K. & I went to town on foot. Went round with Cachalia, etc., collecting funds. Slept at Gordon's.

MAY 16, THURSDAY

Returned in the morning with Schlesin & Gordon on foot. Dano came. Some friends of K.'s came & left. Gordon & Schlesin also left.

MAY 17, FRIDAY, JETH SUD, 1

Did not write a single letter during the day. Spent the whole morning in the kitchen.

MAY 18, SATURDAY

Hanif, I & Devdas went to town on foot. Busy with collection Slept at Gordon's. Wrote to Kotwal.

Pd. Hanif	0. 2. 6
Devadas	0. 0. 6

MAY 19, SUNDAY

All three returned from town. Cole came to Farm. So did Premo. Premo returned. Letters: Maud, Winterbottom, Kalidas Patel.

MAY 20, MONDAY

Manilal Doctor & Jeki and Sorabji came. Rambha also. In the evening, Suleman, Kallenbach & Narsimulu came.

Rd. fr. John	0. 1. 0
Pd. stamps	0. 1. 0

MAY 21, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Lane[1], Manilal, Kotwal, Chhaganlal, [De] Vere [?], Schlesin, Ti. . .[2]Sinsingle.

Pd. for stamps	0. 2. 6

MAY 22, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Anglia, Chamney, Rustomjee, Dada Osman, Chhaganlal, Kotwal, Dhoribhai. Rambha, Revashankerbhai, Chotam & Jamnadas left. Ramparshi Hario came. Isaac came & left.

Rd. Dahya's Board	1.10. 0
Rd. Jamnadas	3. 0. 0
Luggage	0. 2. 3
not entered	

MAY 23, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, West, Velshi, Boyd.

Pd. railage for Vijiya	0. 2. 6
Stamps	0. 1. 0
Freight	0. 1. 0

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 264.

[2] Some letters in this word are illegible.

MAY 24, FRIDAY

Krishnasamy, Bhago, Dahyo & I went to town on foot. Took 5 [hrs]-14 minutes. Meeting about school—Manilal, Ba & Jeki came to town. Ba, Jeki, Manilal & I returned. So did Revashanker.

Freight	0. 1. 0

MAY 25, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Kotwal, Chamney, Rustomjee, Manilal—Schlesin came & left—

Rd. John & stamps	0. 0. 9
Stamps	0. 1. 0
Bal.	2. 1.10
Rd. returned Jamnadas [?]	3. 0. 0
	5. 1.10

MAY 26, SUNDAY

Schlesin, Gordon, Quinn & Gulam Mahomed Mulla came. All went back. Wrote letters.

Rd. fr. Devi	0. 5. 0

MAY 27, MONDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Purshottamdas, Manilal Desai, Captain Stuart, Maud, Pranjivan, Winterbottom, Anandlal, West, Isaac, Rustomjee. Jamnadas left. Dahyo, Kallen[bach] & Cole came.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 6
„	0. 2. 6

MAY 28, TUESDAY

Sent [letters] to [:] Velshi, Anandlal, Editor, Mahomed Ismail, Schlesin, Jamnadas, Chhaganlal, West, Medh.
Kunwarji, Tavaria. Dano went to town. K. & Manilal returned. Three Tamils—Francis, etc.—came.

Pd. Dana	0. 2. 0

MAY 29, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Purshottamdas, Manga Soma, Chhaganlal, Jamun[adas].

MAY 30, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, Coopoo, Sivpujan and Suleman & I walked to town. Manilal & Kotwal came. Left same evening.

MAY 31, FRIDAY, JETH VAD 1

Kotwal, Manilal, Kallenbach, Coopoo, Sivpujan & Suleman and also I went [to town] on foot. Devibehn, etc., came to receive us. Took 5 [hrs]-12 minutes to reach J. B. 6 [hrs]-10 minutes on the way back.

Pd. for carriage re. Kotwal's goods, etc.	0. 3. 0
Pd. carriage Suleman & Bhaga	0. 5. 0

JUNE 1, SATURDAY

15 boys, Kallenbach, Kotwal, Schlesin, Sorabji & I went on foot to Vereeniging.[1] Ba, Devi, & Jeki Vijiya & baby left by train. Bhago & Suleman left last night to join in cooking.

Pd. for railage, etc.	1. 0. 0

JUNE 2, SUNDAY

Spent in Vereeniging. Ba, Kallenbach, Manilal, Schlesin & Sorabji returned by evening train.

Pd. Kallenbach not entered	1. 0. 0

JUNE 3, MONDAY

All of us returned with the boys. Mr. Suji came along with us. Reached home at 4. Dano came. Ranchhod Dhana came to ask about his boy.

Rd. for Dana	0. 2. 0
Pd. Miss West	0. 2. 6

JUNE 4, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Anandlal, Purshottamdas, Schlesin, Narandas, Hazurasingh, Kalidas Patel, Chhaganlal, Maganlal, E. N. Patel. Mr. Bhayat's three sons, Essop, Mahomed & Ibrahim came—K. came on foot.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 0
Freight	0. 1. 7
Bal	2. 8. 0

[1] Presumably for the party ("the treat") that Aswat gave to the "boys". *Indian Opinion*, 8-6-1912.

JUNE 5, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Beethasee, Sanghavi, Dada Osman, Dada Abdoolla, Damania, Hassan, Essop Moosa Hajee Adam, Cole, Ritch, Editor, Mahomed Hassim, Bhayat. Narsimulu left.

Rd. Dana	0. 0. 6
Rail Narsimulu	0. 2. 0

JUNE 6, THURSDAY

K. & I went to town. Slept at Gordon's. K. went back. Schlesin's birthday.

Rd. fr. Dahya for Mehta's book	0. 1. 0
Pd. freight	0. 1. 0
Milk	0. 4. 0

JUNE 7, FRIDAY

Went to Pretoria. Saw Chamney and also Lane. Came back to Farm. Manilal Doctor came to town yesterday, walking.

Pd. rail to Pret[oria]	0.10. 0
Paper	0. 0. 3
Freight on K.'s bag	0. 0. 3
Freight on goods	0. 1. 4

JUNE 8, SATURDAY

Bhayat's sons left for Boksburg. Letters: Dr. Gool, Velshi, Lazarus, Chhaganlal, West, Omar Zaveri, Fancy. Gordon came—also Valji.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 3
Pd. Kallenbach	0. 2. 6
Bal.	1. 6. 5

JUNE 9, SUNDAY

Valji, K. & Gordon left—Dano & Bhago also. Edlestein [?] came & left.

JUNE 10, MONDAY

[Letters:] Mrs. Mayo, Chhaganlal, Editor, Maud, Winterbottom, Mehta, Bhaga Daji, Navsari [Hindu United Trading] Co[mpany], Schlesin. Joshi & Chhagan[lal Bhawanidas] Gheewala [Randeria] of Cape Town came and went back.

Pd. freight	0. 2. 1
Stamp	0. 1. 0
Freight	0. 2. 3

JUNE 11, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Maganlal, Jamnadas, West, Thakkar. Dano came—young Bhago came. So did Tikli's brother and other Gujarati Hindus [to ask] about their sons. The Hindus, Tikli's brother and Tikli left.

JUNE 12, WEDNESDAY

Dano left school.

Rd. Dr. Mehta's book Bhago	0. 1. 3
„ fr. Bhago for st[am]ps	0. 0. 9
St[am]ps	0. 1. 0

JUNE 13, THURSDAY

K., Fakir, Revashanker & Ismail went to town. I too. K. & I, with Chhotam, came back. Sorabji also came.

Rd. for sugar	0. 0. 6
Pd. carriage	0. 1. 0
Freight	0. 7. 0

JUNE 14, FRIDAY

Letters: Dada Abdoolla, Mahomed Hassim, Nathu Kasam, Dangare, Motilal Diwan. Manilal Doctor and Sorabji left.

Rd. fr. K.	1. 2. 6
P[d.] Stamps	0. 1. 0

JUNE 15, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Velshi, Manilal, Narandas.

Rd. for sugar	0. 3. 0
Rd. for stamps	0. 0. 8

JUNE 16, SUNDAY, ASHADH SUD, 1

Coopoo, Revashanker and Fakir came. Ismail did not return & has discontinued [school] from today. Coopoo, Fakiri and friends left. Letters: Purshottamdas, Chhaganlal, Winterbottom, Maud, Schlesin, Dada Osman.

Rd. for Essack	2. 0. 0
Rd. milk	0. 0. 6

JUNE 17, MONDAY

Young Bhago left. K. went to town & came back.

Pd. young Bhago	0. 1. 6
Stamps	0. 2. 3

JUNE 18, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Harilal Thakkar, Editor, West, Chhaganlal, Gordon, Ritch, Imamali. Vaja & Mahomed who had come, left.

Rd. for Mehta's book	0. 1. 3
Sugar	0. 0. 3
Stamps	0. 1. 0
Freight	0. 1. 0

JUNE 19, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Fancy, Editor, West, Shaer, Parbhu Bhaga, Narandas, Bharucha, Vaja Moojaji. Makda came & left. Naidoo's sons came.

Pd. freight	0. 2. 5
Stamps	0. 0. 4

JUNE 20, THURSDAY

K., I, Hanif, Devdas, Parbhu, Coopoo, Krishnasamy, Ali, Luxman, Sivpujan [and] Bhago went to town. Spent night at Ritch's. Rajabali went to Pretoria. Parbhu's brother brought at the office £5.

JUNE 21, FRIDAY

Still in J. B. Night at Gordon's. Went round for collection, accompanied by Sorabji.

JUNE 22, SATURDAY

K. & I returned with all the others including the boys except Ali and Parbhu. In the afternoon Schlesin came. Devi, Fakir, Bharat Sarthi, etc., had gone to receive them.

JUNE 23, SUNDAY

Boksburg people came. Quinn came. Gordon & Manilal also came. All left. Wrote letters at night.

JUNE 24, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Chhaganlal, Bhayat, Maud, Doctor, Anandlal, Winterbottom, West, Abhechand, Mohanlal, Harilal Thakkar. Kallenbach & Davis came.

Stamps	0. 2. 6
Freight	0. 2. 4

JUNE 25, TUESDAY

[Letters:] West, Thakkar, Chhaganlal.

JUNE 26, WEDNESDAY

Manilal & I went to J. B. Ba & Jeki went by train. Came back. Sorabji also came.

Wire	0. 1. 7
Freight	0. 0. 9
Not traced	1. 0. 0
Rajabali	0. 5. 3
Bal.	2. 5.10

JUNE 27, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Tikli, Hajee Dada, Hajee Habib, Mahomed Baba, Dada Abdoolla—Sorabji left. Jan Effendi [?] came. K. went & returned.

Rd. from Dahya for Dana's book	0. 0. 3
Sugar, etc.	0. 0. 6
Pd. for the mules	0.18. 6
Bal.	1. 8. 1
Rd. fr. Miss S.	10. 0. 0
	11. 8. 1

JUNE 28, FRIDAY

Ba & I left for Durban.

Tickets to Dur[ban]	6. 6. 8
Schlesin	0. 3. 0

JUNE 29, SATURDAY

Arrived in Durban. Considerable inconvenience on the way. A good many people had come to the station. Meeting of Ottoman Cricket Club in the evening.[1] Jamnadas & the two of us went to Phœnix by evening train.

JUNE 30, SUNDAY, ASHADH VAD 1

Jamnadas, I, etc., left Phœnix on foot. Met Omar Sheth, etc., on the way & I went by carriage to attend Istanbul Anjuman meeting. Meal at Hajee Hassim's. Went to Abdool Huq's. Congress

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Durban Farewell to Pilgrims", pp. 273-4.

meeting in the evening. Abdool Karim Sheth elected. Problem of Colonial-born [Indians]. Night at Omar Sheth's.

JULY 1, MONDAY

Went to Phœnix in the morning. Returned by 4 o'clock train. Held meeting about Deed. Lunch at Ismail Hafeejee Moosa's. Gujarati meeting in the evening. Problem of Colonial-born [Indians].

JULY 2, TUESDAY

Dawad Mahomed, Rustomjee, Abdool Karim, Abdool Huq, etc., came to Phœnix. At Chetty's by 1.36 train for lunch. Evening at Mahomed Ibrahim's. Anjuman meeting. Went with Rutnam to sleep at his place. Odd thing.

JULY 3, WEDNESDAY

Dawad Sheth left. Went to Abdool Kadir Sheth's. Met Colonial-born [Indians] in the evening. Slept at Omar Sheth's.

JULY 4, THURSDAY

Went to Phœnix in the morning. Met Raghavji, Talevant Singh. Enema [prescribed] to Sam's wife. Dr. Stanton came. In the evening, Mahomed Ibrahim Anglia, etc., came. Left at night. Purshottamdas and Ani came.

JULY 5, FRIDAY

I & Purshottamdas left for Durban by the afternoon train. Met [people] at Budrea's. Left for J. B. in evening.

Rail phone cycle	0. 6. 0

JULY 6, SATURDAY

Inconvenience in the train.

JULY 7, SUNDAY

Arrived in J. B. Had a talk with Manilal Doctor. Speech at night. Kotwal came on foot. Manilal & Ba went to Farm. Manilal, Devi and Jeki came.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Ricksha, etc.	0. 1. 6

JULY 8, MONDAY

Ramdas, Fakir and other boys went to Farm. Manilal writes to say that he doesn't now want to go—Fiji. Slept at office at night

—Kotwal & I. Jeki & Solbehn left by morning train. Manilal, Suleman, Ali, K. came in the evening. Sorabji, I & Bhago walked down.

Rd. for Fakir	3. 0. 0

JULY 9, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Velshi. Sorabji went to town. Sent invitation to Mrs. Vogl for a visit here.

Rd. for Jasma	0. 0. 1
Pd. for stamps	0. 2. 0
Hanif	0. 1. 6
Railage etc. during Natal visit not entered	0. 4. 5
Bal.	£ 5.16.10

JULY 10, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Medh, Pragji, Anandlal, Omar Hajee Amod—Uka Bhana, Gopal Vallabh, Kanji Raoji came on Thursday [*sic*]. Ibrahim, Ahmed and Mahomed Ahmed Sunara came.

JULY 11, THURSDAY

K. & I went to town, walking. Krishnasamy & Dano also came along. Saw Chamney. K., Dano, Dahyo & I returned.

Pd. Chamney for wire	0. 3. 0
,, Wire Phœnix re. Ani etc.	0. 2. 0

JULY 12, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Editor, Dada Osman, Raghavji, Purshottamdas. Kotwal, Manilal & I left by evening train. Function in honour of Chettiar, etc. Kotwal & I slept at Ritch's.

Rd. for Mrs. Tilak & Mrs. Stead	1.10. 0
Ricksha	0. 1. 0

JULY 13, SATURDAY

Kotwal & I returned. Jamnadas, Ani and her sons came in the evening.

Rd. for sugar etc.	0. 2. 8
Pd. for wire to Gool re. Manilal	0. 2. 6

JULY 14, SUNDAY

Mrs. Badhasingh [?], Ramji Kanji's father, Schlesin, her sister, Gordon came—All left in the evening. Dhaled had also come.

Rd. for Dahya	0. 2. 0
Pd. for stranger	0. 2. 0

JULY 15, MONDAY, ASHADH SUD 1

[Letters:] Naik, Dr. Gool, Tikli, Paul, West, Editor, Chhaganlal, Winterbottom, Maud, Mehta, Manilal, Chhaganlal, Tipnis, Rustomjee, Mrs. Shaer, Sulemanji Patel, Shelat, Anglia, Vallabhji Brothers. Kallenbach & Dano went & returned.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 6

JULY 16, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Schlesin, Kharwa, Editor, Thakkar, Sam, Laughton, Joshi, Anglia. Telegram to Laughton.

Rd. from Dana	0. 2. 0
Pd. stamps	0. 2. 0

JULY 17, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Khan, Editor, Morarji. Bhago went to town. Sent letter to Schlesin with him.

Pd. for freight	0. 2. 0
Kallenbach's freight	0. 1. 8
Stamps	0. 0. 2

JULY 18, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, Dano & I went to town and came back. Caught cold. Saw Town Clerk. Had a talk about Malay Location and Crematorium.

Rd. for Fakir's books	1. 0. 0
Pd. freight	0. 2. 5

JULY 19, FRIDAY

Three persons came and went back—Cold continues. Sorabji came in the evening. Telegram from Interior that settlement stood.

Pd. telegrams [to] Rustomji [&] Asiatics[1]	0. 3. 8
Pd. freight . . .[2]	0. 1. 0
Bal.	7. 7. 7

[1] Telegraphic address of the Registrar of Asiatics
[2] Illegible

JULY 20, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Chhaganlal, Virji, Rustomjee, Nathalia, Virji—Nathu Naik, Gajjar, Balkrishna, Azam Abed, Suleman Mamuji, Purshottamdas, Prabhashanker, Balkrishna, Azam Abed, I.E[?]. Parekh, Diwan, Mahomed Ismail, etc. Sorabji & Schlesin came and left by night train—

Stamps	0. 3. 6

JULY 21, SUNDAY

Letters: Maud, Doctor & Winterbottom, Harilal—Kotwal, Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went to town on foot. Meeting about Mrs. Tilak. Sorabji left. Gordon came to Farm & went back.

JULY 22, MONDAY

Kotwal & I returned to the Farm. Ba & Jamnadas stayed back in town. Will return in the evening. Also K. [Letters:] Khanderia, Anglia, Editor.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Chamney's wire re. Sorab	0. 2. 1
Freight forage	0. 1. 3
Mrs. G.	2. 0. 0
Bal.	3.14. 6

JULY 23, TUESDAY

Dano & I went to town. K. went by train. Meeting with Chamney. K. & I returned.

Pd. Mrs. Hearth	0. 1. 0

JULY 24, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Anglia, Editor, Hakim Saleji, Abdool Hajee Adam, Hajee Dada, Hajee Habib.

JULY 25, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Naik, Dada Abdoolla, Jayashanker, Editor, Chotabhai, Chhotabhai Udyar, Khushalbhai, Chhaganlal, Meghjibhai, Revashanker, Royeppen, Rutnam, Purshottamdas, Harilal, Editor, Somabhai, Chhabildas. K. & Manilal went to town on foot & returned.

Pd. stamps	0. 2. 6

JULY 26, FRIDAY

[Letters:] Ibrahim Noormahomed, Shapurji, Durbin [?], Naik, Purshottamdas, Schlesin, Charlie, Maliha, G. P. Patel. Kanji, a

new boy, came. Two men had come escorting him & returned.

Rd. Kanji's board	1.10. 0
Bal.	5. 1. 0

JULY 27, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Vallabh Nathu, Winterbottom, Dirk, West, Dano Bhago.

Rd. from Gordon, bread	1. 0. 0
Pd. Kall. railage for West & wife [?]	1. 6. 9
Gordon for Jam[nadas]'s suit	1.10. 0
Baths, saucepans etc.	1.13. 0
Knickers, Calico, etc.	2. 2. 0
Jeki's flannelette	0. 5. 0
less including Gordon's	6.16. 9
Cash paid today	5. 0. 0
	1.16. 9
St[am]ps	0. 2. 1

JULY 28, SUNDAY

Schlesin & Ritch came & left. Telegram to say Gokhale will start on October 5. Manilal left for Fiji on Friday.

JULY 29, MONDAY

[Letters:] Editor, Joshi, Bhaga Daji, Mansukh[1], Fiji [?], Purshottamdas, Kalidas, Sorabji, Maud, Doctor, Gokhale[2], Dungarsi, Kanaiyalal, Dana Valji, Chhaganlal. K. & Dano came.

Stamps	0. 2. 0
Bal.	3. 0. 3

JULY 30, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Dada Abdoolla, Wybergh, Osman Omar, Rooknoodeen, Hoosen Dawad, Cole, Schlesin, Suleman Mamuji, Ram Bahadur, Bhawani Dayal, Motilal, West, Chhabildas, Khan. Thambi Naidoo came & took his children with him.

[1] "Letter to Mansukh", July 27, 1912 (p. 291)?
[2] "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", July 28, 1912 (pp. 291-2)?

JULY 31, WEDNESDAY

Wrote in the evening to Keshav Fakir, Joseph, Solomon, Royeppen, Amod Metar, Govan Manji, Fulchand Shah, Govindlal. Solomon, Beethasee, Singaram, Pragji, Sheikh, Coovadia. K. & Gordon came.

AUGUST 1, THURSDAY

K., Kotwal, Ramdas & I went to town. Party to Chettiar[1]. Jeki came in the evening. Manilal & Jamnadas came by train.

Trip ticket	1. 6. 3

AUGUST 2, FRIDAY

All returned from town in the morning. K. returned in the evening.

Pd. for milk	0. 0. 3
Leather	1. 5. 0
Curds etc.	0. 2. 0
Dana Valji	0. 2. 6

AUGUST 3. SATURDAY

[Letters:] Abhechand, Chhaganlal, Albert, Naik, Vyas, Hunter, Hassan, Essack, Durbin, Ritch, Tutla, Chunu, Omar Hajee Amod, Rustomjee, Purshottamdas, Chamney.

Freight	0. 2. 6
Bal.	0. 1. 9

AUGUST 4, SUNDAY

[Letters:] Schlesin, Chamney, Maud, Thakkar, Winterbottom, Gokhale[2], Chhabildas, Editor, Doctor, Fancy, Sorabji, Manilal Fiji. Telegram to Chamney. Schlesin came & left. Gordon also came in the evening and left.

AUGUST 5, MONDAY

Kallenbach went to town. Ratanshi, etc., who had come also left.

AUGUST 6, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Joshi (Cape), Schlesin—sent to Schlesin and . . .[3] her drafts of letter to Town Clerk and that about Fatima by rail post.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Johannesburg Banquet to V. A. Chettiar", p. 293.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 297-8.
[3] BIA., Johannesburg?

[Also letters to:] Laughton, Nathalia, Madhavdas, Omar Hajee Amod, Godbole, Rajkumar, Somabhai. Kallenbach came. Naidoo's sons came.

AUGUST 7, WEDNESDAY

Kanji came. Wrote to Schlesin. Kallenbach went to town by night train.

Rd. from Kanji	0. 2. 0
Freight	0. 1. 6

AUGUST 8, THURSDAY

[Letters:] Naransami Aiyar, Chhagan, Chanchal, Umiyashanker, Naidoo, Naidoo [*sic*], Ishwarbhai Gordhandas, N. J. Shaikh, also Jani [?] Jagabhai Chhabildas, Gavarishanker, Christopher, Maganbhai, Editor. K. arrived at night.

Rd. for John	0. 2. 9
,, freight & etc.	0. 1. 6
Pd. freight	0. 1. 6

AUGUST 9, FRIDAY

Posted Natal Bank letter.

Pd. wire Gokaldas	0. 1. 0
Stamps	0. 1. 6
Pd. milk freight	0. 0. 3

AUGUST 10, SATURDAY

Kotwal & I went to town on foot, also Kallenbach. I went to Roodepoort & Krugersdorp, accompanied by Cachalia. Kotwal returned after affixing his signature.

AUGUST 11, SUNDAY

Left Krugersdorp by morning train for J. B. Found Ba and Ani ill. Schlesin and Fakir also came along in train.

Rd. fr. Schlesin	0.12. 6
Pd. fare Lawley	0. 2. 3

AUGUST 12, MONDAY

Illness continues, school closed in evening. Kallenbach went to town & returned. With him came Gokaldas Makwa's mother, Ba, M. [?], etc. Also Tulsi.

AUGUST 13, TUESDAY, SHRAVAN SUD 1

Tulsi, etc., left in the morning. Kallenbach went to town & returned. Thambi Naidoo came & left in the afternoon.

AUGUST 14, WEDNESDAY

Illness continues. *Ramzan* commences. Almost all boys observed a partial fast and had only one meal. Essack went to J. B. K. went to town by night train. Schlesin and a friend of hers came. Both left. Chettiar, who had come on Monday, left.

AUGUST 15, THURSDAY

Kallenbach arrived in the evening.

AUGUST 16, FRIDAY

Lallubhai and Lachman Pandey and Ramavatar came. Left in the afternoon. Rajabali and Mahomed went to town.

AUGUST 17, SATURDAY

Sent letter to *I.O.* Wrote to Chhaganlal[1] and Purshottamdas. Illness subsided. Hanif, Coopoo & Bhago went to town. Devibehn went to town.

Rd. for Gokaldas	0. 7. 0
Pd. Hanif	0. 4. 6
Devi	0. 5. 0

AUGUST 18, SUNDAY

Kotwal, Krishnasamy, Kanji, Gopal, Luxman, Govindoo & I went on foot. A Hindu meeting was held. Much disturbance. Had a long talk with Kotwal.

AUGUST 19, MONDAY

Kotwal, Luxman, Devi & I returned to Farm. Hanif, Kallenbach & Essack arrived by night train.

Rd. for Luxman	5. 0. 0
including 10% books refund	0. 0. 9
Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Freight	0. 1. 8
Luxman's ticket	0. 1. 6

[1] "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", August 16, 1912 (pp. 302-3)?

AUGUST 20, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Omar Zaveri, Rustomjee, Schlesin, Chamney[1], Anandlal, Popat, Virji, Purshottamdas, Motilal, Dada Abdoolla, Chhaganlal, Velshi. Bhago, Kanji & Gopal arrived.

Stamps	0. 1. 0
Freight on fruit	0. 1. 3

AUGUST 21, WEDNESDAY

[No entry]

AUGUST 22, THURSDAY[2]

Kotwal & I went to town for lecture on Theosophy.

Trip ticket book for Miss West	1. 6. 3
K's present	0.10. 0

AUGUST 23, FRIDAY

In town again.

AUGUST 24, SATURDAY

Schlesin and Geevers [?] came & left.

AUGUST 25, SUNDAY

Kotwal, I & Jamnadas attended Association meeting.[3] Had lunch at Geevers'.

AUGUST 26, MONDAY

All three returned to Farm—Mrs. P. K. Naidoo came.

Trip ticket Miss West Thursday	1. 6. 3
Present by Kallenbach	0.10. 0
Waggon repair	1. 5. 0

AUGUST 27, TUESDAY

Geevers came.

AUGUST 28, WEDNESDAY, SHRAVAN VAD 1

Kotwal & I went to town. Tamil meeting—Returned.

Rd. Moosa Nathi	0. 3. 0
Kotwal's parcels	0. 7.11

[1] "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", August 19, 1912 (p. 305)?

[2] The accounts under this date have been cancelled and entered under August 26, 1912.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of British Indian Association", p. 312.

AUGUST 29, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, Kotwal, Manilal, Sivpujan, Dano went to town on foot.

Rd. for Schlesin	0.10. 0
Rd. for Mehta's book	0. 1. 3
Pd. freights	0. 2. 6
Stamps	0. 7. 0

AUGUST 30, FRIDAY

Left for Durban—Accompanied by Kastur, Dano, Sivpujan, Devdas. Jeki, Manilal, Ramdas & Revashanker came to town—

Pd. fr. Tickets etc.	9.19.10
Pd. tickets for Lawley	0. 8. 6
Ticket Sivpujan	3. 3. 4
Bal.	7. 1. 7

AUGUST 31, SATURDAY

Reached Durban—Came to Phœnix in evening, accompanied by Purshottamdas.

SEPTEMBER 1, SUNDAY

In Phœnix for whole day.

SEPTEMBER 2, MONDAY

Went to Durban town. Purshottamdas & I walked. Returned in evening.

Wires re. Makda	0. 9. 9

SEPTEMBER 3, TUESDAY

Went to town. Night in the town.

SEPTEMBER 4, WEDNESDAY

Polak came. Stayed at Mr. Moosa's. Pragji also came.

Rd. fr. Kallenbach at D[urba]n	1.10. 0
Pd. wire re. Pragji	0. 8. 0
Wire re. Makda	0. 2. 9
Pd. Albert	1. 0. 0
Wires & fares	0.10.10
Bal.	6. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 5, THURSDAY

Whole day in Phœnix. Talevant Singh came & left. Pragji, Chettiar, Polak, Mrs. Raoji & Amin arrived. Long talk with Anandlal. He took a vow to give up smoking for six months.

SEPTEMBER 6, FRIDAY

Again went to town. Meeting with Cousin[s?], also Khan. Returned in evening.

SEPTEMBER 7, SATURDAY

Went to town in the afternoon. Meeting. Omar appointed Chairman of Reception Committee.

SEPTEMBER 8, SUNDAY

Chhaganlal & I went to town by train—Abdool Huq came to receive. Meeting—Omar appointed Chairman.

SEPTEMBER 9, MONDAY

Polak, Chhaganlal & I came to Phœnix on foot—Pragji came by train.

Wire Schlesin 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 10, TUESDAY

Caught cold. Polak left yesterday. I went to town today. Meeting of Committee. Slept at Omar Sheth's.

Pd. wire Goordeen 0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 11, WEDNESDAY

Returned from town to Phœnix. Meeting at Depot Road. Met Laughton.

Pd. Polak 1. 0. 0

SEPTEMBER 12, THURSDAY, BHADARVA SUD 1

In Phœnix till noon—At noon, again went to town. Returned to Phœnix in the evening.

SEPTEMBER 13, FRIDAY

Again went to town in the afternoon. Returned to Phœnix with Pragji by evening train.

SEPTEMBER 14, SATURDAY

Came to town by the morning train. Collected contributions. Attended Hindu meeting & left for J. B. in the evening accompanied

by Navin, Chhotu, Lalita, Shivaprasad, Sivpujan and Pragji.

Rd. for Govindlal	10. 0. 0
Train	0. 2. 6
J. H. B. fares for Pragji & S. Prasad	2.14. 3
Wife	0.10. 0

SEPTEMBER 15, SUNDAY

In train—Wrote letters.

SEPTEMBER 16, MONDAY

Reached town in the morning. News of Godfrey's death. Paid condolence visit. Came to Farm. Found Ani & Jeki ill. Pragji & Hanif and Albert also came.

Pd. carriage	0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 17, TUESDAY

Kallenbach & Pragji went to town.

Pd. trip ticket	1. 6. 3
Railage	0.12. 7
Ricksha	0. 0. 3
Prunes	0. 3. 9
Milk	0. 0. 3

SEPTEMBER 18, WEDNESDAY

Went to town & returned in the evening.

Rd. from John	0. 5. 3

SEPTEMBER 19, THURSDAY

Went to town by afternoon train—Kotwal left for Cape in the morning. Kallenbach also.

Pd. for freight milk	0. 0. 6
Kotwal	1. 0. 0
Pass for Sivpujan	0. 2. 6
Freight etc.	0. 2.11
Bal.	£ 8. 8. 0

SEPTEMBER 20, FRIDAY

Went round for collections among Patidars last night. Slept in the office at night—A boy, Dayaram Sahay, came to Farm. Suleman returned yesterday. Mahomed & Ibrahim also arrived today. Telegrams from Desai & Abhechand. I returned to Farm in the morning. Pragji & Kallenbach went to town. Wrote letter to Kalidas—Also to Desai.

SEPTEMBER 21, SATURDAY

Shelat came with his wife. [Letters:] Manilal Doctor, Polak, Lachman Pandey, Kastur, Devdas, Doctor, Chhaganlal, Winterbottom, Sorabji.

Pd. wire to Office	0. 1. 3
Stamps	0. 1. 6
Milk freight	0. 0. 3
Freight	0. 1.10
Bal.	8. 3. 2

SEPTEMBER 22, SUNDAY

Abhechand, Mr. Kallenbach & Gordon arrived by the same train. Dayaram drowned.

Rd. for st[amp]s *I.O.*	0. 1. 0

SEPTEMBER 23, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went to town on foot. Returned same day. Posted mail to England. Suleman came. Sent wire to Maud.

SEPTEMBER 24, TUESDAY

Spent on Farm.

SEPTEMBER 25, WEDNESDAY

Two new boys came. Sivpujan, Dano [?] & Kanji and Devi & I left for town at noon. Both slept in the office. Went to Fancy in the evening for his contribution.

Rd. for books for the new boys	0.10. 0

SEPTEMBER 26, THURSDAY

Maud arrived. All went to Station. Purshottamdas came. P. went to Farm by morning train. Maud, K., Devi & I came to Farm. Kanji came to Farm.

Rd. fr. Gordon	1. 0. 0

SEPTEMBER 27, FRIDAY,[1] BHADARVA VAD 1

Spent [day] on the Farm—Kanji left the school.

Pd. for milk	0. 0. 6

[1] The printed pages (pp. 273-80) of the Diary corresponding to the dates September 27—October 4 appear to be misarranged owing to an error in the binding, the page for September 29 coming before that for September 27, etc. Gandhiji, has however, corrected the date lines in his own hand.

SEPTEMBER 28, SATURDAY

Abhechand & Maud left.

Rd. fr. Abhechand for Devi	0.10. 0
3 wires Chamney, Polak & Medh re. Medh	0. 5. 6
Freight	0. 1.10
Stamps, freight etc.	0. 8. 0
Overlooked	1. 0. 0
Bal.	8. 9. 0

SEPTEMBER 29, SUNDAY

Some persons from Boksburg came—Raoji, etc., returned. Bechar Brahman and Ramsami Moodaley also came.

SEPTEMBER 30, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Manilal, Babu and Govindoo accompanied me to town. Maud & Geevers came by train.

Leather	1.15. 0
Freight	0. 1. 5
Stamps unpaid letters	0. 1. 2
Bal.	6.11. 5

OCTOBER 1, TUESDAY

[Letters:] Chhabildas, Anandlal, West, Abdool Huq, Kotwal, Rustomjee, Dawson, Kastur, Dada Abdoolla. Cropped Prabha's, Vijaya's, Chanda's, Rama's & Lalita's hair. Kallenbach went & returned.

Rd. for sugar	0. 0. 6
Pd. Maud's boxes	2.15. 4
Stamps	0. 1. 9
Bal.	£ 3.14.10

OCTOBER 2, WEDNESDAY

[Letters:] Moosa Akuji, Velshi, Shaikh Rasul, Chhaganlal, Motilal, Millie. Pragji came at night.

Rd. for sugar	0. 0. 6
Sugar	0. 0. 9
Stamps	0. 1. 0
John	0. 2. 6
Bal.	3.12. 7

OCTOBER 3, THURSDAY

Kallenbach, I, Pragji, Coopoo & Chhotu went to town. There was a meeting at Hosken's. Maud came along with us to the Farm.

Pd. for needle boxes and balance to Schlesin	0.10. 0
Rail	0. 0. 8
Tram	0. 0. 3
Bal.	3. 1. 8

OCTOBER 4, FRIDAY

Geevers came in the morning. Ramdas started saltless and spiceless [diet]. Prabha also. Rajabali left.

Pd. for stamps & milk	0. 1. 3
Rajabali's fare	0. 5. 3
Cash	0. 2. 8

OCTOBER 5, SATURDAY

Maud left. Today is the ninth day since I started on a fruit diet. Three since Purshottamdas started and four since Jamnadas. Nayno went to town. Bhago too.

Rd. fr. John refund	0. 2. 6
Rd. sugar	0. 0. 6
Sugar etc.	0. 3. 9
Stamps & milk	0. 1. 3
Nayna's fare	0. 2. 0
Bal.	2.16. 2

OCTOBER 6, SUNDAY

[Letters:] Lachman Pandey, Winterbottom, Umiyashanker, Anandlal, Kastur, Chhaganlal, Sorabji, West—Luxman left. His uncle & Kana's brother-in-law had come here. Miss Bush & Moorgan came & left. Medh came. Pragji also.

Rd. for Nayna	2. 6. 0
St[am]ps . . . [1] K.	0. 0. 6
Pd. Medh for wires Kalidas and Noormahomed	0. 2. 0
Bal.	£ 5. 0. 8

[1] A word here illegible

OCTOBER 7, MONDAY

Medh & Desai left. Tailor & Ratanji came regarding Lallu.

OCTOBER 8, TUESDAY

Kallenbach & I went to town. Jamnadas came along part of the way. Went round for collections in the town. Meeting at Hosken's.

Rd. sugar etc.	0. 0. 9
Pd. for freight etc. to Pragji	0 .5. 0
Kallenbach	1. 0. 0
Bal.	3.16. 5

OCTOBER 9, WEDNESDAY

K. & I went to town. Geevers also with us—Had a meeting with Chamney. [Letters:] Naik, Makhera, Ram Piyari & Rutnam—Abdul Huq.

Rd. for milk	0. 0. 6
Bal.	3.16. 0

OCTOBER 10, THURSDAY

See entry for Wednesday which was written [there] by mistake.

OCTOBER 11, FRIDAY

Bhai Kotwal came. Doctor Dunning arrived with Kallenbach at night.

Pd. freight thro[ugh] P'das	0. 3. 5

OCTOBER 12, SATURDAY

[Letters:] Polak, Anandlal, Abhechand, Chhaganlal, Mohanlal. Telegram to Polak and Hindu . . .[1] Umiyashanker, Morarji, Bhago & Naik came at noon.

Rd. book	1. 0. 0
Pd. for rubber tube Jeki	0. 5. 6
Wires	0. 2. 3
Freight	0. 1. 3
Freight	0. 0. 3
Stamps	0. 1. 6
Bal.	4. 2. 9

[1] Some letters here illegible

OCTOBER 13, SUNDAY

Mr. Gordon & Maud came & left in the evening.

OCTOBER 14, MONDAY

Kallenbach, Jamnadas & I went on foot. Umiyashanker by train. Mohamedali, Kanji came [back?] to school—Box 1167.

Rd. f[o]r. Kanji	[0.]5[.0]
Pd. Jamnadas for fruit etc.	1. 0. 0

OCTOBER 15, TUESDAY

Pragji & I went to town. Meeting at Hosken's office.

OCTOBER 16, WEDNESDAY

Kallenbach went to town. Letters: Revashankerbhai, Anandlal, Polak, Joshi, Dr. Gool, Harilal[1]. P. Naidoo came & went back—

Pd. stamps	0. 3. 0
,, Kotwal	1.15. 0

OCTOBER 17, THURSDAY

K., Kotwal & I came to town. I spent the night in town.

Rd. fr. Miss Knudsen	0. 5. 0
Pd. for freight	0. 2. 9

OCTOBER 18, FRIDAY

Left for the Cape accompanied by Kallenbach, Cachalia & Imam.

Rd.	£ 2[0?]. 0. 0

OCTOBER 19, SATURDAY

On the way [to Cape].[2]

OCTOBER 20, SUNDAY

Arrived in Cape [Town] evening—Went to stay with Dr. Gool. Attended Hindu meeting at night.

OCTOBER 21, MONDAY[3]

Spent in Cape [Town], explaining [plans] regarding addresses, etc. Met Nooroodeen's men. Meeting with Mr. Cousins.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", pp. 333-4.

[2] Gandhiji here has "Have to send Sorabji £45" which he appears to have subsequently crossed out.

[3] Pages 297-304 of the Diary corresponding to the dates October 21—October 28 are wrongly arranged as were pp. 273-80; *vide* footnote 1 on p. 406. From

OCTOBER 22, TUESDAY

Mr. Gokhale arrived in the morning. Addresses[1] in Town Hall.

OCTOBER 23, WEDNESDAY

Went to Nooroodeen's meeting. Tea at Abdurahman's. Discussion with Committee at night.

OCTOBER 24, THURSDAY

Left for Kimberley.

OCTOBER 25, FRIDAY

Mrs. Olive Schreiner came at De Aar. Indians came [in] special train [and met us] at Modder River. Mayor & the Indians came at Beaconsfield. Reached Kimberley. Mayor and others at the station. Stayed at Sami's. Meeting at Town Hall.[2]

OCTOBER 26, SATURDAY

Went to see a mine—Oliver came [too]. Maclaren[3]. Banquet[4] at night.

OCTOBER 27, SUNDAY, ASO VAD 1

Went to Oliver's. Meeting of Indians. Left for Klerksdorp. Addresses at Christiana, Bloemhof & Windsorton.

OCTOBER 28, MONDAY

Addresses in Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom and Krugersdorp. Arrived in J. B. Address at station. Stayed at Mount[ain] View.
Pd. stewards 3. 0. 0

OCTOBER 29, TUESDAY

Reception by Europeans in Carlton Hotel.

OCTOBER 30, WEDNESDAY

Function at Hosken's.

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the number of pages involved in each case, which is eight, and from the correspondence in the error between the two sets, it is clear that they both form part of a 32-page forme. While Gandhiji corrected the date lines of the first set of misarranged pages, in the second and corresponding set it would appear he followed the printed date line ignoring the binder's misarrangement.

1 *Vide* "Speech at Cape Town Reception to Gokhale", pp. 336-7.

2 *Vide* "Speech at Kimberley Meeting", pp. 337-8.

3 Maclaren came to represent Bloemfontein Indians' grievances.

4 *Vide* "Speech at Kimberley Banquet to Gokhale", pp. 338-40.

OCTOBER 31, THURSDAY

Banquet at Freemason Hall.
Pd. T. Naidoo 10. 0. 0

NOVEMBER 1, FRIDAY

Breakfast with Chinese at Grand National Hotel, Indian meeting at Drill Hall, address by women. Night at Alexander's.

NOVEMBER 2, SATURDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 3, SUNDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 4, MONDAY

Tolstoy Farm.

NOVEMBER 5, TUESDAY

Left Farm. Tea at Chaplin's.

NOVEMBER 6, WEDNESDAY

Saw Boksburg and Germiston Locations. Left for Natal in the evening.

NOVEMBER 7, THURSDAY

Addresses in Newcastle and Dundee. Arrived in Maritzburg. Stayed at Camden Hotel. Address in Town Hall.[1]

NOVEMBER 8, FRIDAY

Meeting with Indians in school. Special train arrived from Durban. Left for Durban at noon. Meeting and [presentation of] addresses at Town Hall, Durban.[2]

NOVEMBER 9, SATURDAY

Boys' sports. Gave away prizes.

NOVEMBER 10, SUNDAY, KARTAK SUD 1

Met Indians at Lord's ground. Special train left for Isipingo. Function in that town. Went to Phœnix by car in the evening.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Maritzburg Reception to Gokhale", p. 346.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Durban Reception to Gokhale", p. 347.

NOVEMBER 11, MONDAY

Left Phoenix in the afternoon. Banquet at night in Drill Hall.[1]

NOVEMBER 12, TUESDAY

Dinner at Marshall Campbell's. Meeting of indentured labourers. Left for Pretoria.

NOVEMBER 13, WEDNESDAY

On the way, addresses at Heidelberg, Standerton & Volksrust. Address at Pretoria station. Stayed in Transvaal Hotel.

NOVEMBER 14, THURSDAY

Meeting with General Botha, General Smuts & Fischer. Function in the evening at Town Hall.[2]

NOVEMBER 15, FRIDAY

Left Pretoria by car to see Wyndham. Returned. Lunch with Gladstone. Left for Lawley in the evening.

NOVEMBER 16, SATURDAY

At the Farm.

NOVEMBER 17, SUNDAY[3]

Went by car to see Sir Thomas Smartt. Called on Imam [A. K. Bawazeer], Fancy & Jivan Prema. Left for Delagoa Bay.

Rd. from Miss S.	15. 0. 0
Book etc.	4. 0. 0
D[elagoa] Bay tickets	6. 6. 0
Kallenbach	4. 0. 0

NOVEMBER 18, MONDAY

Arrived at Delagoa Bay. Address in Town Hall. Dinner at Hotel. Steamer left at midnight.

Rd. from Madhavji	20. 0. 0
Stewards	5. 0. 0

NOVEMBER 19, TUESDAY

At sea.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Durban Banquet to Gokhale", p. 348.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Pretoria Reception to Gokhale", p. 348.
[3] *Vide* illustration facing p. 416.
[4] *Vide* "Speech at Lourenco Marques Banquet to Gokhale", p. 350.

NOVEMBER 20, WEDNESDAY

Fast. Arrived in Beira—At night.

NOVEMBER 21, THURSDAY

Address in Beira—Started eating twice.
Pd. Kallenbach 9. 0. 0

NOVEMBER 22, FRIDAY

Telegram to Agent that fare money not received in Durban. Borrowed £63 from Tayob Sakoor & paid Agent. Went round Beira in the evening. Got diary ready for Gokhale.

NOVEMBER 23, SATURDAY

Steamer left at night.

NOVEMBER 24, SUNDAY

At sea.

NOVEMBER 25, MONDAY, KARTAK VAD 1

Arrived in Mozambique. Address in the city in the morning. Went round in a rikshaw. Steamer left after three hours.

NOVEMBER 26, TUESDAY

Promised Shri Gokhale [during the voyage] that I would not leave for I[ndia] without making arrangements for the work in S[outh] A[frica] to be carried on in my absence. Most probably the management of affairs will be left in Polak's hands. I would also try to raise £600 for three years for the Committee in England. Obtained his permission to inform the people that more help was likely to be received from him.

NOVEMBER 27, WEDNESDAY

Arrived in Zanzibar in the morning. Went to the city. Called on Mr. Yusufali, etc. Function in Victoria Gardens.

NOVEMBER 28, THURSDAY

Luggage of all three put on [board] *Præsident* in the morning. Address presented in the city in the afternoon. Spent the day in . . .[1] Box[2] containing the J. B. Address seemed to have been left behind.

[1] Word illegible here

[2] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 340.

NOVEMBER 29, FRIDAY

Præsident left last night. Reached Tongaat in the morning. Mr. Gokhale came to know about loss of box. Expressed regret. Kallenbach went to Tongaat and sent a telegram to [s.s.] *Kronprinz*. Parted from Gokhale at 4 in the afternoon. Boarded [s.s.] *Trebora* [and travelled] deck [class]. K. vented his feelings on board ship.[1]

Deck and 3rd class passage	0.17. 0
Porterage	0.10. 0

NOVEMBER 30, SATURDAY

Reached Zanzibar in the morning. Stayed in the city. Sent telegram to Ginwala at Delagoa Bay and another at J. B. Bought chairs, etc. Returned to *Trebora* at 10 p.m.

Deck chairs etc.	0. 9. 0
Dhotias[?] etc.	0.13. 0
Cables	1. 2. 0

DECEMBER 1, SUNDAY

Reached Dar-es-Salaam in the morning. Captain sent second-class ticket so that it might be easier to land. Had lunch at Mr. Ratanshi's. Wore Indian dress [for first time].

DECEMBER 2, MONDAY

Received Gokhale's cable, dispatched from Mombasa, saying that he was all right. Another from J. B. to say that his box had been found.[2] Wired to [Gokhale at] Mahe & [to Miss Schlesin at] J. B. asking that the box be sent on, duly insured.[3]

Cables	0.16. 0

DECEMBER 3, TUESDAY

Address in Dar-es-Salaam. Mr. Kallenbach started learning Hindi.

Rd. for tickets	7. 0. 0

DECEMBER 4, WEDNESDAY

In Dar-es-Salaam. Read about Maharaj Libel case, Aga Khan's case, etc.

DECEMBER 5, THURSDAY

Boarded steamer in the evening. Function at Babu's.

[1] *Vide* "Gandhi under Detention", pp. 358-9.
[2] *Vide* entries for November 28 and 29.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 351.

Rd. fr. Goolam Husein Sarnasji [?] & Son for *I.O.*	Rs. 12[.0.0]
Manilal Desai for Souvenir[1]	Rs. 7[.0.0]

DECEMBER 6, FRIDAY

Left Dar-es-Salaam.

DECEMBER 7, SATURDAY

Reached Mozambique at night. Experience of deck [travel] going well. Merchants came [to meet us].

DECEMBER 8, SUNDAY

Left Mozambique at 11 a.m.

DECEMBER 9, MONDAY, MAGSHAR SUD 1

Reached Chindee.

DECEMBER 10, TUESDAY

Reached Beira in the morning—Stayed at Tayob Sakoor's in the city.

DECEMBER 11, WEDNESDAY

Bought tickets for [s.s.] *Dunvegan Castle*. Left by this [boat] at noon.

Wires Schlesin etc.	0. 6. 0
Gratuities etc. porterage	1. 0. 0

DECEMBER 12, THURSDAY

At sea.

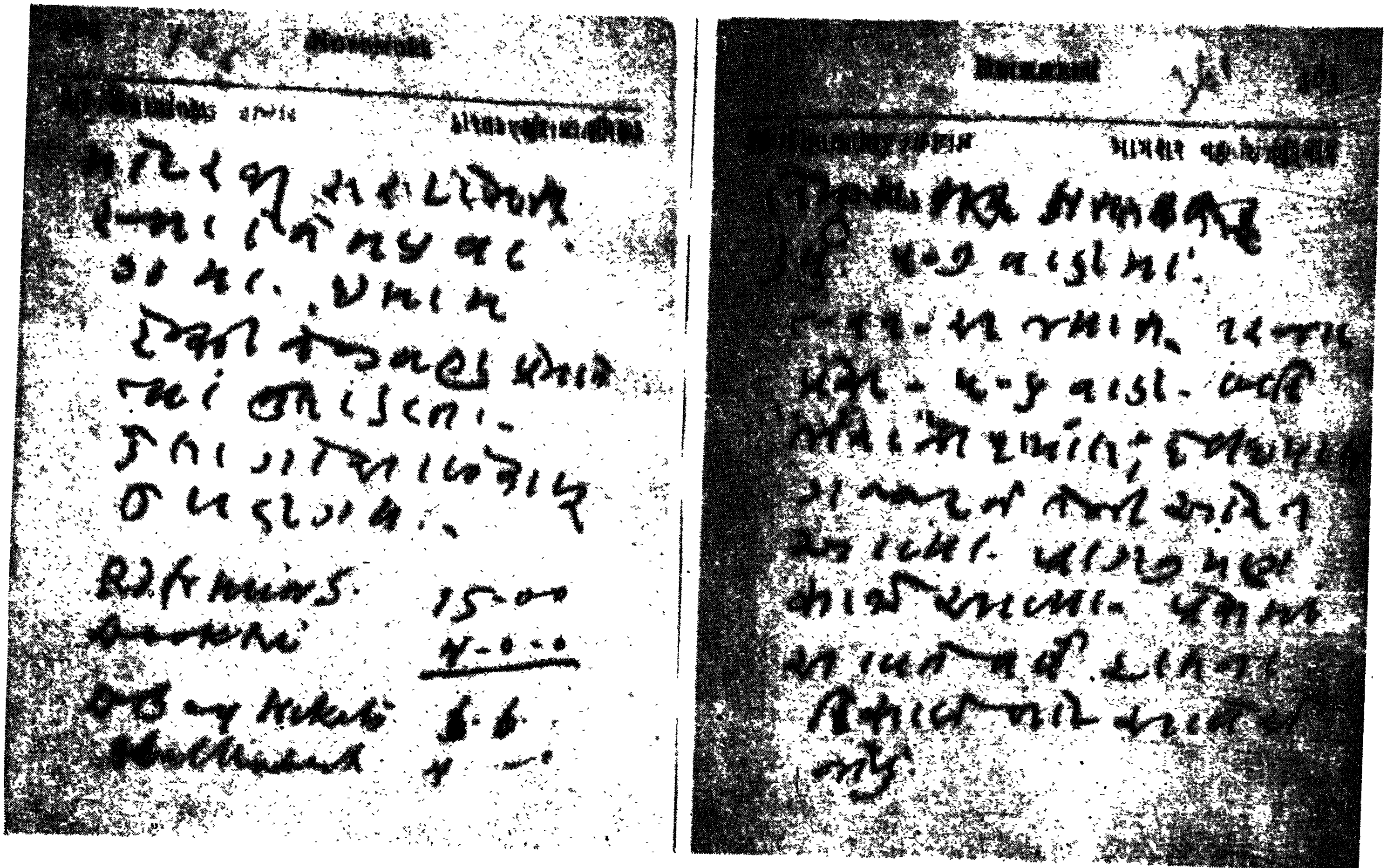
DECEMBER 13, FRIDAY

Reached Delagoa Bay in the morning. Detained some time before being permitted to land. Went to Madhavji's. Boarded train at noon & arrived in Komati[poort]. Interrogation by the police.

DECEMBER 14, SATURDAY

Arrived in J. B. —
Arrived at Lawley by 1 o'clock train. Baptism of Burnett's son. Medh went ahead [of the others] with the luggage.

[1] Souvenir Number of *Indian Opinion* published to commemorate Gokhale's visit.



Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

FROM "DIARY, 1912"



the Cape Times.] Mr. Gokhale and the Capetown Reception Committee.

DECEMBER 15, SUNDAY

Spent at the Farm. Dwarkadas Gandhi came. Gabo, Krishnasamy & Revashanker came. Gabo went back, taking his luggage with him.

DECEMBER 16, MONDAY

At the Farm. Miss Bush and her mother came. Kunake came.

DECEMBER 17, TUESDAY

Kallenbach, Govindoo & I went to town on foot. Kotwal came by train. Kotwal & Govindoo went to Pretoria. Chhotam accompanied me to Farm. Telegram from Chhaganlal about Krishna.

Ticket to Phœnix 1.17. 1

DECEMBER 18, WEDNESDAY

Left for Durban by morning train.

DECEMBER 19, THURSDAY

Arrived at Phœnix.

DECEMBER 20, FRIDAY

Spent at Phœnix.

DECEMBER 21, SATURDAY

Went to Durban on receiving a telegram. Had an interview with Sir John Hulett—Returned by afternoon train.

DECEMBER 22, SUNDAY

Had a talk with Anandlal, West, etc. Meeting in the evening.

DECEMBER 23, MONDAY

Krishna[1] appeared to be well.

DECEMBER 24, TUESDAY

Parbhudas[2] fell ill. West went to town—Gajjar came—

DECEMBER 25, WEDNESDAY, MAGSHAR VAD 1

Worked till late in the press. Talk with Virji. Gajjar left. Sent Pragji with him.

[1] & [2] The younger and elder sons, respectively, of Chhaganlal Gandhi

DECEMBER 26, THURSDAY[1]

Started working regularly. 5-7 in the orchard—8-11—study. 12-4.30 press—5-6 in the orchard—Budrea, Bhawani Dayal, Devi Dayal, Gajjar & his wife came. Pragji also came with them. from this year's accounts saw that the press will incur a loss next year.

DECEMBER 27, FRIDAY

Shivlal arrived.

DECEMBER 28, SATURDAY

Ram's son ill. Went to see him.
Abdool Karim Sheth came.
Bal. 2. 1. 6

DECEMBER 29, SUNDAY

Dada Sheth, Omar Sheth, Rustomjee Sheth, A. Huq & Ismail Haffeejee Moosa came—& left. At night Bhawani Dayal & Devi Dayal came & left.

DECEMBER 30, MONDAY

Rain—

DECEMBER 31, TUESDAY

Rain—Wrote letters. Meeting at night. Explained fresh changes.

D[ATE JANUARY] 2ND [1913]

Left Durban. Budrea gave a cheque for £15.

ON THE 4TH

Arrived in J. B. The same day Burnett's daughter fell ill at the Farm. Medh, Desa[i] & Naidoo came.

[ON THE] 5[TH]

Kallenbach went to town. Coopoo, Shanti, Umiyashanker came.

[ON THE] 6[TH]

Sivpujan . . .[2] met

[1] *Vide* illustration facing p. 416.
[2] A word illegible here

MEMORANDA[1]

Mrs. Shaer
c/o Mrs. Mann
Victoria Parade
Mose[ley?]
Birmingham

H. B. Godbole
Box 1541
C[ape] Town

P. Desai —
J. E. Dada [?] & Co
Nicholson's Sugar Estate [?]
Glensdale

Harila[l]
Todani Pol No. 1514
. . .[2]ni Pol
Kalupur Road
[Ahmedabad] *[Gujarati]*

Mrs. MacDonald
521, Bannatyne Avenue
Winnipeg

Bapubhai Daulatrai Medh
Raipur
Akasheth's
Kuva Pol
[Ahmedabad] *[Gujarati]*

Pragji K. Desai
Salej
Post Amalsad
Taluka Jalalpur *[Gujarati]*

E. Dalborn [?]
6, Centennial Chambers
Sydney
Australia

[1] The addresses that follow are in English unless otherwise indicated.
[2] Some letters illegible here

Mehta
[c/o] M. Spendjian [?] Esq.
26, Rue de la Grande . . .[1]
Antwerp

G. Isaac
19, Upper Head Row
Leeds
Cable: Islam

Miss A. A. Smith
22, Harley Road,
South Hampstead
N. W.

Ardeshir Jamshedji Mehta
Yokohama Specie Bank, Ltd.
Fort
Bombay [*Gujarati*]

Manekbai Ardeshir Jamshedji Mehta
In the house of Dosabhai Bootwala
Khetwadi, 14th Lane
[Bombay] [*Gujarati*]

Kunverbai Sorabji Shapurji Adajania
In the house of Palanji Edulji . . .[2]
Khetwadi, 10th Lane, Back Road,
Bombay [*Gujarati*]

Palanji Edulji and Sons
Khetwadi, 13th Lane,
Bombay [*Gujarati*]

Maud Polak
c/o Mrs. Siees
31, Myrtle Gardens
Hanwell
London

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 8220. Courtesy: Gandhi Smark Nidhi

[1] Illegible
[2] A word here is illegible. Cf., however, Vol. VIII, p. 427.

310. MR. GOKHALE AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale did not allow grass to grow under his feet before he commenced work in India after his return from the arduous work done by him in this subcontinent. He succeeded in having a motion carried in the Congress at Bankipore, advocating the total abolition of the system of indenture. We trust that before long we shall see an end to the system. Mr. Gokhale is not given to leaving things half done. He does thoroughly whatever he undertakes. He fights his battles to a finish. He is no retreat general. We feel sure, therefore, that the cause of the voiceless indentured labourers is safe in his hands. Besides speaking directly to his motion, Mr. Gokhale is reported to have devoted his speech to a reply to his critics in India.[1] The latter seem to have imagined that Mr. Gokhale had given away some rights and had made a bad bargain. Here his critics like Major Silburn charged Mr. Gokhale with having intimidated the people of South Africa. Truly, a public man who wishes to obey the voice of his conscience alone has a difficult if not an impossible task before him if he wishes also to please all people. With Mr. Gokhale it is well if he pleases the people, but it is well also if he must displease the people or any section of them so long as he pleases the voice from within.

From Reuter's condensed summary of his reply to his critics it is difficult to form any accurate opinion about the speech. But Reuter has supplied us with an infallible test by saying that Mr. Gokhale endorsed and urged all the demands made by us in South Africa. It may be well, therefore, to state them in a few

[1] According to a Reuter telegram, Gokhale had moved a resolution at Bankipore urging that the system of indenture be abolished altogether. He called upon the Government [of India] to prohibit further recruiting. " . . . Mr. Gokhale, referring to his critics, said that neither he nor Mr. Gandhi had given any assurance of the limitation of immigration in South Africa and not one particle of the Indians' rights had been surrendered. Mr Gandhi thought, and he agreed, that it was politic and expedient to concentrate efforts on obtaining for those already in South Africa the same conditions as were enjoyed by Europeans. The grievances that could be redressed included ability to enter and leave South Africa without difficulty; to migrate freely from one Province to another; to reside where they might choose; to acquire and own land and other property; . . . to enjoy the municipal and political franchise; and to enter the Government service and public life . . ." *Indian Opinion*, 4-1-1913.

sentences. So far as we know them they are: "Complete legal equality as to immigration throughout the Union, but, whilst we should be, we could be, no party to administrative discrimination, we should not oppose it, so long as a certain number of new Indians are permitted annually to enter the Union. (2) Our goal is most certainly complete equality in everything, but we do not agitate for disturbing the present political status and we *do* agitate for the removal of all other legal and administrative disabilities in all the parts of the Union, save the Orange Free State. (3) As for the Orange Free State, all we ask for is that, if a General Immigration Bill is passed, there should be no racial bar so far as *immigration* is concerned. All the other disabilities in that State will remain until our irreproachable conduct and the natural working of time have softened the present prejudice of the Europeans of the Free State, who appear to be Free Staters first and South Africans after.

When we receive the full text of Mr. Gokhale's speech, there is no doubt that we shall find his case formulated along these lines.

Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

311. TO READERS OF "INDIAN OPINION"

In this issue readers will notice a few changes. We believe these to be an improvement; we have made them because we thought that, if the journal was printed in two columns instead of three, it would look better. It would [also] be more convenient if the articles had to be published in book form. Our purpose is to publish, from time to time, articles of permanent value so that readers who like to preserve copies can later have them bound into a volume. It is our intention to continue providing the same [reading] matter [as before], but in as short a form as possible. By so doing we will be able to fit in more material within the same space or even less. Beginning this time, we have reduced the number of Gujarati and English pages, but we wish to provide more information, though not more words within these pages. It is our hope to reduce the work of the compositor while increasing that of the writer.

Our venture is more than eight years old.[1] We have published information about rates [and prices] of interest to merchants and have also discussed serious topics. Matter varying from

[1] More than nine years actually; *vide* Vol. III, p. 313.

four to twenty-two pages in length has appeared in the Gujarati Section of *Indian Opinion*. We now hope to print, for the most part, writings of two kinds: those which will provide the community with full information, in so far as that is possible, of the hardships we suffer, and we will [also] consider and suggest remedies; secondly, those that deal with an ethic of public conduct or contain, in essence, thoughts of great men on this problem. We hope that *Indian Opinion* will thus become an instrument of education.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

312. ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

We learn from a cable in the newspapers that the Indian princes are prepared to offer a few warships to help the Imperial Government. It was estimated that they would cost £21 million, which amounts to Rs. 31.5 crore. In effect this would amount to a contribution of Re. 1 *per capita* of India's population. But these figures are inadequate [for conveying the true picture]. From the names suggested for the warships, it appears that the rulers who offered to help are the Nizam, the Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Kashmir, Travancore and Rajputana, and the King of Nepal. The total population of their States is about four crores. The taxes to raise this amount would have been borne by this population; that is, the tax would have amounted to Rs. 8 a head. For a very poor man, this sum represents his earnings for four months. That the Indian princes were not going to fetch this money from the heavens is certain. It was their subjects who would have had to pay up. Happily for the good name of the Imperial Government, the Reuter cable was based on a mere rumour; and that is due to India's good fortune and the grace of God which the subjects of Indian rulers still enjoy. All responsible newspapers in England dismissed the idea as impracticable. Some of them expressed strong views. One or two even remarked that, if any such help was received from the Indian Princes, it would not be voluntary. Indian states do not enjoy real independence. If they were only told that the Imperial Government would be pleased if they rendered such help, they would consider themselves obliged to do so. Alternatively, if the Political Agents brought pressure to bear on them,

they might be equally ready to make contributions. Moreover, a certain paper reminds that, while the Colonies do not contribute a single penny towards the war effort of the Imperial Government, India bears the heavy cost of financing the entire Army, both white and coloured. Over and above this, the Indian Princes keep their armies in a state of preparedness so as to assist the Imperial Government. Although the clouds over India have lifted, it does not seem likely that the Indian States will remain wholly free. Some newspapers, however, welcomed this rumour. Germany is expanding her fleet. The Imperial Government is also expanding hers comparably. This means that the British people must go on paying heavier taxes. If the subjects go on paying taxes in this fashion, they get fed up. In this situation it will not be surprising if the British Cabinet casts a coveting eye on India.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

313. GOKHALE'S SPEECH IN INDIA

It would appear, from newspapers coming from India, that cables of Mr. Gokhale's speeches in this country have been received there and have caused some misunderstanding. From the *Gujarati* got from Bombay, we see that the major share of the responsibility for this misunderstanding must be that of the English newspapers. The *Gujarati* defends Mr. Gokhale's speeches. On reaching Bombay, Mr. Gokhale seems to have taken note of the misconception about his work [here].[1] And now Reuter's cables tell us that Mr. Gokhale has answered his critics in full [in the course of his speech] at the Congress.[2] Here, one of Mr. Gokhale's speeches was misinterpreted by our Major Silburn. Mr. Gokhale gave a reply which appears to have satisfied everyone.[3] In India, too, persons like our Mayor and Major Silburn misinterpreted Mr. Gokhale's speech. Such things have always happened, and will happen, to public men. No wonder, therefore, Mr. Gokhale's words were misconstrued.

Not that Reuter's cables always report speeches correctly. We have, nevertheless, to make meaning of the cables and arrive at what is likely to have happened at Bankipore. Before we

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXIII.
[2] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 421.
[3] *Vide* Appendix XXIV.

can understand Reuter's cables, we should find out the significance of what Mr. Gokhale said here. What this patriot then said was that, if equality of rights in law is conceded under the Immigration Act, India would not object to the prohibition of Indian immigration beyond what was necessary to meet our needs [here]. He also said that we did not want political rights for the present. Replying to his critics in India, Mr. Gokhale has said that India would not place any [upper] limit to [Indian] immigration [into South Africa]. About the franchise, he pointed out that that was contained in his demand that Indians in South Africa should have equal rights with the whites. We shall see on reflection that this is not inconsistent with his speeches in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale seems to have been charged with having bound India's hands and made her responsible for ending immigration of Indians into this country in excess [of the figure agreed upon]. This charge is not just, because all that Mr. Gokhale has agreed to is only that India would not object if the Union Government were to disallow further immigration of Indians. Between this [statement] and saying that India herself has ended [emigration], there is a deal of difference. The same is true of the franchise [issue]. Between what Mr. Gokhale has said—that we do not ask for the franchise at present—and saying that India does not demand it, there exists a great difference and a contradiction. Accepting the latter proposition would make India a party to the disabilities inflicted on the Indians. Mr. Gokhale has further pointed out that he has not committed himself to the waiving of a single right. By arguing that the demands he put forward were the same as ours, Mr. Gokhale has shown that he has neither made new demands nor has he left out any from among those that we have been making. What has been established, then, is misunderstanding on the part of the Bombay critics, for they have not until this day criticized our demands![1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

[1] As being too moderate

314. DECK PASSENGERS

I have already recounted my experience of how the Immigration Officer at Delagoa Bay behaves.[1] One reason why we must suffer this is the behaviour of deck passengers. By their general deportment they have created an impression that one can with impunity harass Indians in any way one likes. From my few days' experience of deck [travel] I realized that such criticism is not altogether unjust.

There seems to be no limit to the filthiness of deck passengers. Even though facilities for bathing are provided on the ship, many of them rarely take a bath. They feel they cannot bathe in brine from the sea. This is only superstition, but they have clung to it. Some of them bathe only once in a week due to sheer laziness. Many Indians on deck do not change at all and look very slovenly. Many spit right where they happen to be sitting. They have no thought for others' convenience. One of them spat over Mr. Kallenbach's head where he sat. The deck is so covered with leavings and spittle that one shrinks from walking barefoot over it, and if one does, there is every danger of slipping. They also quarrel with one another for places. They foul the latrines by using them so carelessly that even those who observe the minimum of cleanliness cannot but feel revulsion. If this is how we live, no wonder the ship's officers treat us with contempt. And that is precisely what happens.

Furthermore, even those Indians who ought not to be travelling deck class, do so. I believe that, when these Indians who are wealthy and well known as businessmen travel deck class, through sheer miserliness, their rivals, the white traders, cease to be friendly and to think well of them. Imagine the Manager of the Standard Bank, who draws an annual salary of £1,000 or more travelling first class on a ship. He discovers an Indian client [travelling] on deck in a wretched condition. The Indian keeps a balance of five to seven thousand pounds in his bank and enjoys credit facilities of the order of £25,000. Every Christmas, moreover, he gives the manager gifts worth twice the deck fare. Though the passenger is clearly far better off, as far as money goes, than the

[1] *Vide* "Gandhi under Detention", pp. 357-60.

bank manager, he travels deck class. What thoughts must cross the manager's mind when he sees his client in these circumstances! He cannot but despise us and our money.

It is not my desire that we should imitate the whites in these matters. Even so, I would certainly say that when we compete with them in trade and the like and demand the same rights that they have, we should, provided we have the means, give them no opportunity to point an accusing finger at us in matters which do not trouble our conscience. It is the duty of well-to-do people to travel first or second class for the sake of their own prestige and that of India as well and to keep the place absolutely clean. In many situations, we forget our honour.

Those who are poor may travel deck class, but they should do their utmost not to leave any scope for complaint. We shall become happy if we end these self-created difficulties; it will then become the officers' duty to provide us further facilities, a duty they can escape only by fulfilling it.

If we had acted in this manner right from the outset, the state of deck passengers would never have been what it is. It is no great matter to [have to] observe cleanliness, to wear clean clothes and to keep them tidy. It only calls for a little care. But what I have said should not be construed to mean that we must not protest against harassment by the ship's crew nor that whatever they do is right; this is not the construction that must be put on it. On the other hand, on the ship by which I travelled as a deck passenger, I tried to get the right thing done in every circumstance; this is the duty of every passenger who is in a position to do so by virtue of his knowledge of English, etc. A passenger from the *Purnea* brought a few facts [to our notice]. If these are correct, it is absolutely necessary that some action be taken to correct this [state of affairs]. All that I mean is that we, for our part, should not be at fault. If we are ourselves blameless, our complaints will receive a better hearing. Bathing arrangements, whether they are inadequate or totally lacking; lavatories, whether they are too few in number or foul and exposed; meagre protection against the cold or the heat; inconvenience as regards cooking; the absence of special places for women; and the shepherding about of passengers [by the crew] from one spot to another as though they were cattle—none of these can be an excuse or an answer for our inadequacies or our slovenly living, whatever we are. Passengers must do something about these deficiencies. Shipping agents ought to intervene in this matter and get the right thing done. My only aim in narrating my experience is that we should do our

duty as men and as Indians, and uphold India's honour in all circumstances.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

Phœnix

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

315. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-I]

I have had to reflect on the subject of health for the past twenty years. Having gone to England and having [earlier] become used to a particular mode of living, I had to devise my own arrangements for food. I can claim that, as a result, I have acquired considerable experience, and have been able to form certain ideas thanks to that experience. I write these chapters in the hope that they may be of some use to the readers of *Indian Opinion*.

There is a saying in English, "Prevention is better than cure". "The bund should be built before the flood",[1] expresses a similar idea. Taking steps to prevent disease is, in English, termed "hygiene". In Gujarati, it may be called *arogya samrakshan shastra*. This science is distinct from medicine, though some take it to be a branch of medicine. My only reason for mentioning this distinction is that, in these chapters, the means for the care of health will be described for the most part. Like a lost jewel that takes greater effort to find than it does to keep it in the first instance, good health, once it is lost, costs much time and effort to regain. It is therefore essential for thoughtful people to attach the utmost importance to the keeping up of health. We shall consider further how health, which may be lost from time to time, can be regained.

Milton, the English poet has observed that both Heaven and Hell exist only in the mind of man.[2] Hell does not lie underneath the earth, nor heaven in the clouds. This idea appears in Sanskrit literature, too. "The mind is the cause at once of bondage (hell) and *moksha*[3] (heaven)." Pursuing this line of thought, we may argue that whether a person is ill or well he is himself for the most part responsible. One falls ill owing to one's thoughts

[1] A Gujarati saying

[2] The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heav'n of hell, a hell of heav'n.

[3] Liberation

as well as one's deeds. There are numerous instances of a father contracting cholera on seeing his son suffer from it. A distinguished physician has remarked that more patients die of fear than of the plague or other diseases. The saying that "a coward dies without being dead"[1] deserves to be pondered over.

Ignorance is also a great cause of broken health. When overtaken by misfortune, our ignorance makes us helpless, and we don't know what to do; with the best of intentions, we do the wrong thing. Being unacquainted with the common rules concerning the human body, we often do things which we ought not to, or fall into the hands of selfish and unscrupulous quacks. It is surprising but true that we know less of things close by than of those that lie far away. I might be ignorant of the topography of my street but learn by heart the names of cities and rivers in England. I will patter away about the stars in the sky but you may be sure that I know nothing of the roof atop my house. I will think of counting up the stars but do not even feel the urge to know what there is in the roof above and how many rafters have gone to its making. I do not care to watch the drama that Nature enacts before my eyes but want to watch the got-up shows in the theatre. In the same way, I have no knowledge of what happens in my body—what it is, what it is made of, how the bones, flesh and blood are formed, what their functions are, who it is within me that speaks, how my movement is affected, why I think good thoughts one moment and wicked ones at another, why my mind runs ten million miles away against my will, why, when my body moves at a snail's pace, my mind can move a thousand times swifter than the wind. I thus know less than nothing about the relation which my body, nearer to me than the nearest of things, has to my mind.

It is the duty of everyone to free himself from this predicament. To discover the relation between the body and the mind is an exacting task, but everyone should consider it essential to have some idea of the normal working of the human body. This knowledge should also form part of the education given to children. When one sits down to think about it, it is a matter for shame that, when my finger is cut, I should not know what to do about it, or, when pricked by a thorn, I should be unable to take it out or, upon being bitten by a snake, I cannot think of what to do at once without losing my nerve. To argue, using difficult words, that a

[1] A Gujarati saying

layman cannot understand these matters is sheer conceit, or worse still, a "fraud to exploit mankind".

We shall, with the help of these chapters, try and enable readers of *Indian Opinion* to free themselves, to some extent, of such dependence and ignorance, if they have not already done that.

Not that such articles have not been published elsewhere. People, however, get into the habit of reading particular books or newspapers. The readers of *Indian Opinion* have come to read this journal along with a few others. Some of them do not read books on health. It is likely that they will benefit from the following chapters. Moreover, I intend, in these chapters, to provide an abstract of the views found in a number of books. I have read many books, considered contradictory opinions and, having put them to the test, have formed certain ideas. Consequently, there will be found in these chapters the substance of more than one book. What is more, they will possibly spare the beginner the bewilderment caused by books that contradict one another. One book recommends the use of warm water for a particular condition while another suggests cold water. This may confuse the beginner. These contradictory courses of action will be considered in these chapters in the light of reason. Those who so desire may then refer to the original books and thus modify these conclusions. One may therefore safely assume that these chapters will prove useful, to a greater or lesser extent, to every reader of *Indian Opinion*.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-1-1913

316. LETTER TO M. I. DESAI

[On or after *January 9, 1913*][1]

TO
SHRI MANILAL ICHHARAM DESAI
BOMBAY

SIR,

When news of the death of your revered father[2] was received in this country, a meeting of Hindus was held in Johannesburg. May I respectfully inform you that, at this meeting, a resolution was

[1] The meeting referred to in the letter was held on this date.
[2] Ichharam Sooryaram Desai; Gujarati writer, journalist and publisher

passed concerning your deceased father and condoling with you and your family.

Your servant,
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING

From the Gujarati in *Gujarati*, 6-4-1913

317. AN "ACT OF GRACE"

Last week we printed Mr. Polak's letter to the Minister of the Interior on the action of the Chief Immigration Officer of Natal regarding two young Indians born in South Africa claiming rights of entry into the Transvaal.[1] That letter speaks for itself, and shows

[1] On December 22, 1912, Bhawani Dayal and Devi Dayal, both Transvaal-born sons of a domiciled Transvaal resident, arrived in Durban on their way back to the Transvaal. They were both accompanied by their wives one of whom had brought her baby with her. Although one of the men could have passed the education test and both claimed that they had been in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902, Cousins, the Immigration Officer refused them visitors' permits. Polak obtained an affidavit from a respectable Transvaal Indian who vouched for their identity and certified that they had been in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902, but Cousins refused to consider their claim without instructions from the Registrar of Asiatics; he further refused to communicate with the Registrar or to give the applicants visitors' passes. Polak telegraphed the Registrar of Asiatics and asked Goodricke and Laughton, attorneys, to apply for an interdict against Cousins and other parties to prevent removal of applicants, pending consideration of their claims by the Transvaal authorities. The interdict from the Supreme Court was obtained, a condition being that applicants should lodge £100 as security. Cousins, after considerable delay, went aboard ship and demanded that applicants sign a document authorizing him to keep them under restraint at the Detention Camp and to use the security for their maintenance. Polak protested that it was unlawful, but Cousins, learning that Polak was not yet enrolled as attorney in Natal, had him ordered off ship. Under pressure from Cousins, the applicants signed. The attorneys had meanwhile communicated with the Judge who declared that Cousins' action was not intended by his order. Although Cousins then issued them visitors' passes, he still refused to accept their applications for registration. Polak then wrote to the Minister of the Interior setting forth the details of this case and requesting that instructions be issued for a "humaner administration" of the immigration laws. The Dayal brothers applied directly to the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, who had not yet replied when the period of their visiting passes expired. The Immigration Officer refused an extension. Meanwhile, the elder brother's claim to reside in Natal was admitted on grounds of his ability to pass the education test but

in a telling manner how high-handed the action of the Officer concerned was. Mr. Polak addressed a letter to *The Natal Mercury* also about the same time, in which he dealt not only with the case of two young Indians, but with that of Mr. Gajjar,[1] with which also our readers are familiar. Our contemporary has written a very forcible editorial[2] on these cases, which we reproduce in this issue, as also that part of Mr. Polak's letter which refers to Mr. Gajjar's case.

The most painful part of Mr. Polak's letter is where he says that Mr. Gajjar has been permitted to return to the Cape as an "act of grace". No case—and there have been harsh cases enough —under the Cape Immigration Act has, perhaps, shown in a manner as this has, the cruelty of the section that requires an Indian leaving the Province to take out a permit of absence in a particular form. Mr. Gajjar might, but for this precious "act of

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his proof of marriage was rejected. The brothers, therefore, crossed the border accompanied by Polak. Although their application for residential rights was under consideration, they were charged as prohibited immigrants and the cases remitted to Pretoria and remanded to January 30. On January 27, however, Polak was notified by the Registrar that the cases had been withdrawn and the brothers' claims admitted. *Indian Opinion*, 4-1-1913 & 1-2-1913.

[1] Gajjar, an Indian merchant from Somerset East in the Cape, had gone to Durban to receive his family coming from India. He asked the local magistrate to issue him a visitors' permit for Natal which the latter in his ignorance of Cape Immigration laws thought unnecessary. He was, however, issued a certificate of identity which mentioned his standing in the community. On arrival at Durban, Cousins, the Natal Immigration Officer summoned him and discovered that he had neither a visiting pass for Natal nor a permit of temporary absence from the Cape. While Cousins issued him a visiting pass for Natal, he ordered Gajjar to stay on in Durban until he had obtained the Minister's instructions, but refused to allow his family to disembark on the ground that Gajjar was technically a "prohibited immigrant" in both provinces—in Natal because he had not got a visiting pass and in the Cape because he had not obtained a permit of absence. He was, however, allowed to return home as "an act of grace". Polak then wrote to *The Natal Mercury* saying, "Such, however, is the 'humane' administration of the Immigration Law that Mr. Gokhale was given to understand might be expected when he interviewed the Ministers at Pretoria. Are these expectations never to be realized, and is every conceivable occasion to be seized to harass unfortunately placed members of the Indian community?" *Indian Opinion*, 11-1-1913.

[2] In this *The Natal Mercury* strongly condemned Cousins. He apparently laboured, it said, under the impression that he had been placed "to give the public the greatest amount of inconvenience . . . the maximum degree of hardship he can impose"; he was "about the last man for the job" and they did "not intend Natal to rest under the stigma of being a place" where the law was administered according to Cousins' ideas. *Indian Opinion*, 11-1-1913.

grace", have become a prohibited immigrant for the Cape Province although he was armed with a document of identification from the Chief Constable of his town. Under the Act, a Cape Indian paying a visit to a sister Province on the strength of a permit issued by that Province may be prevented from returning, if he happened not to know, like the Magistrate at Somerset East, the exact terms of the Cape Immigration Law. Justice in Mr. Gajjar's case has been forced from the Government by the persistent efforts of Mr. Polak, but the Cape Indians ought not to rest until the section in question has been altered and a promise taken from the Government that, pending alteration, the section will not be rigorously enforced.

So far as the action of the Officer[1] in question is concerned, the public will perhaps feel thankful to know that he has handed over the charge to Mr. Harry Smith, who is, so far as Natal is concerned, an old experienced official possessing the requisite legal knowledge of the people he has to deal with. But Mr. Harry Smith's conduct of his department under the Union Government will be watched by the Indian community with not a little anxiety. Whilst we have had to perform the painful duty of severely criticising Mr. Cousins' administration of the Immigration Act of Natal,[2] we have always felt that we might not have done justice to him by ignoring the fact that he is now a Union Officer, and that probably he has been acting against his own wishes and under orders from the Department of the Interior. However, we have not been able to place any such charitable construction upon his action so far as Mr. Gajjar's case, for instance, was concerned. No matter what the orders from the Department of the Interior might be, humane Immigration Officers would always find scope for their humanity in dealing with helpless men and women; and we trust that Mr. Harry Smith will exercise, as he has often done before, kindly tact in his dealings with the Indian community.

Indian Opinion, 11-1-1913

[1] Cousins

[2] *Vide* "The New Broom", pp. 277-8 and "More of the New Broom", pp. 281-2.

It is our habit that, at the slightest illness, we rush at once to a doctor, *vaidya* or *hakim*.[1] And if we do not, we take whatever medicine the barber or our neighbour suggests. It is our belief that no sickness can be cured without drugs. This, however, is sheer superstition. People who suffer from other causes are—and will continue to be—fewer than those who have suffered, and are suffering, because of this superstition. If, therefore, we can get to know what constitutes illness, we should be able to take a somewhat balanced view. "Darad"[2] means pain. "Roga"[3] means much the same. It is right to seek a remedy for pain, but it is futile to take drugs to suppress pain. Actually, the result is often harmful. Taking medicine has the same effect as my covering up the refuse in my house. Refuse which is kept covered will putrefy and cause me harm. Moreover, the covering itself may putrefy and add to the refuse. I have then to get rid of the refuse which has since formed as well as that which was to begin with. This is the fate that befalls people taking drugs. But, if one throws out the refuse, the house will become as clean as it was before. By giving rise to illness—pain [that is]—Nature, in fact, informs us that there exists impure matter in our body. Moreover, Nature has provided within the body itself the means of cleansing it, so that, when illness occurs, we should realize that there exists impure matter in the body and that she has commenced her cleansing process. I should be thankful to anyone who came forward to remove the refuse from my house. So long as he has not done with the cleaning, I might be inconvenienced but I would keep my patience. Likewise if I am patient while Nature is cleansing the body, which is my home, it will be well again, and I shall become healthy and so free from pain. If I have a cold, I do not have to rush to swallow drugs—*sunth*[4] [for instance]. I know that some impure matter has accumulated in a certain part of my body and that Nature has stepped in to remove it. And so I must let her have her way, so that my body may be cleansed in the shortest possible time. If I resist Nature, her task is doubled; she has both

[1] A *vaidya* practises the Ayurvedic and a *hakim* the Unani system of medicine.

[2] & [3] Gujarati words for pain, ailment, disease

[4] Ginger, dried and ground, is a much used household remedy.

to cleanse me and cope with my resistance. I can assist Nature, for instance, by getting rid of the effective cause of the impurity, so that more of it does not accumulate. That is to say, if I stop eating for the duration of the illness, thus preventing the ingress of further impurity, and if I exercise in fresh air, I shall also start ejecting the impurity through the skin. That this is the golden rule for keeping the body free of disease, every one can prove for himself. Only, the mind must be kept in a stable state. One who reposes true faith in God will always act in this fashion. The following [thought] will help in bringing about this state of mind: 'Even if I undergo the treatment prescribed by the *vaidya* or some such person, no one can guarantee that my disease will be got rid of. Not all those who put themselves in the hands of a doctor are cured. If they were, Mr. Gandhi should not have to write these chapters and all of us would be leading happy lives.'

Experience shows that once the [medicine-] bottle enters a house, it never leaves. Countless persons suffer from some ailment or other throughout their lives, go on adding to the drugs one after the other or go on changing their *vaidyas* and *hakims* in their search for the one who will cure them; finally, having ruined both themselves and others, they die, a troubled death. That famous judge, the late Mr. Justice Stephen, who had lived in India [for a time], once said that doctors introduce herbs, of which they know little, into bodies of which they know even less. Doctors say the same thing after attaining due experience.

Dr. Magendie has said: "Medicine is a great hoax." A famous doctor, Sir Ashley Cooper, has observed: "The science of medicine is based on mere guess-work." Sir John Forbes has remarked: "Notwithstanding the skill of physicians, it is Nature which cures most men of their diseases." Dr. Baker tells us: "In cases of night fever many more patients die of the drugs than of the disease." Dr. Froth declares that it is difficult to find a more dishonest profession than that of medicine. Dr. Thomas Watson writes: "In the most important matters our profession drifts on a sea of dubious hypotheses." Dr. Coswell feels that the human race would benefit immeasurably if the entire medical profession was ended. Dr. Frank avers that thousands have been killed in hospitals. Dr. Mason Good says: "Drugs claim a heavier sacrifice of human lives than do wars, epidemics and famines." We find that an increase in the number of doctors is followed in one place after another by a rise in the incidence of disease. Large advertisements appear in newspapers which do not accept other advertisements. When *Indian Opinion* used to accept advertisements, its

workers had to go about soliciting these from others, but as for drug advertisements, their manufacturers pressed them on the journal and would even tempt [us] with large sums. We pay a rupee for medicine which should cost no more than a pie. Most manufacturers generally do not let us know what the drugs are made from. A drug-manufacturer recently brought out a book entitled *Secret Medicines*, his object being to ensure that people are not misled. He reveals therein that the ingredients of sarsaparilla, fruit salt, syrup and other well-known patent medicines, for which we pay from three to seven shillings a bottle, cost from a farthing to a penny. This means that we pay from 36 to 336 times the actual cost of the medicine. The profit to the dealer is thus 3500 to 35000 per cent.

The reader ought surely to see from all this that it is unnecessary for a patient to rush to a doctor or buy drugs in a hurry. But few will so forbear. All doctors are not dishonest. That every time the drug is harmful, the common man will not admit. To such persons, one may say: 'Forbear as much as you can. Do not bother a doctor as long as you can help it. If you must call in one, get only a reliable person and, having called him, stick to him. Consult another only if he so advises. Your disease is not under your doctor's control. If it is given to you to live, you will get well and if, in spite of all that you have done, death comes to you or to your relatives, know that death is no more than a transition.' The purpose in my writing these chapters is that we might think and act according to this principle. In these, I wish to discuss with readers such topics as physiology, air, water, diet, exercise, clothing, water and earth treatment, accidents, child-care, the duties of men and women during pregnancy and common ailments.

Phœnix MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 11-1-1913

319. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[Before *January 18, 1913*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your two letters. I will not do anything in haste. Ideas ought to come up and great changes must take place in my way of life. But I will not do anything that might cause you apprehension. It is your duty not to lose hope. You can rise only through supreme effort. And when you have done that you will attain limitless effulgence. It is a great enterprise. You are competent to undertake it, for all souls have the same attributes. If only you lift the veils, you can see for yourself your powers. The key to this [life] is in the *yamaniyamas*[2]. I wish to write of these hereafter. I have other things to say, but there is now no time. I have corrected the verse from the *shataka*. Look at it carefully. If you don't follow, ask again. Always, ponder what you read. Do not utter a syllable or set down a word nor do a single deed without taking thought.

David Ernest and others are coming today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 105. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] The reference by Gandhiji in this letter to the great changes in his life is presumably to his decision to leave for India about the middle of 1913, which was published in *Indian Opinion*, 18-1-1913.

[2] *Yama* is a duty or observance enjoined by religion. *Niyama* is a voluntary acceptance of that discipline. While writers have mentioned as many as ten *yamas*, five are commonly known: non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession. The ten *niyamas* include penance, alms-giving, study, restraint, fasting and observing silence.

320. DOES IT MEAN PASSIVE RESISTANCE?

We are in possession of information of the utmost importance to the Indian community throughout South Africa. We may, next week, give the whole history of the matter, which bids fair to bring about a revival of passive resistance which we had hoped would not be necessary. We understand that the Government are not keeping their promise regarding those British Indians who, in terms of the settlement, should be given rights of residence in the Transvaal or the Union as the case may be. It would appear that they decline to accept all the names submitted by the Passive Resistance Committee. Delicate communications are still proceeding and we hope that they will end satisfactorily. There are also other points which, directly or indirectly, bear upon and arise out of the settlement, any one of which may produce a conflagration in the community. We warn the Government to be careful. We hope that they will. But if they do not, we know that the seasoned soldiers in passive resistance will give a good account of themselves at the call of duty.

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321. THE INDENTURE SYSTEM

If any further testimony were needed to bring home to the mind the evils of the indenture system, Miss Dudley's letter, which we reproduce from *India* elsewhere in this issue, would supply it. This lady's experience of fifteen years' missionary work in Fiji leads her to say that the system is past mending, and [to] entreat her readers not to be satisfied with any reforms but to continue to use their influence against the system until it is abolished. We are grateful to Miss Dudley for her outspoken letter. Such independent testimony is worth much. Other European friends, we are sure, could add their testimony against the system and so bring nearer the end which is almost in sight. We are confident that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale means to see this thing through. The National Congress, only the other day, again brought forward a resolution dealing with this matter, Mr. Gokhale being the mover.[1] So long as women and children can be dragged away into a state of slavery

[1] *Vide* "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", pp. 421-2.

under the guise of indentured labour, with results too horrible to mention, so long must we continue to advocate the total abolition of this most iniquitous, cruel, and immoral system.

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322. INDIAN EDUCATION

In the *Natal Provincial Gazette* we read the following among the rules framed for the guidance of teachers in the Government Schools:

> No Native, Indian or Coloured children are to be admitted to schools other than those specially provided for them.
>
> No pupils under standard II may be admitted to an Indian School under European teachers.
>
> No subject not included in the Standard Syllabus for Primary Schools may be taught during ordinary school hours in an Indian School in charge of European teachers.
>
> No pupil who has passed Standard IV will be allowed to remain at an Elementary Indian School.

Hitherto there have been no Gazetted rules specifically debarring Indian children from entering schools other than those specially established for them. But the rules before us have altered all that. The Provincial Administration have thrown down the challenge. They have made it a matter of law. The rules, moreover, hamper Indian education in many other respects. Their effect is to prevent the teaching of vernaculars in the Government schools and to prevent our children from receiving other than elementary education in Government schools. The duty of Indian parents is obvious. They ought to make adequate provision for the education, along national lines, of their own children. There should be established our own schools affording our children opportunities to learn their own vernaculars and, through them, their own history. It is a serious reflection on us that our children are being brought up without a proper foundation to build character upon.[1]

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[1] *Vide* also "For Indian Parents", pp. 146-7.

323. ENGLAND'S BIGGEST CUSTOMER

A letter has been addressed to the English Press by Messrs R. Knight & Sons, of the Calcutta *Statesman*. In this letter they point out that India is now England's largest customer. In 1911, India's purchases from England amounted to £52,246,000 as against £39,284,000 from Germany, the great rival of England. These gentlemen further point out that the percentage taken by India of British produce and manufacture is 14½ whereas the percentage taken by Australia is 8 and [by] Canada and South Africa 6 each. These figures carry a moral which should be driven home to every well-wisher of the Empire. The Colonies we have named have been the worst offenders in regard to their treatment of British Indians. And their trade with Great Britain is extremely small compared with India's. When India recognizes her own power, it will be difficult for British statesmen to justify their policy of *non possumus* when dealing with the disabilities of British Indians in the self-governing Colonies. They will, for instance, not look forward to another crisis which we see distinctly coming in South Africa, unless the Minister of the Interior removes the many points of soreness among the Indians here. The Immigration policy is becoming simply intolerable.

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324. LORD AMPTHILL'S COMMITTEE[1]

The major share of the expenses of this Committee, which functions in England and which, as all agree, has done epic work for us, has so far fallen on the Transvaal. It cannot go on like this for ever. Moreover, the Committee has worked for all South Africa. In the circumstances, it is palpably unfair that the Transvaal alone should pay the expenses. Everyone realizes the utmost need to maintain the Committee. Readers will see, in another section of this issue, the suggestion in this regard made by Mr. Gokhale, that we should accordingly get together a sum of £200 each year for the Committee and so have £600 for three years.[2] If readers of *Indian Opinion* show the requisite enthusiasm,

[1] *Vide* also "Lord Ampthill's Committee", pp. 272-3.

[2] *Vide* the entry for November 26 in "Diary, 1912", p. 414.

the collection should not take long. Those who are willing to contribute are requested to send the money to us, and we shall remit it to Mr. Gokhale. We hope contributions will also be raised by the individual Committees[1]. There should be no need here to speak of the importance of this work.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

325. PARENTS' DUTY

These days many parents think [much] on the subject of what they should do about their boys. Among British families, one notices that it is the tradition to make the handsome boy a soldier, the intelligent one a doctor or a barrister, and the dullard a priest. There are many exceptions to this rule, a big one being that, in a good family, one member is prepared for public work. India is in such a state today that all parents should prepare one of their boys for public work—that is, work in the service of the community. Where there is only one boy in the family, this of course does not apply. But many families have more than one boy each. If they train one of the boys for service to the country, the uplift of the country will become possible in a short time. This is a matter worthy of the highest consideration by all parents.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

326. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-III]

CHAPTER 1. THE HEALTHY STATE

It is the common belief that, if a person eats and drinks normally, moves about and does not call in the doctor, he is free from illness. A little thought will show that this belief is erroneous. Numerous instances come to notice of a person who eats, drinks and goes about and who ignores his ailments in the belief that there is nothing wrong with him.

In truth, there are very few persons in this world who are entirely healthy.

[1] Local committees of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg

An English writer has observed that only he can be called healthy in whose pure body dwells a pure mind. Man is not all body. The body is merely his abode. Moreover, the body, the mind and the sense-organs are so closely connected that, if one of them is affected by illness or pain, the others also get out of order. The body has been likened to a rose. What shows without is the body of the rose, the fragrance is its soul. No one would care for a paper rose which does not smell like the real flower. The fragrance is the test of the rose, so is the test of a man his fragrance—the character of his soul. We will, moreover, throw away a flower which looks like a rose but has an unpleasant smell. Likewise, even if a man's body appears to be all right, if the soul inhabiting that body tends to bad conduct, his body will hold no fascination for us. We thus see that one whose character is unworthy can never be called healthy. The body is so closely bound to the soul that one whose body is pure will be pure in mind too. In the West a whole tradition has emerged, based on this principle. It holds that those whose minds are pure can never be ill and one who is ill can cure himself by cultivating purity of mind. This tenet should not be rejected [out of hand]. It is sound, in fact, but the people of the West who claim to be civilized misuse it. The essential thing we have to learn from this tradition is that our mind is a potent means for the preservation of health, and that purity of mind ensures the maintenance of good health.

This man has a bad temper and is *tamasik*[1], that man is lethargic. A third is deaf. All these defects are, in fact, only symptoms of disease. Some doctors believe that even faults, such as stealing, are diseases. Some wealthy women in England pilfer worthless articles from shops. Doctors in that country ascribe this state of mind to a disease termed kleptomania. There are a few who are not at peace till they have shed blood. This, too, is a disease.

Arguing along these lines, we can describe only that person as healthy whose body is whole and without defect; whose teeth are sound; who has his ears and eyes; whose nose does not run; who does perspire but whose perspiration does not smell; whose feet and mouth do not give out a bad odour; whose hands and feet can perform common tasks; who is not given to inordinate sexuality; who is neither too fat nor too thin, and whose mind and senses are under control. It is no easy matter to achieve or maintain this state of health. We do not enjoy such good health because our parents did not. A great writer has said that the offspring, if any, of men and

[1] Full of darkness

women who are fit in every way must surpass their parents. If this be untrue, those who hold that the world is progressing must revise their view. One who is wholly free from disease has no fear of death. The very fact that we all fear death shows that we are not healthy. Death is for us a great transformation and, according to the law of creation, should be a noble one. It is our duty to strive for this lofty kind of health. How such health can be gained and preserved, we shall inquire hereafter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-1-1913

327. NONE TOO SOON

We publish elsewhere the report printed in a recent issue of the *Times of Natal* to the effect that the Union Government have decided to abolish the £3 tax exacted annually from time-expired indentured Indians, their wives, and their children. The news, if true, is a welcome relief, though it has come none too soon. It was high time that the people of South Africa had washed their hands clean of this blood-money. We call it blood-money after full deliberation. A tax collected from a poor man, his wife, and his children, manifestly for the purpose of driving him and his family from a country for which he and his had slaved for five years, or driving him into a further term of slavery cannot be fittingly described by any other name. When the abolition of the tax is an accomplished fact, the day should be observed as one of rejoicing by the Indian community throughout South Africa, in that it will give relief to thousands of our dumb countrymen. The credit will be Mr. Gokhale's if this hateful impost is abolished this year.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

328. THE LICENSING QUESTION

A very significant reference appears in the address of the President of the Natal Municipal Association, at the annual meeting of that body at Utretcht, on the 20th instant. We are informed that the Financial Relations Bill, which was dropped in the last session of the Union Parliament, is to be reintroduced, with certain modifications, this session, and that its objects are, briefly, to transfer to Provincial Councils the revenue derived from dealers' licences *and the right to legislate, in regard thereto*, "which means that, if the

Bill passes in its present form the control of the licences will be placed in the hands of the Provincial Councils". If the effect of the Bill is to take from municipalities the control of trading licences, it will undoubtedly be a matter upon which the Indian community are to be congratulated. If it means that the control of licences is to be transferred from the Union Government to the Provincial Councils, undoubtedly the result will be most injurious to the interest of the community. We feel that the Bill has not received that consideration and criticism which it ought to have at the hands of the Indian public, and it is very much to be feared that it is in conflict with Section 147 of the South Africa Act, which provides that "the control and administration of matters specially or differentially affecting Asiatics throughout the Union shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council", that is to say, the Union Parliament and not the Provincial Councils. So far as Natal is concerned, it is notorious that widespread hopes of adding a still further burden to those already borne by the Indian population are entertained as a result of the adoption by the Provincial Council of Mr. G. H. Hulett's resolution[1], in 1911, as an act of revenge for the stoppage of the importation of indentured labour from India. There is no doubt that the question of trading licences was in the mind of the Imperial Government when they insisted upon the inclusion in the South Africa Act of the safeguards provided by Section 147. But if this Bill passes in the form that, we understand, it is to be brought forward, those safeguards will be rudely brushed aside, and since we are told on the authority of Imperial Ministers, that the King's power of veto is little else than a sham and a delusion and its enunciation in the Royal instructions a mere diplomatic blind, it follows that Indian trading rights will be given an even more precarious character than hitherto, and that they will be speedily extinguished, unless Indians take up the challenge and offer a vigorous protest.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 73.

329. *THE INDIAN WOMEN'S BAZAAR*

The Bazaar, which was to be held at the end of the year, of which Mrs. Vogl is the moving spirit, will be held about the month of May. Of course, the Bazaar will be held under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association. The readers of *Indian Opinion* who are interested in Mrs. Vogl's scheme and in the cause of Indian women's education, will, we hope, respond liberally and send what assistance they wish to before the end of April. Helpers in India should send their consignments about the end of March at the latest. The address is: The Secretary, Indian Women's Association, Box 6522, Johannesburg.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

330. *OUR NEGLIGENCE*

Dr. Murison's annual reports on [public] health are always worth reading. We publish elsewhere a summary of the current report. Dr. Murison and Dr. Adams, who have been engaged to conduct an inquiry regarding tuberculosis, refer critically to our negligence. Dr. Adams says that we do not bring cases of infectious diseases to the notice of his department. We pay no heed to his instructions about ventilation and water. He is also critical of some of our habits. His criticism is such that we must accept it. There is no reason to suppose that the whites always write about us in this fashion only out of prejudice. We wish that we would give no one cause for criticism in such matters. If only a few leaders would evince enthusiasm and take in hand the task of imparting this kind of education to people, a great change can be effected in our condition. This work can be done for the most part by landlords[1]. But before they can do that, they should stop being greedy.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

[1] The original literally reads: ". . .Zamindars who rent out houses. . ."

331. "CAN WE THUS ENSURE THE COUNTRY'S PROGRESS?"

This line is from a well-known poem. It came to mind when we read the following paragraph from *Gujarati Panch*:

> Shrimant Sardar Balvantrai Bhai Saheb Scindia has set apart a sum of two lakh rupees from which to grant a monthly allowance of Rs. 125 to each Vaishnava who renounces the world and retires into *vanavasa*[1].

Shrimant Sardar has donated this money in the fulness of his heart. It is true that some worthy Vaishnavas take to *vanavasa*. To enjoy *vanavasa*—to embrace mendicancy[2]—is a lofty state. However, holding out the inducement of a monthly allowance to a *vanavasi*[3] is tantamount to a betrayal [of him]. *Vanavasa* and money are mutually opposed. It is our guess that Shrimant Sardar must have set apart this fund for the benefit of the *vanavasi*'s relations. Even that, to my way of thinking, is faulty. A *vanavasi* places no reliance on society for the maintenance of his family. He commits his children to the Almighty. If he takes out [as it were] an insurance policy thus taking man's help for his wife and children, he cannot be deemed to have taken to *vanavasa*. Moreover, one does not calculate so before adopting *fakiri* or *vanavasa*. When the power seizes him, no one in the world can stop him.

There is a great likelihood of Shrimant Sardar's [proferred] help promoting fraud. Many who are Vaishnavas in name only will come forward to adopt *vanavasa*, and their families will draw a monthly allowance of Rs. 125 each. It can perhaps be argued that these allowances will be granted each month only after proper scrutiny. To this, our reply is that the family of a genuine *vanavasi* will not submit to scrutiny. The true *vanavasi* will not himself give "notice". Such endowments are tantamount to fraud in the name of religion. It is not by thus manufacturing *vanavasis* or patriots that [the cause of] the country can be advanced. History records no instance of any country having progressed in this manner.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

[1] Literally, dwelling in the forest. The reference is to the third stage, *vanaprastha*, in the Hindu scheme of life. In this stage one retires from family life to live a life of contemplation and detachment.

[2] The original has "*fakiri*"

[3] Dweller in the forest

2. OUR BODY

Earth and water, sky, fire and air
The play of these five elements, they call the Universe.

An almost full description of the human body is contained in this verse. It says that the sport of Nature or her Creator with the five elements—earth, water, sky, light and air—which he mingles, is what we know by the name of the Universe. From the substance of which this Universe is made has been fashioned this figure of clay which we call our body. We have a saying among us, "as within the body so in the Universe"[1] and, "as with oneself, so with the country". If we remember this clue [to the mystery of the Universe] we shall certainly see that clean earth, pure water, fresh air and open space and bright sunshine are essential for the preservation of the body, and that we need not fear any of these elements. In fact, illness follows when the body becomes comparatively deficient even in one of these.

It is imperative that we know at least this much about our body, but this knowledge is not adequate for our subject.

The body is made up of skin, bone, flesh and blood. The skeleton provides the principal support for the body and it is that which enables us to stand upright and walk. The bones protect the delicate parts of the body, the skull protects the brain and the ribs, the heart and the lungs. There are 238 bones in the body by the doctors' reckoning. We can all see that a bone is hard outside, but it is not so inside; the inside is soft and hollow. The joint where one bone is joined to another is covered with cartilage which is taken to be soft bone.

Our teeth, too, are bones. During childhood, the milk-teeth first appear and these fall out. Then permanent teeth appear, which, once they drop out, do not grow again. Milk-teeth begin appearing between the ages of six and eight months and have almost all of them appeared by the time the child is about two years old. Permanent teeth begin to appear after the age of five and they have all grown by the time he is between seventeen and twenty-five. The molars appear last of all.

If we feel our skin, we will find a number of knobs of flesh underneath at many places. These are called muscles. Our

[1] The saying is, "यथा पिण्डे तथैव ब्रह्माण्डे".

nerves get work out of them. It is because of our muscles that we can open and close our hands, work our jaws and blink. All these actions are performed with the aid of muscles.

Complete information about the body lies outside the scope of these chapters. The writer himself does not possess this knowledge. Only facts necessary for our purpose will be set out here. Having, therefore, grasped the foregoing facts, we go on to the main parts of the body. Among these, the stomach is the most important. If the stomach were to slacken even for a moment, all our limbs would languish. Even the most ferocious beast will not have the capacity to endure the strain which we subject the stomach to. Its function is to digest food and nourish the body with the food so assimilated. What the engine is to machinery, the stomach is to man. This organ is to the left, beneath the ribs. Having passed through many processes within it, the food is then broken down into different fluids and their [nutritive] element extracted, the remaining portion being expelled from the intestines as excreta. Above the stomach is the left lobe of the liver. To the left of the stomach is the spleen. The liver is to the right beneath the ribs. Its function is to purify the blood and produce bile which is needed for the digestive process.

Behind the ribs, in the hollow of the chest, are [located] other useful organs—the heart and the lungs. The sac containing the heart is to the left, between the two lungs. There are altogether 24 bones in the chest including both those to the left and to the right. The heart pulsates between the fifth and the sixth ribs. We have two lungs, the left and the right, which consist of bronchial tubes. These are filled with air and purify the blood. Air reaches the lungs through the wind-pipe. This air must pass through the nostrils. Air which thus passes through the nostrils is warmed before it reaches the lungs. Many people, who are ignorant of this fact, breathe through the mouth and so do themselves harm. The mouth is for eating, etc. Air must be inhaled only through the nose.

We have briefly examined the structure of the body and got some idea of its important parts. Now we shall examine the fluid —blood—on which the functioning of our body depends. Blood provides us with nourishment. It separates the nutritive part of the food, expels the useless products—excreta—and maintains the body at a constant temperature. It flows continuously through veins and arteries. It is to this flow that the pulse-beat is due. In a young and healthy person the pulse beats about 75 times a minute. A child's pulse is more rapid and that of an aged person slower.

The most important agent that keeps the blood pure is air. The blood which enters the lungs, having circulated through the body, has become useless as it now contains poisonous substances. The air inhaled into the lungs absorbs these toxic substances and passes on the oxygen it contains to the blood stream. This process goes on constantly. The inhaled air, laden with the poisons from the blood, then comes out and the blood, having taken up the oxygen, circulates through the arteries over the entire body. One can imagine the extent to which the exhaled breath is impure. Air has such tremendous effect on our bodies that it will be necessary to consider the subject in some detail in a separate chapter.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913

333. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[PHŒNIX,]
Posh Vad 4 [January 26, 1913][1]

CHI. HARILAL,

Medh has had a letter in which his father gives news of your failure. You should have written to me.

I have not felt disappointed over your failure. Since you have resolved to pass that examination, go on working for it again. Send me your question-papers. You must have preserved them. Let me know in which subject you failed.

I read in *Mumbai Samachar*[2] that you were present at the Gokhale meeting. Give me your impressions of it.

I am arranging to go there in six months. I should certainly be able to go if a law satisfying to our demands is passed; so it appears. I have therefore settled in Phœnix. I don't wish to stir out from here for five months.

There are in all 30 children to be taught, including those in Phœnix.[3] Jekibehn, Miss West, one Patel named Maganbhai[4],

[1] The meeting referred to in paragraph 3 was convened by the Sheriff of Bombay on December 14, 1912 to welcome Gokhale on his return from South Africa.

[2] A Gujarati daily published from Bombay

[3] Gandhiji brought with him his students from Tolstoy Farm which was closed some time in January, 1913. *Indian Opinion*, 18-1-1913.

[4] A teacher in Phœnix, he returned to India in 1915 with Maganlal Gandhi and others.

Kashi and I do the teaching. I get up at 4.45 in the morning and wake up the children at five. The press hands, the schoolchildren and I do farming from 6 to 8. Between 8 and 8.30, the students and the press hands have breakfast. At 8.30, all the press hands return to the land and work there until 11. I take the children to the school, where they are taught to read and write from 8.30 to 10.30. Frem 10.30 to 11, again, they learn farm-work.

Between 11 and 12.30, people bathe and eat. From 12.30 to 4.30, work in the press where the older boys train for two hours; the last two hours [are spent on] reading and writing in the school. I cannot at all look after the school in the afternoons. I may be able to do so, I think, when things settle down a bit.

At 5.30 the boys have dinner. After *katha kirtan*[1] from 7 to 7.30, the boys go to sleep. From 7.30 to 9, I go over Manilal's lessons. Das[2] wants to start a press in Durban. Perhaps Virji, too, will go there.

Send this letter for Chanchi to read. I have no time to write her another.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9538

334. A CORRECTION

In our issue of the 18th ultimo we referred to the recently published rules regarding the Natal schools, and we stated that the rules were framed for the first time prohibiting the entry of Indian children into the Government Schools not specially set apart for them. Our attention has, however, been drawn to the fact that similar rules were framed some time ago and that we commented already upon them at the time. We regret that we should have inferred from the rules in question that the authorities had added a new grievance to the heavy list already existing. The wrong is none the less a serious one because it has existed for some time. The Provincial Government might have taken the opportunity, seeing that they were recasting the rules, of removing the defect instead of perpetuating it.

Our attention has also been drawn to the fact that a hasty reader might conclude, from our remarks that Indian children in

[1] Listening to mythological stories and devotional music
[2] Purshottamdas Desai?

Natal could not receive education in the Government schools beyond the 4th Standard. The friend to whom we are indebted for the caution points out that what was formerly the Higher-Grade Indian School at Durban provides for the education of Indian children up to the 6th Standard. This we knew perfectly well. But we mentioned that Indian children could not, in effect, receive more than elementary education. And the late Higher-Grade School, whose name was always a misnomer, gives no more than *elementary* education. The 6th Standard of that school is the 6th Standard of an elementary school, and hardly equal to the 4th Standard of a High School in India. This school affords no scope for a lad who wishes to matriculate at the Cape University. He may not be admitted to the ordinary High Schools or the Natal University College. He must take private tuition. This is a handicap of which the community justly complains. Mr. Merriman, the other day, suggested, at the opening of a Muslim school in Cape Town, that the true solution of the colour question was education. Quite so. But the Government of the Union puts every obstacle in the way of Coloured children, whether Natives or Asiatics.

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

335. HERTZOGISM

If what the special correspondent of *The Star* says about General Hertzog's position in the Union Cabinet, when he was still a member of it, be true, the news is disquieting. We printed, last week, the *Star* correspondent's report, according to which the visit of Mr. Gokhale was a proximate cause of the rupture between Generals Botha and Hertzog, the latter wishing that Mr. Gokhale should interview him, as he was in charge of Native Affairs.[1] In General

[1] *The Star* report quoted a friend of Hertzog as having said that, since as Minister of Native Affairs, he was concerned with the Indian question, he should receive Gokhale during his 1912 visit to South Africa. General Botha, who regarded it as an Imperial question, felt that it should be gone into by himself as Prime Minister. There then ensued a heated discussion in the cabinet; but a compromise proposal on the Indian question was adopted. The *Star* correspondent's source said that General Hertzog must have had this incident in mind when he declared, in a speech at De Wildt, that South Africa should come first and the Empire after. He thought that General Hertzog's exit from the cabinet was "a culmination of the ill feeling that had existed between General Botha and General Hertzog for a considerable time". *Indian Opinion*, 25-1-1913.

Hertzog's estimation, evidently, Natives and Asiatics should be classed together. However, General Botha's voice prevailed. He wanted to handle Mr. Gokhale as his visit bore an Imperial significance. General Hertzog, therefore, became irritated and delivered his famous speech on Imperial responsibility, which brought about his compulsory exclusion from the Cabinet. It was no light matter for General Botha to dismiss his colleague. He has yet to reckon with Hertzogism. We may still less lightly dismiss the great General or his policy. He is still a powerful force in South African politics. He apparently represents the extreme wing of the anti-Asiatic party that would be satisfied with nothing less than our complete segregation and national humiliation. The passive resistance compromise, which almost threatens, as we hinted two weeks ago, to break down, has still to be given legal effect to. Dealers' licences legislation is still a tangible grievance. Immigration administration continues to irritate the community. If Hertzogism wins the day, we have trying times ahead of us. But even if it does not, it is highly likely that, so far as its anti-Asiatic programme is concerned, it may be accepted *in toto* by General Botha. When every vote counts, we who are voteless, may be safely brushed aside. But, though we are voteless, we need not be voiceless, so long as we keep ourselves well armed with the powerful, yet harmless, weapon of passive resistance.

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

336. GERMISTON INDIANS

It appears from [a report in] the *East Rand Express* that the Indians in the Germiston Location will have to shift to a new Location by the end of February. The Natives have all left. The Municipality has paid them £1,500 by way of compensation. The Indians have not shifted yet, though the Municipality is agreeable to paying them up to £700. Our friend the *Express* states that the Indians are not entitled to any such compensation. If the Municipality pays it, it will be an act of grace and a matter of policy. The idea is not to the liking of the *Express*. It argues that, if it is to be paid as a matter of policy, the cost should be borne by the Transvaal Government. The Municipality is then welcome to accept a share of the cost if it wants to. The truth is that, whatever the Municipality pays, it will not be an act of grace, but it will be paid out of fear—fear of satyagraha, the London Committee and of the Imperial Government. Suppose the slumbering Indians wake

up! Suppose Lord Ampthill discredits the Germiston Municipality in public! Suppose the Imperial Government finds fault with it! Any one of these fears the Municipality could face out; but it is meek in the face of them all [together].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

337. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-V]

3. AIR

We have seen something of the structure of the body and have learnt that it requires three kinds of nourishment: air, water and food. Of these, air is the most essential. Consequently, Nature has provided it to such extent that we can have it at no cost. But modern civilization has put a price even on air. In these times, one has to go off to distant places to take the air, and this costs money. It is at Matheran that residents of Bombay can get fresh air and only then does their health improve. In Bombay itself, if one can live on Malabar Hill, the air is much better. But one must have money to do this. If Durbanites want fresh air, they have to go to live in Berea. That again means expense. It would not, therefore, be quite true to say in modern times that "air is free".

Whether air is free or has to be paid for, we cannot carry on without it for a moment. We have seen that blood circulates through the entire body, is purified after returning to the lungs and flows out again. This goes on all day and all night. Every time we breathe out, we expel fouled air and, when we breathe in, we obtain, from the air without, oxygen with which to purify the blood. This respiration continues every moment and the life of our body depends upon it. When we die of drowning, it only means we are unable to inhale oxygen and exhale foul air. A pearl diver puts on a diving suit before he goes down into the water and obtains air from a tube [one end of] which remains above the water-level. It is because of it that he can remain under water for a long time.

Some doctors have conducted experiments which have established that, if a person is kept without air for five minutes, the life-giving breath leaves the body. At times a baby [lying] close to its mother dies of suffocation. This happens because the mouth and nose are smothered, and the baby gets no fresh air.

We see from all this that air is the most necessary nourishment for us, one that can be had without the asking. We get food and water, only by asking for or seeking them, but air, we take in involuntarily.

Just as we hesitate to take foul water or food, so ought we to in the case of foul air. In fact we do not take in unwholesome food or polluted water in the same quantities as we do in case of foul air. The revulsion comes from the seeing. [For] we worship idols.[1] Air cannot be seen with the naked eye. We therefore have no idea of how much foul air we take in. We hesitate to eat food touched by another; we would think twice before drinking water which another has tasted before us. Even if we felt no aversion[2] within us [towards filth or ugliness], we would never take the vomit of another. If vomit is put even before one famine-stricken, he would die rather than eat it. But we all inhale, without revulsion, the air "spewed" by another—that is, exhaled by him. According to the rules of hygiene, spewed air is just as bad as spewed food. It has been proved that, if air exhaled by a man is introduced into the lungs of another, the latter dies instantaneously; so poisonous it is. Yet people sitting or sleeping cooped up in a small room inhale, all the time, air which is as impure. Fortunately, air is constantly in a state of movement and agitation and diffuses rapidly. Moreover, it can enter through the smallest of pores. Consequently, even as we are huddled in a room and fouling the air inside, some fresh air comes through a clearance in the door or chinks in the roof. It is not wholly "spewed" air, therefore, that we [they] breathe. The air exhaled by us is constantly being purified. When we breathe the air inside us out into the open, the foul air diffuses instantly into the atmosphere, and Nature thus maintains the [required] quantity of pure air. The atmosphere extends over a large area, enveloping this small earth.

We can now see why so many people are ailing and emaciated. There is no doubt *that bad air is the cause of more than 99 per cent. of diseases.* Tuberculosis, fever and many diseases termed infectious are all caused by the foul air we inhale. The first, the easiest and the last means of ending them is to have fresh air, purest of the pure. There is no other, *vaidya* or *hakim*, that can match it. Tuberculosis is a sign of rotting lungs, foul air being the cause. Just as an engine is damaged through being fed with bad coal, so are our lungs by foul air. Hence, modern doctors who

[1] That is, we believe only in good or evil that is visible.

[2] For the same concept, *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 308-9.

understand [this] will invariably advise tuberculosis patients, as the first step in the treatment, to spend all the 24 hours in the open. All other remedies take effect after this, but none will work without it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-2-1913

338. TWO IMMIGRATION CASES

Mr. Justice Broome has given judgment in two immigration cases. They both deserve to be known. In one case the father has complained that he had suffered a loss because the official had thrown his son out [of the country] without inquiry. He had filed a suit for compensation and had also pleaded that he might be allowed to produce his son [in court]. The [claim of the] boy [to stay in the country] was rejected by the official. The father then secured an interdict from the Supreme Court to stay his son's being sent back to India. Meanwhile, additional evidence was produced before the official, but he did not accept it. The official then took legal steps to have the boy deported. The case was adjourned so that a summons could be issued. Meanwhile the official changed his mind. Assuming he had the [necessary] authority, he deported the boy without issuing a summons and obtaining the order of a court. The father's contention was that the official had no such authority. The Court has rejected this contention and ruled that the official is empowered to deport anyone without the consent of the court. This ruling will have fearful consequences. Such are the tyrannical powers vested in the official that, if he chooses, he can extinguish the rights of every Indian [in the country].

The second case was for the refund of the deposit money of £100.[1] The Court has ruled that, if the deposit was made because of the Immigration Act, [the decision] to refund it or not lay within the discretion of the Government. It can be refunded if the right of the person in respect of whom it was tendered is established, and for confiscating the money so deposited, the Government needs no order from the Court. Arguing thus, the Court has dismissed the second case too; the Court has only said that where a deposit is made in good faith, the amount should be refunded on compassionate grounds.

[1] Wherever an Asiatic immigrant, appealing against the decision of an immigration official, wanted to have his domiciliary right tested by a court of law, he had to deposit this sum.

The consequences of both these cases are fearful. There has been a considerable accretion of official power, and a situation has come about in which Indians might stop coming to this land out of sheer fright. It is our duty to wage a vigorous campaign against this.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

339. OUR PROBLEM AT THE CONGRESS

A detailed report of the Congress [proceedings] has arrived by the post just received. We learn that, on the problem of Indians in this country, there has been more discussion than before. In his address, Mr. Mudholkar[1], the President, gave a full account of the situation in this country and has lent support to Mr. Gokhale's work. He has pointed out the need for continued help to us and has declared that indenture should be completely stopped. The Hon'ble Mr. Mazarul Haq[2], Chairman of the Reception Committee, stressed our problem in his speech and even went on to say that, if the Union Government did not settle the Indian question in a satisfactory manner, pressure should be brought to bear on the Government of India to take retaliatory measures. The Government of India, he argued, had plenty of means to bring the Union Government to its senses. The resolution concerning us came second [in the order of business]. That too shows how much weight our problem had with them. We already know from the cable that the resolution was moved by Mr. Gokhale. The resolution was to the same effect as that passed by the Congress last year.[3] The Allahabad *Leader* tells us that Mr. Gokhale, who spoke for an

[1] Rangnath Narsinh Mudholkar (1857-1921); President, Indian National Congress, 1912, at Bankipore

[2] Maulvi Mazarul Haq (1866-1930); in 1888 established "Anjuman Islamia", an association of Muslims in England where he had gone for higher studies; appointed Munsiff in Audh in 1893 but resigned in 1896; one of the founders of the Muslim League, later became its secretary and presided over its Bombay session in 1915; elected to the Central Legislative Council under the scheme of Separate Electorates in 1910; member of the 1914 Congress delegation to England; in 1916, helped to bring about Congress-League accord at Lucknow; supported Gandhiji during the 1917 Champaran campaign and took active part in the non-co-operation movement in 1920; founded *The Motherland* and went to jail for his writings in 1921; one of the founders of Bihar Vidyapith and the Sadaqat Ashram.

[3] *Vide* "Mr. Polak at the National Congress", p. 207.

hour, held the audience spellbound and that, when he came to describe the plight of indentured labourers, tears came to his eyes and his voice was choked with emotion. Our campaign also received the support of the principal leaders. The Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Mr. Mazarul Haq, Lala Lajpatrai[1], the Hon'ble Harchandrarai Vishindas, Mr. Pramathnath Banerjee, Mr. Madanjit[2] and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani were among those who supported it. When our problem is being forcefully discussed in India, we here must double our efforts. Help from India can only follow on our own strentgh.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

340. FRUITS OF GOKHALE'S LABOUR

Mr. Gokhale's work continues to bear fruits. One of these is seen growing in a far-away land. We have got a newspaper from Fiji from which we reproduce a paragraph in the English Section. It reports that the white owners of sugar plantations [in that island] have passed a resolution that, in view of the agitation in India in the matter of indentured labour, necessary changes should be made in the Fiji law of indenture so as to drop the clauses providing for the punishment of labourers, refusing to work, by imprisonment or fine. That the venom is contained for the most part in these clauses, there is no doubt. It is by these clauses that Indian labourers are greatly afflicted, and they constitute the greatest difference between indentured labourers and workers. If a common labourer makes a mistake, he is dismissed. But when an indentured labourer

[1] Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928); social reformer, journalist and a "great public character in the older hierarchy of Congressmen"; founded the Servants of People Society; deported in 1907 for his political activities; went to England as member of the Indian deputation, along with Gokhale, in 1906 and again in 1914 with the Congress deputation; in 1920, elected president of the extraordinary Congress session held at Calcutta to decide on non-co-operation.

[2] Madanjit Vyavaharik; "the man who for long years brought up the South African question before the Indian Congress", he set up the International Printing Press in Durban in 1898 at Gandhiji's instance, and in 1903, started *Indian Opinion* which Gandhiji took over in 1904; later founded and edited *United Burma*, an English journal, with the object of uniting the Burmese and associating them with the Indian National Congress; *vide* Vol. III, p. 256, Vol. IV, p. 279 and Vol. VI, p. 303.

defaults, he goes to gaol, and on his release, he is back where he was. Even if these changes are made [in the law,] it is not desirable that the system of indenture should continue. Whatever the form it takes, the system deserves to be ended outright. But it is no small matter that the white owners, on their own, propose—in a law which is to their advantage—changes by which they may lose. Such is the sturdy fruit that even a single man can raise by sincere effort.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

341. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-VI]

We consume air not only with the lungs, but some portion of it is also taken in through the skin. On the skin, there are pores, minute and innumerable, through which we draw air.

Everybody ought to know how a thing so essential may be kept clean. Indeed, as soon as a child's understanding is adequate, he should be taught about the importance of air. If the readers of these chapters perform this easy but important task and, having acquired some general knowledge about air, live according to it, pass on the knowledge to their children and make them act in accordance, I shall regard myself as having fulfilled my task.

Latrines, open spaces, narrow lanes [dirtied through misuse] and urinals, where these are separate, are the principal agencies for defilement of air. Few are aware of the harm that can be caused by the filth from latrines. When a cat or dog defecates, it generally paws a hole and, having defecated into it, it covers the faeces over with earth. Where modern water-closets do not exist, this method ought to be followed. We should keep a pail full of dry earth or ash in our latrines. Every time the latrine is used, earth or ash should be sprinkled over the faeces so as to cover them over completely. This will stop the smell, and it cannot then happen that flies and winged insects, having sat on the filth, come in contact with our bodies. One whose nose has not become defective or inured to stench can easily realize how much foul odour, filth kept uncovered can spread. If filth from a latrine were mixed in our food in our presence, we should be sick. But there is not an iota of difference between air laden with the stench from a latrine and food mixed with faeces. If there is, it is only that the latter is visible to our naked eye, while the former is not. Seats, etc., in

closets should be kept absolutely clean. We are ashamed to do this kind of work ourselves, or fret at having to do it, instead of which we should feel disgust at having to use dirty latrines. Why should we not ourselves clean up the filth excreted by our own body, which we make another person take away? There is absolutely nothing bad about doing this work oneself; having learnt this for ourselves, we must teach it to our children as well. When the pail is full, the contents should be thrown into a pit, a foot or two deep, and should be well covered over with earth. If one is in the habit of going to the fields to defecate, one should go far from where people live. There, one should dig a shallow pit with a spade to get one's business over with and should fully cover the faeces with the earth dug.

We urinate any and everywhere and this fouls the air; it is a habit that must be wholly given up. Where no special place is available for urination, we should go far from where people live; having made water on dry ground, we should sprinkle the spot with earth. There are forceful reasons, however, why excreta should not be buried too deep. One is that the heat of the sun cannot then do its work and the second that it may affect the neighbouring springs.

We spit on the carpet, on the floor, in the courtyard and wheresoever we can. Spittle is often poisonous. The sputum of a tubercular patient is extremely dangerous. Germs rising from it get into the air inhaled by others and do great harm. Over and above that, the house is dirtied, but that is another matter. In this regard our duty is not to spit any and everywhere inside the house, but to keep a spittoon. Outdoors, one should spit, if one has to, on dry ground where there is plenty of dust. The sputum will mix with the dry earth and the damage will be less. Some doctors are of the opinion that tubercular patients should spit only into receptacles containing germicide. Even if a patient spits onto the dust on dry ground, the germs in his sputum are not destroyed. This dust carrying the germs rises into the atmosphere and infects others. Whether this opinion is right or wrong, we can at least learn this much from it : spitting any and everywhere is a dirty and injurious habit.

Some people are in the habit of throwing food, refuse and peelings, etc., all over. If this garbage was buried in the ground near the surface, it would not foul the air; also it would in due course make useful manure. One should never throw out perishables. It has been found from experience that these suggestions are easily put into practice, once they are understood.

We have seen how air is fouled through our bad habits and how this can be stopped. We shall now consider how it should be inhaled.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-2-1913

342. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHŒNIX,
February 14, 1913

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Dr. Gool[1] just tells me that your umbrella was traced and that Mr. Joshi whom you met in Cape Town kindly took it with him when a few days ago he went to India. Your cap too has been found. Kotwal will hand it to you upon reaching India. He will be leaving shortly.

The newspaper criticism in India is now all before me. It makes painful reading. But I was prepared for it especially after our chats. I see that you are dealing with it in your own way. That criticism has produced its reflex action here. Aiyer has been writing violent articles in his paper. I am not sending you all the cuttings but you might like to see the *Advertiser* article. The *Advertiser* reproduced Aiyer's reproduction.

The Botha ministry has its own internal troubles owing to General Hertzog's defection.[2] The *Star* correspondent, you might have noticed in *Indian Opinion*, paid you [a] compliment by stating that General Hertzog quarrelled with his brother ministers because General Botha said that, as the Indian question was an Imperial one, you should be seen not by General Hertzog but General Botha himself.[3] These internal troubles of the Ministry have disorganized the parliament and it is highly likely that the promised legislation will again be postponed. If that happens I shall be in a quandary and may not be able to leave for India about the middle of this year.

The ministers are certainly not carrying out their assurances. The Immigration Acts are being administered with an ever-growing severity. Wives of lawfully resident Indians are being put to great

[1] Dr. A. H. Gool

[2] *Vide* "Hertzogism", pp. 451-2.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 451.

trouble and expense. All the cases are collected in *Indian Opinion.*

I take it that you will form there a permanent committee and on your going to London, reorganize the London body[1].

Mr. Petit has cabled £400 telling me that the sum includes £80 given to him by you.

Mr. Kallenbach has now secured a copy of Just's book, *Return to Nature.* It was posted to you yesterday. I hope you will find time to read it.

Could the quack physician know the exact condition of his patient and whether he is carrying out his directions which he undertook to do!

I wonder if the Souvenirs were received in time for distribution at the Congress.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Could you do anything for Mrs. Vogl's Bazaar? If some of the ladies you know would send work, we shall feel thankful. The Bazaar will be held in June.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 925. Courtesy: Servants of India Society

343. MR. GOKHALE'S INDIAN SPEECHES

The return of Mr. Gokhale to India after his triumphant tour in South Africa has brought the Indian question of South Africa to the front as perhaps it has not been before except during Mr. Polak's stay in India. But the public in India, during Mr. Polak's stay there was invariably sympathetic and uncritical. This in a way was a drawback. Mr. Gokhale's landing in Bombay led, on the one hand, to the unique demonstration there as described by the *Times* correspondent, and to criticism of Mr. Gokhale's work, on the other. The criticism, in our humble opinion, was hasty and ill-conceived. What Mr. Gokhale never did was imputed to him, and the very compromise, which was universally approved two years ago, was now condemned, because Mr. Gokhale had, on local examination, confirmed his original attitude towards it. Mr. Gokhale, therefore, immediately upon landing, had to enter

[1] South Africa British Indian Committee, London

into a defence of his own action and the part Mr. Gandhi had played in the compromise.[1] Mr. Gokhale's defence was, as was only to be expected, convincing. He returned to the subject at Poona, where, too, a great demonstration of welcome was held. But the most crushing reply to his critics was made by Mr. Gokhale at Bankipore,[2] where he held the Congress audience spellbound for more than an hour. The result of the discussion is that the very papers that either themselves adversely criticized Mr. Gokhale's South African achievement, or allowed their regular correspondents to offer irresponsible and ill-informed criticism, have veered round, acknowledged their mistake, and admitted that Mr. Gokhale was right, that he had not surrendered a single principle, and that he had dealt with the problem in a calm, statesmanlike, and patriotic spirit, as he alone could do. He said or did nothing new, but he did the same thing that was done by the local Indians in his own original manner, and threw the weight of his great influence and prestige in our favour. He did not speak or act for India, because he was not its accredited agent, and yet he spoke unofficially both for India and, indeed, the Empire. For Mr. Gokhale, in spite of his critics, remains the idol of his people, and commands the respect of the Empire as no other living Indian does. We hope to be able shortly to reproduce Mr. Gokhale's speech at the Congress, and an epitome of the criticism, adverse and otherwise. The ferment created by Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa and his return has done good in that the reacceptance of the compromise by the majority of his critics will, being now informed, add greater weight to any further agitation that may go on in India in our favour. And, Heaven knows, we want all the assistance still from the Motherland that she can give us! We are but at the fringe of our troubles.

Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

[1] For the text of Gokhale's speech at Bombay, *vide* Appendix XXIII.
[2] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 421.

344. WHAT A FINE SUGGESTION!

The Estcourt Magistrate has made the suggestion that the £3 tax should be levied from every Coloured person, that is, every Indian and Negro. A Coloured servant of a white, however, should be allowed a remission of 10s. This, the Magistrate says, will make the Indians and Negroes work more. The gentleman has moreover suggested that no fresh licences should be issued to Asiatics; that the shifting of business from one place to another should not be allowed; that no firm should be authorized to admit fresh partners; that, when the owner of a business dies, it should be placed under a white trustee who should sell off the assets and close the business; and that the licences of Indians who cannot keep their books in English or Dutch should be terminated. If no such law is passed, the Magistrate goes on to say, Indians' control [of business] will become established. Though it is only this Magistrate who has spoken out, there are hundreds of other whites who think like him. They have not so far got what they want, for there is some spirit left in us yet. If that remains the same while the whites with these views increase in number, it is as clear as the rule of three that the hour of our doom is not far off.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

345. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-VII]

We saw in the previous chapter that the correct way of inhaling air is through the nose—not the mouth; few really know how to breathe correctly. Many people breathe through the mouth. This habit is injurious. If very cold air is inhaled through the mouth, one catches a cold and the voice drops. Dust particles in the air enter the lungs of one who breathes through the mouth and they often do much damage. One immediately experiences this at first hand in a large city like London. Thanks to the large number of chimneys, frequent "fogs"—yellow mists—form in that city in November. Minute black particles are suspended in the fog. They will be found in the sputum of one who inhales air laden with this dust. To avoid this happening, some women, who are not accustomed to breathing through the nose, tie a gauze mask over their

mouths. This gauze serves as a kind of strainer. The air passing through it is cleared. If this mask is examined after use, these particles are seen. God has placed a similar filter in our nose. Air breathed in through the nose reaches the lungs only after it has been cleansed. Moreover, this air goes down after it has been warmed. Keeping these facts in mind, everyone should learn to breathe in only through the nose. This is no difficult matter. When we are not talking, the mouth should be kept shut. Those who have got into the habit of leaving their mouths open should sleep at night with a bandage over the mouth. Breathing then will necessarily be through the nose. One should also take about 20 deep breaths through the nose, morning and evening, standing in the open. By so doing the habit of breathing through the nose is formed. Even if a healthy person who is accustomed to breathing through the nose does this, his chest will become strong and broad. This experiment should be tried by everyone. One should measure one's chest before commencing this experiment and again a month later. One will find that the chest has become appreciably broader even in so short a period. Sandow and others get people to exercise with dumb-bells, and the principle underlying it is the same. Exercising briskly with dumb-bells makes one breathe hard and deep. And this makes the chest broad and strong.

Together with the knowledge of how to breathe, it is also necessary to develop the habit of inhaling fresh air day and night. Our normal custom is to remain confined in our house or shop by day, and at night to sleep in a room that is like a safe. If the room has doors and windows, we shut them. *This habit must be strongly deprecated.*

It is imperative that we inhale pure air for as long as possible, especially while sleeping. Everyone who can manage to do so should accordingly sleep in an open veranda or on the terrace, outside the house or on the balcony. Those who do not have the good fortune to be able to do this should keep as many doors and windows open as possible. There is no need to fight shy of air, which is our staple diet twenty-four hours of the day. The notion that the fresh or raw air of morning causes illness is a mere superstition. It is possible that one who has spoiled his lungs through bad habits may contract a cold by sudden contact with fresh air, but one should not be afraid of this cold. In Europe, at various places, they have now put up, for persons suffering from tuberculosis, spacious buildings, which admit plenty of fresh air. The chief cause of the pestilence of plague in our own country is our bad habit of fouling the air and inhaling this defiled air. That even

the most delicate of persons can only benefit from fresh air is a certain truth. If we learn not to foul the atmosphere and to take in only fresh air, we will, without any effort on our part, be spared many diseases, and the charge of slovenliness made against us in lands such as South Africa will to some extent be obviated.

Just as it is needful to sleep in the open, so it is not to cover one's face during sleep. It is the habit of many Indians to sleep with their faces covered. By so doing, we inhale the foul air we have exhaled. Air is a thing that finds its way through the smallest of passages. However we muffle ourselves, some air does get in. If this did not happen, we would die of asphyxiation whenever we sleep covered right up to the head. But this does not happen, since some air from without, with oxygen in it, does enter; however that is not enough. If one feels cold in the head, one can cover it separately as with a Balaclava cap, leaving the nose uncovered. However cold it may be, one should never sleep with the nose covered.

Air and light are so closely connected that a word or two must be said about light in this chapter itself. As we cannot live without air, so we cannot do without light. Hell is conceived as absence of light. Where there is no light, the air is always unwholesome. When we enter a dark room, we are bound to become aware of the smell. We cannot use our eyes in the dark; and this proves that we are born to live in the light. The darkness that Nature has thought necessary for us, she has given us by creating the comfort-giving night. Many people have got into the habit of sitting or sleeping, on the hottest of days, in cellar-like rooms, having shut out light and air. Those who live without air and light look weak and lustreless.

In Europe nowadays, some doctors cure their patients by prescribing plenty of light and fresh air. It is not only the face that they expose to light and air; the patient is almost stripped and they then bring fresh air and light to play on the skin all over the body. Hundreds of persons are cured by this treatment. In order to allow light and air to enter and leave freely, the windows of the house should be kept open day and night.

On reading this, people will wonder how it is that, if light and air are so necessary, many who remain confined to their rooms do not suffer any harm. It must be said that those who entertain this doubt have not thought about the matter. Our subject is not how to exist anyhow, but how to live, if possible, in perfect health. It has been conclusively proved that, where people get insufficient air and light, they are unwell all the time. City-dwellers are more

delicate than village folk because they get less light and air. Among our people in Durban, diseases such as tuberculosis are prevalent and the Medical Officer ascribes it to the fact that we live in such conditions that we either cannot get or do not take in fresh air. The subject of air and light has so close a relation to good health that one should pay great attention to understanding it.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 15-2-1913

346. GOKHALE IN INDIA

Mr. Gokhale has made three noteworthy speeches in India and reports of these along with comments have reached us. The speeches were made in Bombay, in Poona and at the Congress at Bankipore. The speech at the Congress has been considered the best. It lasted, they say, an hour and was listened to with rapt attention by the audience; such great effect did it have. As soon as Mr. Gokhale landed at Bombay, he found two groups. One, headed by Sir Pherozeshah[1], considered that Mr. Gokhale had returned after having given away Indians' rights. He had not done right [they argued] to assent to the settlement arrived at through Mr. Gandhi. One writer even went to the extent of remarking that the money sent to South Africa had all been wasted. This group was of the view that Gokhale should not only have secured Indians' legal rights to enter South Africa but should also have asked permission for unlimited numbers—[indeed] for any Indian who may wish to do so. It made no difference to this group that, in case such freedom was denied, all the Indians might

[1] Sir Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta; "uncrowned king" of Bombay who "roared like a lion in law courts"; was associated with the Congress since its inception and presided over its sixth session at Calcutta in 1890; elected President of the 24th Session of the Congress (in 1919) but resigned dramatically six days before assumption of office; did much committee work for the Congress, particularly in connection with the protest against the Public Service Commission recommendations in 1892; member of the 1894 deputation to Lord Elgin; in 1896, met Gandhiji for the first time "as a loving father would meet his grown-up son" and helped him to call a public meeting in Bombay which both of them addressed; in 1901, advised Gandhiji against going to South Africa; first sceptical of satyagraha because he thought that nothing could be done for Indians abroad unless the country was free, but declared at a Bombay meeting in 1914 that "his blood boiled at the thought of these women lying in jails". *Vide An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. XXV, Part II, Ch. XXVI and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XL.

have to quit. That this group is a very small one is shown by the meetings that Gokhale addressed in Bombay and Poona and at the Congress for, at these, no one came forward to oppose him. However, a paper like *The Bengalee* was misled by this group. After Mr. Gokhale's Congress speech, newspapers which had earlier made adverse comments showed regret and said that they had written under a misconception.[1] Speaking at the Congress, Mr. Gokhale has explained [his case] so well that nothing can now be said against his action. What is more, it should now be conceded that what he did was best.

We think that it has been all to the good that there was difference of opinion in India and that Mr. Gokhale's action has been criticized. This gave rise to a great debate all over the country on our problem, which led to a better understanding of the true significance of our campaign. Those who had so far had only a superficial understanding now began to go deeper into the matter. Had they gone into it at the outset, there would have been no misunderstanding at all. Why should the selfsame men who approved of the settlement two years ago censure Mr. Gokhale now for accepting that very settlement. Why should they now oppose it? But everyone would want to know what a man such as Mr. Gokhale had done and be led thus to reflect over the matter. While doing so, people may in their impatience find fault. This is what has happened this time. The result, however, has only been beneficial. It is certain that our problem has assumed greater importance than before in India as in England.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-2-1913

347. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-VIII]

4. WATER

We have seen earlier that air is food. The same is true of water. Air enjoys the first position, and water comes second. Without air man can survive only for a few minutes, whereas he can live without water for hours, even for days on end, depending on the country. Even so, it is certain that one cannot subsist without water for as long as one can without food. If, however, a person can have water, he can live for many days without food. Water

[1] *Vide* "Mr. Gokhale at the National Congress", pp. 421-2 and "Gokhale's Speech in India", p. 425.

makes up more than 70 per cent. of our body. Without water, it is believed, the body would weigh 8 to 12 lbs. In all that we eat, there is more or less water.

Yet we take proportionately little care of a thing which, for us, is very important. Diseases like the plague beset us because of our carelessness in the matter of air. Similar results follow from our carelessness regarding water. Typhoid often breaks out among troops in battle and the cause, it has been proved, is polluted water, because on the front soldiers have to drink whatever water they can get. Typhoid breaks out also among those who live in cities, and the cause is mostly bad water. Drinking bad water often gives rise to diseases like stone.

There are two causes for contamination of water—one, that the water is found in places where it cannot remain pure, and two, that we sully the water. We ought not to drink water which is stored in or comes from a dirty place, and for the most part, we do not; but we do not hesitate to drink water which has been polluted by us through neglect. For instance, we throw whatever we like into a river and then proceed to use that very water for drinking and washing. The rule is that one should never drink water from the place where one bathes. River-water should be drawn from a spot up stream where no one bathes. In every village, therefore, the river should be divided into two sections—the lower section for bathing and washing and the upper for drinking. When an army camps in the vicinity of a river, the direction of the river-flow is ascertained and a flag put up [at a given spot] on the bank. Anyone who bathes in a place higher up is punished. Where, in our country, these arrangements do not exist, careful women dig pits in the river-bed and take water from these; this practice is very wholesome as the water gets filtered as it passes through the sand. Well-water is sometimes dangerous to drink. In shallow wells, the liquid from the excreta absorbed into the surrounding ground seeps in and pollutes the water. Sometimes dead birds fall into them; often birds build their nests within. Moreover, if there is no masonry round the well [at the top], dirt from the feet of persons drawing water falls into the well and fouls the water. It is therefore necessary to employ the utmost care in using well-water for drinking. Water stored in tanks is oftentimes bad. To prevent deterioration of such water, the tanks should be cleaned from time to time and kept covered; the roof and other places from where [drinking] water comes should be kept clean. Few, however, make the effort to maintain such cleanliness. The golden rule is therefore to rid the water of impurities to the extent possible; to boil it for half an hour;

to let it stand for a time; to pour it into another vessel without disturbing the water and then to drink it only after straining it through thick, clean cloth into a third vessel. One who does this is, however, not released from his duty towards others. Water which is maintained for public use is in the nature of property which jointly belongs to him and to all others living in the locality. He is obliged to use it like a trustee. He must, therefore, do nothing which might foul the water in any way. He must never foul a river or well. He must not bathe or wash clothes near any source of drinking water or defecate in the vicinity. He may not cremate dead bodies near by or throw the ashes into the water.

Even after taking these precautions, we do not get water that is perfectly pure. It contains a certain amount of salts and, occasionally, rotten vegetable matter. Rain water is regarded as the purest of all, but before it reaches us the dust particles, etc., in the atmosphere get mixed with it. Absolutely pure water has a different effect on the body. Knowing this, certain doctors prescribe distilled water for their patients. This water is made by boiling water into steam and cooling the latter. Anyone suffering from constipation may, if he chooses, have first-hand proof of the efficacy of distilled water. Such water is sold by all chemists. A book has recently been published on the subject of distilled water and its uses. The writer believes that a large number of diseases can be cured by the use of water so processed. This is an exaggeration, but it is not improbable that absolutely pure water has considerable effect on the body.

Not everyone knows that water is of two kinds, hard and soft; but the fact is noteworthy. Hard water is that in which soap does not readily lather but remains insoluble. This means that the water contains salts in large quantities. It is difficult to use soap with hard water, as it is with brackish water. With hard water, cooking too is difficult and, for the same reason, drinking it should, and does, make it difficult for us to digest our food. Hard water always tastes brackish whereas soft water is either sweet or tasteless. Some believe that, as the substances dissolved in hard water are nutritive, its use is beneficial, but we generally find that soft water is the right one to use. Rain is Nature's purest form of water. It is of course soft and all agree it is good to use. If hard water is boiled on a *chula* for half an hour, it becomes soft. After it is taken off the fire, it should be processed as described earlier.

When to drink water and how much—the question sometimes arises. The simple answer to this is that water should be drunk

when one feels thirsty and enough to quench one's thirst. There is nothing wrong in drinking water during or after a meal. Those who drink in the course of a meal should, however, remember that water is not to be drunk for washing down the food. If food does not go down by itself, that is either because it has not been properly chewed or because the stomach does not need it.

In fact, it is not—and it should not be—generally necessary to drink water. Just as our bodies consist of over 70 per cent. of water, so does our food. In some foods, the proportion of water far exceeds 70 per cent. There is no food that is wholly devoid of water. Furthermore, much water is used in cooking. Why then does one feel thirsty? A complete answer to this question can be had only by reference to the constituents of our diet. Here, it may be simply said that those whose diet does not contain things like spices and chillies, which create an unnatural thirst, need only a little water. Those whose diet consists mainly of fresh fruit will seldom want to drink water by itself. If a person is constantly thirsty without reason, we may take it that he suffers from something or the other.

One notices that some people drink water indiscriminately, having superficially observed others doing so without any apparent ill-effects. The answer that was given to a similar question in the chapter on air applies here also. Moreover, the blood in our body possesses such wonderful properties that it destroys a number of toxins itself. But a fine sword is damaged if not burnished after use, and so with blood. If we get blood to do the work of a watchman, but do not look after it, it is not surprising that its power is sapped and finally lost altogether. Thus, if one always drinks bad water, the blood will in the end certainly stop doing its work.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-2-1913

348. *LETTER TO H. L. PAUL*

JOHANNESBURG,
February 25, 1913

DEAR MR. PAUL,

Yes I am simply buried in work. I am keeping Miss N. informed of everything.

As to Mr. Serridge I am sorry nothing can be done just now. There is no Indian school here worthy of the name. But what I suggest is that he should forward his application through the Superintendent there. And if the Superintendent back it strongly, Mr. S. would stand a fair chance when the proper time comes.

I am sorry you are keeping in the same sorrowful mood.[1] You should try to get rid of it. The sorrows come not to make men despondent but to chasten.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the original: C. W. 4902. Courtesy: Eugene Joseph Paul, Pietermaritzburg

349. *JOHANNESBURG SCHOOL*

It was only recently that this school was started, but there seems to be trouble already. Everyone has been under the impression that Tamil and Gujarati will be taught during school hours. We now hear that Tamil can only be taught outside school hours, which means it cannot be taught at all. If the Government does that, that will be a great injustice. In a talk with a member of the School Board, Mr. Gokhale was given a clear promise that the Government would arrange for the teaching of any Indian language if there was a considerable number of students of that language [group] in the school. Tamil is an important Indian language. A fair number of boys who know that language have joined the school. It is the Government's duty to give these boys a fair knowledge of that language. The new Committee that has been set up would do well to agitate in this regard. Justice will not be difficult to get.

[1] Following the death of Clement, addressee's son

When children are not taught through their mother tongue, they only acquire a parrot-like knowledge. A boy studying in a Government Indian school, where the teacher did not know the mother tongue of the pupil, had been taught the English word for *popat* [i. e., parrot], but he did not know that the word denoted *popat* in Gujarati. When, therefore, he was asked to explain the English word, he did not know it. He only knew that it was a kind of bird. This is the state of many Indian children in schools in this country, for the Government have evolved an erroneous system. They impart knowledge only through the English language. For all that they [the pupils] learn turns out to be parrot-learning. It is assumed all round that the Johannesburg school would be free of this defect. It is the Committee's responsibility to bring about that state of affairs.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-3-1913

350. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-IX]

5. DIET

Air, water and food constitute our nourishment. But as a rule we look upon food alone as nourishment, and by food we only mean food-grains. We will not believe that a person lives on food unless he eats wheat and rice.

The truth is that air is the principal form of nourishment. We have seen that we just cannot exist without it, also that we are taking in this essential form of nourishment every moment, whether we are aware of it or not. Water comes next in importance to air but before food, and so nature has seen to it that this also is more readily available than food. Food occupies the third and last place.

Food is quite a complicated subject to write on. There is much difference of opinion regarding what food to take and when. Habits differ from nation to nation. The same item of food affects different individuals differently. It is difficult, even impossible, to be dogmatic in this matter. In certain parts of the world men kill human beings and eat their flesh; for them it is food. There are also some who eat excreta. That is food for them. Some live entirely on milk; for them milk is food. Others, again, live on fruit and for them that is food. In this chapter the term "food" covers all these things.

Although it is difficult to lay down what food should be eaten, it is necessary for each one to come to some decision for himself. It is of course superfluous to observe that the body cannot function without food. We are ready to suffer innumerable hardships, even commit sins, in order to obtain food. Under these circumstances it is necessary to inquire into the purpose of taking food. We shall then be able to determine what food we should take. All will agree that out of every 100,000 persons 99,999 eat merely to please their palate, even if they fall ill in consequence. Some take a laxative every day in order to be able to eat well, or some powder to aid digestion. Some, having gorged an enormous meal with great relish, vomit it out and are ready again for other delicacies. Some eat large quantities and then miss a couple of meals. Some die of thoughtless overeating. The author has himself come across all these types. There has been such a transformation in his own life that he can now laugh at many of his past follies and is ashamed of some others. There was a time when the author would drink tea in the morning, have breakfast two or three hours later, a regular meal at one p.m., then tea at about three o'clock and a full meal between 6 and 7 in the evening. His condition in those days was pitiable indeed. He used to get oedema. A medicine bottle was always at his side. He would often have a laxative in order to be able to eat, and afterwards a dose from another bottle by way of tonic, as a matter of routine. He feels that he now has three times the energy for work that he then had, although he must be said to be no longer in his prime. Such a life is indeed to be pitied, and is, if we go deeper into the matter, low, sinful and despicable.

Man is not born merely to eat, nor does he live merely for the sake of eating. He is born in order to know his Maker and he lives to this end. This cannot be done unless one keeps one's body alive and the latter cannot exist without food. This is why food is a necessity. This is the ideal attitude and it will do for those who believe in God. But even the atheist will admit that one must eat with due regard to one's health and with the object of keeping the body fit.

Consider beasts and birds. Cattle do not eat for the satisfaction of the palate, nor do they eat like gluttons. They eat when they are hungry—and just enough to satisfy that hunger. They do not cook their food. They take their portion from that which Nature proffers to them. Then, is man born to pander to his palate? Is he alone fated to be always ill? Among the animals which are not domesticated, there is no starvation; they have no rich and

poor, nor is there one group that eats ten times in a day and another that can scarcely eat even once. All these distinctions are to be found only in our species, yet we regard ourselves as superior in intelligence to animals. It is, however, evident from all this, that if we make our stomach our God and spend our lives in its worship, we must surely be inferior to them.

If we think carefully, we shall discover that the root cause of the many evil things that we do, such as lying, pleasure-hunting, perjury, theft and so on, is our failure to restrain the craving of our palate. If we could keep it under control, we would find it easy enough to rid ourselves of the other cravings. In spite of our knowing this, we fail to regard over-eating or taking too much pleasure in food as a sin. If we steal or fornicate or tell a lie, others regard us with contempt. Among books on ethical subjects, many fine ones have been written on lying, stealing, adultery, etc., but there is no book about the kind of person who cannot control his palate. This subject is not, as a matter of fact, considered as falling under ethics. The reason for this is that we are, all of us, in the same boat. How will the pot call the kettle black? Even our great men do not appear to have succeeded in mastering the desire for tasty food. Consequently, indulging one's palate has never been considered to be wrong. The most that books recommend is that, in order to control the senses, it is desirable to limit the amount of food eaten. But it has never been said that the pampering of our palate makes us prone to other weaknesses as well. Thieves, cheats and sensual men are shunned by respectable people. But these same respectable people must be indulging in pleasures of the palate hundreds of times more varied than those of ordinary men and women. *A man's gentlemanliness is supposed to consist in the richness of his meals*. Thus, just as in a thieves' settlement stealing would not be a sin, so we, being all of us slaves of the palate, do not frown upon such slavery or even notice it. On the contrary, we are happy with it. At a wedding we give feasts to minister to the pleasures of the palate, our own and those of others. Some give dinners at funerals, too. On festival days, there must be sweets. When a guest comes, tasty dishes must be prepared. Not to invite neighbours and friends to partake of meals and not to go to them for the same purpose is frowned upon as grossly unsocial conduct. Unless we press the invited guest to overeat, we are considered to be extremely stingy. On every holiday, we feel bound to prepare special dishes. On Sundays, we seem to think that we have the right to eat till we are sick. What is, therefore, in the nature of a great fault has been transformed by us into an essential social obligation. The serving

of meals is accompanied with numerous formalities of a hypocritical nature, so that our slavery, our animality is completely hidden from ourselves. How shall we free ourselves from this darkness? This problem lies beyond the scope of simple hygiene. We can, therefore, only pose it and leave it there; it must be considered, however, to the extent that it bears on the problem of health.

Let us now look at the subject from another angle. It appears to be a universal law that the food needed by living creatures, whether human or animal, is provided by Nature from day to day. There is nothing strange in this. In Nature's kingdom no insurance is required. No one is found remiss in his duty, none sleeps, no one is lazy. The water-wheel of her processes is in perpetual motion without so much as a moment's pause. And so Nature does not have to lay by a store for a year or even for a day. By this inexorable law are we governed, whether we wish it or no. If we understand and abide by it, not a single family will have to starve even for a day. Now, it is obvious that, if just sufficient food is produced every day and if one person eats more than his share—eats more than he needs, there is bound to be a shortage to that extent, and, therefore, insufficient food for another. This is the simple explanation why large numbers of people have to go without food. In God's creation, in the kitchens of thousands of kings and hundreds of thousands of rich men, food is prepared that is far in excess of what they and their servants need. This excess has been taken out of the mouths of others. Will not these others then go hungry? If two wells are served by the same current of water, and if this current carries just sufficient water for the two, it is quite plain that an excess of flow into one will mean shortage for the other. If this rule is correct—a rule which is not a figment of the author's imagination but one which has been propounded by highly intelligent men—it means that, whatever we eat after our hunger has been satisfied is stolen food. Akha[1], the goldsmith, has truly sung: "Like unto unprocessed mercury swallowed in place of food is wealth stolen from another." Whatever we eat for the sake of its taste alone is to be paid for by the body through toxic reactions, either visible or invisible; we lose our health to that extent and suffer. After this discussion, it will be easier for us to consider what and when to eat.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-3-1913

[1] A Gujarati poet of the 17th century

351. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR[1]

March 4, 1913

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] of the 24th ultimo regarding the procedure adopted at the Ports in respect of those British Indians who come from India and who have residential rights in the Transvaal.

In the humble opinion of my Association, the reply is highly unsatisfactory, for it ignores the real state of things obtaining at the Ports.

Your letters seem to suggest that Indian passengers arrive from India with unsupported claims for the Transvaal and that such persons are detained on board pending investigation by the Registrar. If persons having unsupported claims were in the habit of coming in any numbers, and if they were allowed to remain within the borders of the Union, though under detention, my Association would have no cause for complaint. But it is the experience of my Association that Indians with unsupported claims do not, as a rule, come, and that those who do come are not detained, but sent away by the vessels that bring them.

In the case of the brothers Dayal, their claims were, as the Hon'ble the Minister is aware, fully supported, yet the boys would have been sent away, had not the Supreme Court intervened.[3] What my Association submits is that the relief which the Supreme Court grants should be accorded to such applicants without their having to call in its intervention.

[1] This letter was presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] This letter from the Under-Secretary for the Interior was in reply to an earlier request by the Chairman, BIA, that Indians arriving from India and claiming rights of residence in the Transvaal be issued visiting permits at the port of arrival against a security deposit to enable them to prove their claims. The Under-Secretary said: "The practice in Natal is to allow the promptest landing, on visiting passes, of all Transvaal Indians whose papers are found, upon arrival of the parties, to be in order, and to detain on board under a restriction order all those passengers having unsupported claims to go to the Transvaal until such claims are admitted by the Registrar. In this connection, every facility is afforded to claimants to submit their cases, and if Indians come to Natal without procuring proper admission papers, they have no one but themselves to blame for any inconvenience they may suffer, and it is regretted that present arrangements in this connection cannot be disturbed." *Indian Opinion*, 8-3-1912.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 431.

To explain its position better, it is perhaps necessary for my Association to set forth the classes of persons who have Transvaal claims.

Those Indians who are registered under the Asiatic Act and hold registration certificates form one class. These are able to produce documents to prove their right of residence in the Transvaal.

Those Indians who are not yet registered but who have a right to be registered form the other class.[1] These cannot always have documentary proof, and never such as could be effectively checked by the Port Immigration Officers, for a majority of them can support their claims only by producing evidence of witnesses in the Transvaal. Such was the case with the brothers Dayal. Their title to registration was based on the fact that they were in the Transvaal on the 31st May, 1902. My Association suggests that it was not possible for them to prove their claim, unless they were enabled to bring forward evidence that was available only in South Africa. It is for such persons that my Association seeks protection, which has been cruelly and vexatiously denied hitherto by the Immigration Officers at the Port; and my Association trusts that the relief requested will be granted.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

352. WELCOME[2]

In common with our countrymen we extend a hearty welcome to Mr. Hajee Dawad Mahomed. It is the dearest wish of a devout Mahomedan to be able to pay a visit to holy Mecca and to be called a " Hajee". Mr. Hajee Dawad Mahomed has had his wish fulfilled. And he now returns to the land of his adoption to take up the work of serving his countrymen. We wish him long life and success in his arduous task.

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

[1] For the categories of Indians whom Gandhiji considered eligible for registration under the Provisional Settlement, *vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", p. 59.

[2] *Vide* also "Speech at Durban Farewell to Pilgrims", pp. 273-4 and "Dawad Mahomed", p. 275.

353. GOGA'S CASE

Mr. Goga has lost again.[1] In our view, however, Mr. Goga has won. We congratulate him on his untiring efforts. We are sure that he will succeed if he fights to the finish. Once again, he has filed an appeal against the decision of the Licensing Board. This time the judgment of the Supreme Court may possibly go against him. We would advise Mr. Goga to move [the court at] Bloemfontein if he loses in the Supreme Court, and, should he fail there too, to take the matter even to England. Meanwhile, other Indians would do well to declare their support to Mr. Goga. They should hold meetings and make representations to the Government. Satyagraha can also be employed in a case like this. If we are brave enough, we can collect such cases and hold mass meetings in every town and so convince the Government that Indians will permit neither themselves nor the Government to rest in peace till the Licensing Act is repealed or amended.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

354. BHAWANI DAYAL'S CASE[2]

The British Indian Association at Johannesburg is still pursuing this case. The latest communication[3] from the Government must be considered unsatisfactory. It is clear enough from the letter that the Immigration Officers do not supply all the information to the Government and that the latter too is not anxious to obtain it. If the Government had acquainted itself with all the facts, it could

[1] M. A. Goga, an Indian trader of Ladysmith, had been refused transfer of his trading licence to himself and his son by the Borough Licensing Officer, the Ladysmith Chamber of Commerce appearing as objectors. On appeal, a Full Bench quashed the proceedings and mulcted the Chamber in costs (£59). Goga's application for transfer was then heard *de novo* by the Licensing Officer and rejected. On appeal the Borough Licensing Appeal Board upheld the officer's decision. For Goga's earlier cases concerning trading licences, *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 345-6, Vol. IX, pp. 345-6 and Vol. X, p. 306.

[2] *Vide* also footnote 1 on p. 431 and "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 476-7.

[3] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 476.

not betray the ignorance that we find it does in its latest communication. The Government forgets that the immigration officers, if they are not satisfied with [the claims of] immigrants from India, do not keep them on board the ship but deport them. It seems to be under the impression that such Indians are detained on the ship. If this were done, we would indeed be spared the enormous expenditure and inconvenience to which we are put. Mr. Cachalia's letter[1] has now made all these things clear. The Government will have a difficult job replying to this letter, or it will have to admit that the Government is bent on harassing even old residents. In this case, Mr. Polak has asked for payment of the costs by the Government. Whether costs are granted or not, the Government is going to realize that its high-handed attitude may be advertised all over the Empire.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

355. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH* [-*X*]

In considering what food we should eat, let us first ask what we should not eat. If we designate as food all that enters the body by way of the mouth, then alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco, hemp, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices—all are food.

All these should be avoided. The author has found this to have been borne out by experience. Some of these articles he has consumed himself; regarding the rest he has observed the experience of others.

It is necessary to write about alcohol and hemp. All religions regard them as bad. There is hardly anyone who will defend their consumption. Alcohol has brought destruction to entire families. Millions of drunkards have been ruined. Under the influence of drink a man ceases to be himself. Such a one sometimes forgets the difference between mother and wife. This vice corrodes the intestines and, in the final stages, the victim becomes a burden upon the earth. Drunkards may be seen rolling in the gutters. A respectable man turns into a man of straw when he gets drunk. It is not that a person falls into such a state only when he drinks. An alcohol addict, one will observe, is feeble-minded even when sober. He has no control over his mind, which wanders like a child's.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 476-7.

Alcohol, as also hemp, deserves to be entirely avoided. There is no room for two opinions on this. Some think alcohol may be taken as medicine. However, doctors in Europe, which is the home of wine, say that even this is not necessary. At first alcohol was used there for many ailments, but that has now been stopped. As a matter of fact, this whole argument is advanced with dubious motives. If wine can be used for medicinal purposes [the argument runs], there can be no objection against its use as drink either; that is the game of these advocates of drink. But aloes and crotons are good medicine; yet no one suggests that they be used as food. It is possible that alcohol may prove beneficial in certain illnesses, but the havoc that it has wrought is so great that it is the duty of every thoughtful person to give up even its medicinal use, at the cost of his life if need be. If, by using alcohol for preserving the body, we are likely to harm the best interests of hundreds of people, our duty requires that we sacrifice the body instead. There are in India hundreds of thousands who do not take alcohol in spite of the doctor's orders. They are not willing to prolong their lives by taking alcohol or anything else to which they have an objection. The great people of China, enslaved by opium as they are, will soon perish in spite of the freedom that they have achieved. The *garasias*[1] among us have lost their patrimony, thanks to their addiction to opium.

The reader will easily recognize the harm in alcohol, hemp and opium, but not so readily that in cigarettes and tobacco. These have spread their tentacles so firmly over the human race that it will take ages to free it of them. Young and old, all alike have got into their clutches. Even people regarded as virtuous have taken to smoking and the habit is not regarded as something to be ashamed of. It is quite a popular form of hospitality among friends. Instead of being checked, the habit is spreading. The ordinary man is not even aware of the fact that cigarette dealers use every kind of trick in the manufacture of cigarettes to confirm the hold of the addiction over its victims. Various kinds of perfumed solutions[2] and even opium water, are sprinkled on the tobacco. As a result of these practices, cigarettes acquire a stronger and stronger hold over us. Thousands of pounds are spent on advertisement in order to popularize them. Cigarette companies in Europe run their own printing presses. They purchase bioscopes and offer all kinds of

[1] Landowners inheriting shares of state lands in virtue of relationship with the ruling family.

[2] Literally, "acids"

prizes, start lotteries and spend money like water on advertisements. The result is that even women have begun to smoke. Poems have been written about the cigarette, which has been called the poor man's friend.

It is impossible to estimate the harm done by smoking. A smoker becomes so brazen-faced that, indifferent to the feelings of others, he will light his cigarette even in another's house without so much as asking for permission to do so. He respects no one's presence.

It has been observed that cigarette or tobacco smokers will commit many other crimes in order to obtain these things. Children steal money from their parents. In gaol, prisoners treasure stolen cigarettes at great risk. They can get on without food but not without cigarettes. During war, soldiers addicted to smoking are in a pitiable condition if they do not get cigarettes. They become practically useless.

The late Tolstoy, writing on this subject, tells the story of a man who planned to kill his beloved. He drew his knife and got ready to use it. Then he relented and turned back. After this, he sat down for a smoke. The fumes of the cigarette entered his head, the poison affected his brain and he finally committed the murder. It was Tolstoy's firm belief that the cigarette is so subtle a form of intoxication that it should be regarded as in some ways a greater menace than even drink.

Smoking is also very expensive and, indeed, every smoker feels the strain of the expense to a greater or lesser degree, depending on his means. Some people spend five pounds or seventy-five rupees a month on cigarettes. The author has himself come across such a case.

Smoking weakens the digestion, renders food tasteless so that more and more spices have to be added to it. The smoker's breath is offensive. The smoke that he exhales pollutes the atmosphere. At times he gets small ulcers in the mouth. Gums and teeth become black or yellow, and some persons have even contracted serious diseases in consequence. It seems strange that people who disapprove of drinking see nothing wrong in smoking; when, however we remember how subtle is the poison of smoking, we see easily enough why it is that men who hate alcohol are nevertheless ready to enjoy smoking. Those who wish to remain healthy should definitely give up the cigarette.

Drink, tobacco, hemp, etc., not only damage physical health but also impair mental fitness and entail wasteful expenditure. We lose all our moral sense and become slaves to our weakness.

About tea, coffee and cocoa, however, it seems extremely difficult to explain the truth and convince anyone that they are harmful. One must say, all the same, that they, too, are harmful. These also contain some kinds of intoxicants. If milk and sugar were not added to tea and coffee, they would have no nutritional value whatever. Experiments in living exclusively on tea and coffee indicate that they contain no nourishment for the blood. Only a few years ago, tea and coffee were generally not drunk among us. They were only taken on certain occasions or with medicine, but, today, in the wake of modern progress, they have become a daily necessity. They are offered even to a casual visitor and frequent tea-parties are given. During Lord Curzon's regime, tea wrought terrible havoc. That gentleman, seeking to promote the interests of tea merchants, introduced tea into every household so that those who were previously accustomed to wholesome drinks now take tea.

Cocoa has not yet become so popular because it is slightly more expensive than tea. Fortunately for us, we have not yet made friends with it, but it holds strong enough sway in fashionable homes.

Tea, coffee and cocoa, all have a certain property that weakens our digestive powers. They are intoxicants because they form a habit which cannot be broken. When the author was in the habit of drinking tea, he felt lethargic if he did not get tea at the usual hour—this is the conclusive test of an intoxicant. On one occasion, about 400 women and children were gathered together at a function. The organizing committee had resolved not to provide tea or coffee. The women in the gathering were in the habit of taking tea at four every afternoon. A message was soon conveyed to the organizers that, if tea was not served, the ladies would fall ill and be unable to move. And so the resolve had to be set aside. As arrangements were being made for serving tea, excited messages poured in demanding that the organizers should hurry up. The ladies' heads had begun to ache and every moment felt like a month to them. It was only after they had their tea that these worthy ladies' faces brightened up and they calmed down. This incident has been described exactly as it happened. One woman had suffered so much harm because of the tea habit that she could not digest any food and had constant headaches. Her health, however, has greatly improved since she, with a strong effort of will, gave up tea. A physician in the employ of Battersea Municipality in England has discovered that thousands of women in that area suffer from nervous disorders, which he ascribes to their addiction to tea. The author has come upon innumerable examples of the

harm done to health by tea and he is personally convinced, therefore, that tea is very injurious to health.

As regards coffee, there is a couplet which has become well-known:

Counters phlegm and wind,[1] but lowers vigour and strength
And turns blood to water—two merits against three faults.

This verse sounds quite convincing. Coffee may have the virtue of counteracting phlegm and wind. But so have some other substances. Those who wish to drink coffee for the first two reasons should take a little ginger juice; it will serve the same purpose as coffee. But a preparation detrimental to vigour which needs to be fully conserved, one reducing strength and turning blood into water, surely deserves to be wholly shunned.

Cocoa shares the defects of coffee. Like tea, it also contains a substance which has the effect of making the skin quite rough.

For those who include morals in their conception of good health, there is a further argument against these three beverages. Tea, coffee and cocoa are produced for the most part by indentured labour. In cocoa plantations, Negro workers are subjected to such inhuman treatment that if we witnessed it with our own eyes we would have no desire to drink cocoa. Volumes have been written on the tortures inflicted in these plantations. To be sure, if we made searching inquiries regarding the origin of the various articles of our diet, we should feel called upon to reject 90 per cent. of them!

In place of these three drinks, a harmless and nourishing beverage can be prepared in the following manner. Those who like can certainly call it tea. Many coffee lovers cannot distinguish it from coffee. Wheat should be well cleaned and roasted in a pan. It should be kept on the fire till it becomes red and is about to turn black. It should then be taken off the fire and ground rough in a coffee-mill. A teaspoon of this powder should be put into a cup and boiling water poured over it. Boiling this mixture for a minute improves the flavour. Milk and sugar to taste may be added, but it can also be taken without them. Every reader will find it worth while to make this experiment. If he acquires this habit and gives up tea, coffee and cocoa, he will save much money and also be spared the risk to his health. Those who do not want the bother of roasting and grinding the wheat may send 9d. to the

[1] The original has *kaph* and *vayu*—terms in Ayurveda, a system of Indian medicine.

Manager, and they will receive one lb. of the prepared wheat powder.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-3-1913

356. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

Phagan Sud 6 [March 14, 1913][1]

CHI. HARILAL,

After many months I have had a letter from you. Every time you express regret and say you are sorry for not writing regularly. Your repentance has no meaning either for you or for me. Repentance will bear fruit only when it relates to one's failure to do a thing despite one's best effort and when it is followed by greater vigilance in guarding against further failure. Your regret amounts to a mere formality. Do children have to be formal with parents?

As soon as I knew of your examination [result] from another source, I wrote you a letter[2]. But it could not be posted until now, because the diary[3] containing your address had been misplaced. You will therefore get that letter as well as this one about the same time.

I am not the only one to wait anxiously for a letter from you. Ba keeps on inquiring, and so do Miss Schlesin and the others.

Your mind has not become calm even there. I do not understand what it is that you want. All that I can make out is that you want to live in Ahmedabad and with Chanchi. Perhaps you wrote to the Doctor[4], too, about this. You may live as suits you best.

In reply to the second portion of your letter, I shall say only this: "Live in any way that suits you, [but] strive to realize God anyhow." I shall not argue.

Our paths may well be different. If our destination is the same, we shall meet there. What would it matter even if we should follow contrary paths? I am not so arrogant as to believe that I am wholly right and others, in the wrong. Of course, I hold

[1] In his letter to Harilal Gandhi of January 26, 1913 (p. 449), Gandhiji had discussed Harilal's examination result and asked for the question-papers. Here he repeats the request and adds that the two letters are being posted together. This was, therefore, written shortly after the letter of January 26.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", pp. 449-50.

[3] *Vide* "Diary, 1912", p. 419.

[4] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

on to the idea that I must do what seems to be my duty. Though I know that we do not become equal even if I give you this freedom, because, in following a course opposed to my ideas, you have to depend on me for money. I wish I could release you even from this situation [of dependence] and then argue with you as an equal. But how is this possible? If, impelled by my sense of duty, I have erred in giving up the source of my income, I shall of course have to repent for that. Have I not, however, done an injustice because in doing this I failed to take my sons' interests into account? My answer is "No". I did consider their interests, too, according to my own lights. Whether my judgement was right or wrong time alone will show to us both.

I observe that England is still on your lips. Please overcome the desire. Your time is not yet.

Send me the question-papers of your examination if you have preserved them.

Manilal is deep in his studies. He is interested in them. I give him an hour and a half every day. Let me know what books you read—for your examination, I mean. Send me some samples of your English composition.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

Ramdas and Devdas also study fairly well, but they have developed no interest in their studies. Ba is well, more or less. Anandlal has left Phœnix that he may be able to look after Abhechand's business.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9539

357. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Phagan Sud 6 [March 14, 1913][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

The letters you wrote from India have arrived now. They were read with great interest. I know the restrictions you have placed. But in these letters you have given me permission to show them to Chhaganlal and Maganlal. They were also shown to

[1] Jamnadas Gandhi left South Africa on December 14, 1912 and any letter from him could not have reached Gandhiji before January 15 of the following year at the earliest. In 1913, *Phagan Sud* 6 corresponds to March 14.

Manilal. I thought it was in his interest that he should read them, so admirable they appeared to be. I shall not show them to anyone else. If any letter of yours contains only personal reflections of an intimate nature, I alone will read it and then destory it.

Your boils must have disappeared by now. You will continue to have one ailment or another till your blood is completely purified and you have suitable diet as dictated by experience. With effort, this [trouble] can be overcome. This desire [that you should recover] was one of my reasons for wanting you to be with me.

Ginger, according to our rule, need not be avoided, but it is not beneficial either. Its undesirable effects will be immediately observed in those who live on a fruit diet.

"If we must know English we should know it well"—from this we cannot conclude that if we must travel by railway, we should travel first or second. Studying English is not bad in itself, travelling by railway is wholly so; if we must travel, therefore, we should just huddle ourselves in and mind no discomforts. Moreover, where countless people are forced to put up with hardships, we should submit to them voluntarily—that is, on occasions when it is not immoral to suffer.

All the items of the diet on the Farm may not be suitable in Phœnix. You fell ill because you did not wait long enough for necessary adjustments to be made.

A ship is bound to look after the needs of deck passengers.

I agree that you should not give up milk or curds, but do not give them the chief place. They make us more indolent. Our friend Kotwal is now in India. Cultivate contact with him. He still lives on fruit diet. You may profit by his experience. He is likely to go deep into the matter and discover things which you will not.

While doing honour to Brahmins, one must maintain a reverential attitude and not treat them with contempt, in the same way that we would respect a person born in a noble family even while we pity him. We would, naturally, feel no respect for a prostitute's son. I do not mean, however, that we should support any Brahmins in their wicked ways. If you interrupted your studies to offer some little flour to Brahmin beggars who had no business to go begging, you would only be sacrificing your studies. I would not think that in doing so you had done honour to the Brahmins; I would rather count it as your timidity or want of judgement. Question me again if you have not followed this.

Give up the afternoon nap, forcing yourself if need be. When you feel the urge coming over you, take a bath.

I am not against schools or against education, but against the stamp. This is one ground of objection against government schools.

A second objection is the lack of character in teachers and the fact that pupils have no intimate contact with them. The wasting of time over certain subjects is the third objection, and the fourth that quite often these schools become symbols of our slavery.

The Parsi cap is not the Parsis' but ours, though an adopted one. Our forefathers may have erred in adopting it. The error, however, is not one that need be corrected now. But why should we take the trouble of adopting a fresh one? Putting on a Hungarian or Moghul cap is suggestive, in a way, of pride and conceit—that we are different from others.

I imagine that even after my going [to India] the press[1] will continue as before. There is a possibility that Miss Schlesin and Miss West may go over to India ultimately. Mr. Polak and Mr. Ritch will of course practise and live on in South Africa. About Mr. Kallenbach, nothing is certain. Kotwal, it seems, will remain with me. Manilal, probably, will be where I am. He is going strong with his studies. They will still continue. I cherish the fond notion that no one else can, and will, teach him as quickly and as well as I. Jekibehn keeps well enough. She is, for the present, my only adopted daughter. She is mine more than Dr. Mehta's so that it seems likely she will remain with me.

Do not be eccentric in your dress. The head should be covered, a shirt may be worn, if needed, and so also slippers. These latter, however, only when you go out. At home, keep bare-footed, and outside, too, except when it is very hot or cold. One need not be too particular about these things, but such of them as one has grown used to should be kept up.

All the questions raised in your letters have now been answered. I have no time to write more. I pray that all my hopes in you be realized, that you remain firm in your mind and that God may help you.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5642. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] International Printing Press, Phœnix

358. *A PUBLIC EXAMPLE*

A question was raised that the election of Mr. Gokhale to represent the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council in the Viceregal Council was invalid, as he was an "official" drawing remuneration from the public treasury as a member of the Public Services Commission. Mr. Gokhale has, we understand, set the matter at rest, in characteristic fashion, by declining to accept the remuneration to which he would have been entitled. Such things are expected from such a man whose whole life has been one of self-abnegation in the service of the public. We do not congratulate him upon what he would himself regard as a perfectly natural act, but we sincerely congratulate the Motherland upon the possession of so rare-minded a son. Whilst it is true that an incident of this particular character could not occur in South Africa, where members of commissions are statutorily exempted from the disabilities otherwise attaching to the receipt of remuneration for their services in that capacity, Mr. Gokhale's example is one that might well be followed even in this self-governing Dominion, where, on the contrary, such instances of public morality have been, at least of late years, practically non-existent.

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

359. *BRITISH NAVY*

Millions of Englishmen think that British rule is maintained by the strength of the British Navy. Many people in Europe believe this and the idea is impressed upon the minds of all citizens of the British Empire. Associations have been established for this purpose. Newspapers are full of it. A huge association named the Navy League has been formed. Expenditure on the Navy is rising every day. British children are taught from the earliest age that there is nothing at all wrong in this. The British sailor is glorified. The colonies are even asked to pay a share of the expenditure. There was a debate in the Union Parliament last week on this question of contribution, when Mr. Merriman made a very biting and thought-provoking speech. He said in so many words that Europe had gone crazy. It had simply become possessed by the idea of armies. The desire for bigger and bigger armies, it would seem, was a kind of disease. The poor get crushed in consequence,

Mr. Merriman believes. He argues, therefore, that South Africa should not join in this craze. Though himself an Englishman, he has not much use for British greatness based on the Navy. His own view is that it is not from their armed strength that the British derive their greatness. He told General Botha and the rest that South Africa should not in any way participate in the British scheme for the [Imperial] Navy. Mr. Merriman holds also that the British Army stationed in South Africa should be withdrawn.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

360. GENERAL BOTHA'S SUGGESTION

There is no doubt that General Botha is a real farmer. Everyone knows that he holds land running into thousands of acres. But that would not by itself make him a farmer. There is a big company in Natal which owns hundreds of thousands of acres of land; none of the members, however, is a farmer. They only want to make profits through farmers. But General Botha, it seems, lives like a farmer. He himself works on the land, is well informed about matters connected with the land and knows all about the various crops. On horses and sheep he is an expert. Besides, even his speeches touch upon the great importance of agriculture. In his heart of hearts, he seems to be convinced that South Africa's future does not lie in its gold mines. There are some who even believe that the gold mines will be exhausted in a few years, and that Johannesburg and other cities will be reduced to the same condition as some American cities. Be that as it may, General Botha has recently made a speech which is worth noting. He has expressed himself in favour of expropriating the land of the white landlords who do not themselves work on it and transferring it to worthier hands. Of course, other whites will not allow him to take such a step and the idea will not be implemented. Nevertheless, it is valuable in itself. Botha, with his enthusiasm for agriculture, can give it a strong impetus through his influence and authority. We would like to see something of the same spirit among us. We, too, would do well to turn our minds to agriculture.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

361. WHO IS ENTITLED TO ENTER TRANSVAAL?

During our representative's tour a number of leading people wished to know who can enter the Transvaal. Hence, though this has been stated earlier, we repeat it below.

Only those Indians who hold certificates under the Registration Act of 1908 or 1907 can now enter the Transvaal without an application or other formalities. Apart from showing their certificates on the border and producing evidence that they are their own, there is nothing they have to do.

If, however, anyone is accompanied by a wife, or a minor under 16 years, he is required to produce evidence in respect of them. Very often, the officer is high-handed and does not allow one to proceed further. This means one's being kept waiting on the border. It is sometimes even necessary to approach the magistrate. One has to pay lawyers. To save oneself from this harassment one method that is adopted is to flatter the Registrar and take out a permit in advance. But this method has had an undesirable consequence: the pressure in that direction has increased. Even a person with excellent evidence is put to difficulties. An alternative way is to put up with the difficulties for the time being and obtain redress through the regular procedure. This may mean inconvenience in the immediate present but things will be smoother afterwards. If all Indians adopt this course, the matter will be put right quite soon. If only some do so, it might take longer. In this connection, a question has also been raised as to what minors and women coming in should do. The Transvaal officers require evidence on the following lines in respect of minors:

(i) A certificate from a first-class magistrate to the effect that the minor holding it is in fact the child of the person represented to be the father.

(ii) The thumb-impression of the minor and the father on the certificate for purposes of identification.

(iii) Evidence as to the child's age. This need not be very precise in every case. When it can be seen from the child's physique that the age is without doubt below 16, no evidence as to age is necessary.

(iv) It should be clearly stated in the magistrate's certificate that he has fully satisfied himself that the child is in fact the son of the person concerned.

In a genuine case, evidence on these points can be easily secured and a father who wants to take his son with him to the Transvaal would do well to carry such evidence. It should, however, be remembered that those who have not brought any such evidence do not on that account lose their rights. Poor people cannot sometimes get in India evidence that they can in South Africa.

We hear that such certificates are also required from women. It is our emphatic advice, however, that women must not give their thumb-impressions. The Government has no authority to be so rigorous in regard to the identification of women for the simple reason that there is no need for that. There have not been many instances of Indians trying to bring in women who have no genuine rights. About women, therefore, we must put up a fight. We believe that in the case of women the marriage certificate would suffice and we know that the right of a woman holding such a certificate can be legally established.

The explanation we have given above relates to the Transvaal. The question, too, was about the Transvaal. But, by and large, it holds for Natal also. We know that there is greater strictness in Natal. The Natal officer has more power. But it should be enough for anyone to have evidence as indicated above. It should also be remembered that we are carrying on a fight against the strictness in Natal. If any Indian, in his selfishness, submits to the high-handedness of an officer there, he will to that extent strengthen the officer's position and weaken the struggle. This is a simple rule: where there are no slaves, there are no slave-drivers. It is only where people seem prepared to submit to slavery that others set themselves up as masters.

Our condition in South Africa is such that vigorous action will bring about an immediate improvement in it. But weakness will reduce it to the lowest level. This is not so in other colonies because conditions there are neither too good nor too bad so that people do not even realize that they are held in fetters. Here, on the contrary, every Indian feels he is a captive in chains.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

We have seen that certain things should be avoided altogether. It remains to be shown that there are others which, for quite different reasons, should either be given up or consumed only in limited quantities. Postponing this discussion for the moment, we shall consider what our diet ought to be.

We can divide mankind into three very large categories on the basis of diet. To one class belong the people who, by choice or necessity, eat vegetable products only. This is the largest class. It consists of most persons in India and Europe and considerable numbers in Japan and China. Of these people, a few are vegetarians as a matter of religious principle, but the majority do without meat because they are unable to obtain it, though, if they get it, they eat it with relish. Among these latter are included Italians, Irish and Scottish people and the poor of Russia as well as of China and Japan. Thus, the chief food of Italy is macaroni, of Ireland potato, of Scotland oatmeal and of China and Japan, rice. People of the second category eat a little meat or fish in addition to vegetable products, once or more than once a day. The majority in England comes under this category, as do rich Muslims in India and Hindus who are unorthodox, besides the well-to-do Chinese and Japanese. This division, though quite large, is very much smaller than the first one. The third division consists of primitive tribes inhabiting the Arctic regions, as well as some Negroes who live on flesh alone. Their number is very small and even these, as they come into contact with European travellers, are learning to add vegetables to their diet. The conclusion to be drawn from all this simply is that man can live in all the three ways; what we have to consider, however, is the question as to which diet is the most health-giving.

The structure of the body would seem to indicate that Nature intended man to be a vegetarian. A comparison with other animals reveals that our body structure most closely resembles that of fruit-eating animals, that is, the apes. The diet of the apes is fresh and dry fruit. Their teeth and stomach are similar to ours. The teeth and the stomach of predacious beasts, such as the lion and the tiger, differ in structure from ours. We do not have claws as they have. We have, moreover, something in common with non-carnivorous beasts—the ox, for instance. We do not, however,

possess intestines like theirs, and in the same number, for digesting large quantities of grass. From this, many scientists conclude that man is not by nature carnivorous nor is he formed so as to be able to eat every kind of vegetable food. Even from among vegetable products, fruit alone should be his staple diet.

Chemists have shown by experiment that fruits contain all the elements necessary for the maintenance of human life. Fruits such as bananas, oranges, dates, figs, apples, pineapples, almonds, walnuts, peanuts and coco-nuts contain all the elements necessary for health and energy. These scientists say that this food need not be cooked, and as animals maintain health by eating sun-ripened fruit, so should we. They go so far as to assert that cooking removes certain essential properties of vegetable foods and reduces their nutritional value. The stimulating quality peculiar to vegetable products is partly lost in the process. They even advance the argument that vegetable products which cannot be eaten raw are no diet for us.

If this argument is correct, surely much of the time spent in preparing and eating food could be saved and we could finish our meals in a shorter time. Much of the time of our womenfolk and the space taken up by kitchens, etc., in our homes would then be saved and we would be free to attend to many other matters by putting to good use the time and money thus saved.

The idea that all cooking will stop, that women will be set free from the prison-house of the kitchen, that women will themselves desire such freedom—all this will, I am afraid, seem a mere dream and some may ask why at all we should discuss things which are impossible. We are, however, not concerned at the moment with whether everyone can put this into practice. We are only thinking of what is best to do. If we know what is perfect health, we shall achieve a more or less satisfactory level of health. If we know what the ideal diet is, we shall know what we should generally eat.

Many books have been written on this subject in Europe. One even comes across Europeans who experiment with fruit diet. Some of them have recorded their experiences. These men take to a fruit diet not from any religious consideration but purely for the sake of health. There is a German named Just who has written an excellent book[1] in which he has proved, with numerous examples, that fruit diet is the best. He has cured many patients merely with the help of fruit diet and fresh air. He even claims that men can

[1] *Return to Nature*

get all the nourishment they need from the fruit growing in their own regions.

It will not be out of place if I here describe my own experiment. For the past six months, I have eaten nothing but fruits. I have not taken even milk or curds. My diet has consisted of bananas, pea-nuts, olive oil, lemon or similar citrus fruit, and dates. I do not claim that the experiment has proved completely successful. Six months is not enough to gauge the results of such a big change, but I can say this at any rate, that when others fell ill I remained well. I have greater physical and mental energy than before. As regards physical strength, I may not be able, I admit, to lift as heavy weights as I could formerly, but I can work for longer periods at a stretch without fatigue. Of mental work I do much more at present and cope with it all. I have recommended this diet to some patients and the results have been little short of miraculous. I intend to describe these in the chapter on diseases. In fine, then, the experience of others and of myself and what reading and thinking I have done seem to suggest that a fruit-diet is superior to all other kinds of diet.

I do not for a moment expect that anyone on reading this will straightaway take to experimenting with fruit diet. What I have said will scarcely have any effect on the reader. But, if I am to tell the truth, as I wish to, I think it is my duty to present only my own conclusions, such as they are.

If, however, any reader does plan to experiment with fruit diet, I would advise him not to rush into it but to go slow. After first reading all the chapters, he should draw his own conclusions and then do whatever he wants to with full deliberation.

In the following section we shall consider the diet of the second category. I think the conclusions of that section will be more acceptable and also that, after he has perused it, he will find it easier to understand the present section.

To those who have been following these chapters seriously, my request is that they form their own opinions and that, too, after reading the entire series.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-3-1913

363. *LORD AMPTHILL'S ADVOCACY*

Lord Ampthill moved, the other day, in the House of Lords, for papers regarding the visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to South Africa.[1] We have expressed more than once the gratitude of the Indian community to this noble man for his great and unremitting zeal in our cause. He has never allowed a single opportunity to be missed whenever he could usefully occupy the attention of the House of Lords. And every Indian knows how helpful his Lordship's work has been and how it has encouraged us in the midst of our troubles. His latest effort, a full report of which we publish elsewhere, was based on Mr. Gokhale's visit. Lord Ampthill was not satisfied to allow the visit to pass out of men's minds without tangible results. He was anxious that the good tone produced by the visit should be fully utilized for the purpose of securing legislation or administration of existing laws that might relieve the pressure that is continuously being put upon us. Incidentally, he paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Gokhale's personality and worth. Lord Emmott, who represented the Government, we regret to say, did not rise to the occasion. He missed the excellent and friendly spirit of Lord Ampthill's remarks, and, therefore, returned a chilling reply. He was as secretive as he well could be, and would commit himself to nothing. It is this disposition to over-regard colonial sentiment and disregard Indian sentiment that so exacerbates us and makes us realize, as nothing else does, that we have to depend upon our own resources.

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

[1] On February 11, 1913, Ampthill had asked in the House of Lords whether the Imperial Government had received official information in confirmation of Press reports that Gokhale's visit to South Africa had been successful, and if there was hope of an early and satisfactory settlement of the British Indian question. He also moved for Papers. In the course of his speech, Ampthill said that it was an Imperial question "of the first magnitude" and had caused discontent in India which came to a climax at the Indian National Congress of 1911. The Imperial Government, he said, had approved of Gokhale's visit. He further wanted to know what the Government had now done "to acknowledge and encourage and take advantage" of the resulting "spirit of reasonableness and conciliation and goodwill". Lord Emmott, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the course of a "frigid and cautiously official" reply said that Gokhale's visit was unofficial, that his representations to the South African Ministers were "informal" and that he had no Papers to lay before the House. *Indian Opinion*, 22-3-1913.

364. HINDUS AND MAHOMEDANS BEWARE

> The whole question was whether a wife, married by Mahomedan custom, was a wife within the meaning of the Immigration Act. His Lordship held that the application must be refused as the marriage did not satisfy the requirements of the Immigration Law.

Thus the *Cape Argus* report. Indians of South Africa will never get a clearer or more important judgment to deal with. Hitherto the judgments that have been given affecting the question of marriage have been more or less enigmatic. On the occasion in question, a clear-cut issue was presented. The case was admitted to be a test case and judgment has been given against *us* Indians.[1] This is not a judgment given against an individual. The Judge was, no doubt, helpless. The Immigration Officer could not be held to blame. He had to administer an Act and he has done so. The meaning of the judgment is that every Hindu and Mahomedan wife is in South Africa illegally, and, therefore, at the mercy of the Government, whose grace alone can enable her to remain in this country. And no one will be blamed but ourselves if the future Indian wives—Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee—are turned out. This is a state of things which our self-respect forbids us from tolerating. We hope that every Anjuman, every Association, and every Dharma Sabha will send respectful representations to the Government urging that the new Immigration Bill should be altered so as to admit the legality of marriages celebrated according to the recognized Indian religions. This request should be promptly granted, not merely because we are part of the British Empire, but even because of the law of comity of nations.

It is, indeed, a serious question for passive resisters to consider whether they ought not to include in their requirements a redress of this unthought of but intolerable grievance. Anyway, it is a question which demands, on the part of the Indians, sacrifice of their all—their businesses, their money, their ease—which will have been dearly bought at the price of the nullity of their or their brethren's marriages. No consideration should be allowed to come in the way of their taking prompt and energetic action.

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

[1] *Vide* the following item.

365. *ATTACK ON INDIAN RELIGIONS*

We have never read or heard of a judgment as important as the one concerning women recently published in the *Cape Times*. A woman named Bai Mariam had been married according to Muslim rites and her husband brought her from India. The Immigration Officer stopped her. The only reason he gave was that her marriage could not be recognized as legal. This was admitted to be a test case. There was only one point at issue, whether or not a marriage solemnized according to the Muslim rites or under any religion other than Christianity was legal. The Judge decided that such a marriage was not legal and that therefore the woman had no right to enter the Cape. She has been ordered to return. This decision means that as from today all Hindu or Muslim wives living in South Africa lose their right to live there. In other words, a Hindu, Muslim or Parsi wife can live in this country only by the grace of the Government. It is quite on the cards that the Government will not permit any more wives to come in or that, if it does, it will be entirely as a matter of favour. We cannot conceive of a more degrading state of affairs.

The remedy is entirely in our hands. Every Anjuman, every Dharma Sabha and every one of the other associations must respectfully submit to the Government that the law should be amended and that marriages solemnized under the rites of Indian religions should be recognized as legal. Any nation that fails to protect the honour of its women, any individual that fails to protect the honour of his wife is considered lower in level than a brute. We know that many battles have been fought to protect the honour of women. And so it would not be too much if we, for the same purpose, embrace poverty.

We cannot offer the advice that this case should be taken to a higher court. What can a court of appeal do? Nor do we think this a case in which we should not approach the Government till a decision has gone against us once again.

It will be nothing extraordinary if right now we sacrifice our wealth, our stocks, our businesses and start the fight. All these things are intended for our happiness. If we lose our honour, what remains of happiness? And if we do not spend what we have earned for our happiness, where shall we find beggars like us?

This is a situation over which even satyagrahis should ponder. It is worth considering whether they ought not to include among

their demands one that might help to ward off this unexpected blow. We hope that in this situation not a single Indian will give in.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

366. GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

We can know the Union Government's attitude from a number of instances. Mr. Ibrahim Mahomed Cassim has a thirteen-year-old son named Hassan. There seems to be no reason to doubt his age. Even then Mr. Smith refused him permission to land and informed his lawyer that he had instructions not to permit the entry of any minor without a certificate of birth from India. The boy's father, therefore, has obtained an interdict. The matter will now go to a court. The case is of interest to us only in so far as it reveals the Union Government's attitude towards us. Since it is not the practice in India to get births registered, for hundreds of children it will be impossible to obtain certificates giving precise information. The Union Government is not likely to be unaware of this fact. If, despite this, it has laid down that no one should be permitted to enter without a certificate, it can only mean that it wants to increase the difficulties in our way in order to stop the entry of children altogether. We have already written about women. Children, too, are to be harassed. This can have only one result in the end, namely, that we shall have to leave this country. The remedy lies in our own hands.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

367. OUR QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS[1]

A detailed report is now available of the discussion in the House of Lords when Lord Ampthill raised our question once again. This noble gentleman does not miss a single opportunity of advocating our cause. His speeches indicate, moreover, his unremitting zeal on our behalf. Utilizing the opportunity afforded by Mr. Gokhale's visit to this country, Lord Ampthill initiated a discussion on our question. In the course of his speech, he paid a

[1] *Vide* also "Lord Ampthill's Advocacy", p. 495.

glowing tribute to Mr. Gokhale and criticized the administration of the laws passed here. The only regret is that Lord Emmott, who spoke on behalf of the Government, missed the spirit of Lord Ampthill's remarks and gave a half-hearted reply. The impression that the reader gathers from this is that his Lordship stands in awe of the Colonies and that he disregards Indian interests when the interests of the former are at stake. This is an overbearing attitude, indeed, and it is such behaviour which embitters Indians. We can also realize from Lord Ampthill's speech how very useful is the Committee in England. As we have already pointed out, we have no funds left for that Committee. We have also said that Mr. Gokhale is prepared to shoulder this responsibility. But it is necessary, all the same, that we send him something at least for the maintenance of the Committee. The response to our appeals to Indians has so far been disappointing. We hope those who realize the Committee's value will now bestir themselves a little.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

368. MALAY LOCATION DISPUTE

It happens sometimes that, when two big parties fight, a third party, which is weak, gets the benefit. This is what is likely to happen in the case of the Malay Location. Indians in Johannesburg must be aware that a portion of this Location has been handed over to the Railway. Hitherto, the Town Council used to collect rent from the Location on behalf of the Railway. The latter's intention is to drive us out, in course of time, from the portion it has acquired. Because of this uncertain state of affairs, the improvements which the Town Council wished to effect in the Location could not be proceeded with. It tried hard to arrive at an arrangement with the Railway, but the latter did not co-operate. This has put out the Town Council and its Railway Committee has proposed a resolution to the effect that the Council should not act [as agents] for the Railway any longer. The Committee wants the Council to go ahead with the improvements already undertaken and also to refuse to collect rent on behalf of the Railway. If the resolution is accepted and if the Indians play their part well, no one will be able to touch the Malay Location. The Indians' part consists in seeing to it that they desist from creating filth. We should not allow ourselves to mar the buildings out of greed for

rents, and we should maintain the utmost cleanliness that we possibly can.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

369. VREDEDORP CASE

In this case Mr. Buckle has given judgment, with costs, in favour of the Chinaman.[1] Mr. Buckle says in the course of the judgment that the Chinaman cannot be said to reside in Vrededorp; he was only an employee of a white. The business belongs to the white, who attends the store in person. It is the white, therefore, who should be treated as a resident. If a contrary meaning were given to the expression "to reside", a Coloured who happened to be in someone's house and occupied a chair for five minutes would have to be treated as having resided there. There is no reason to believe [he says] that the framers of the law had intended any such meaning. If the Chinaman had his boarding and lodging in Vrededorp or had his own business there, he would have been liable to prosecution. The Vrededorp law does not forbid the employment of Coloureds as shop assistants. All that follows from this judgment is that a white carrying on business in Vrededorp can employ any number of Coloureds for that purpose. No Coloured, however, can have his home in Vrededorp and live there.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

370. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XII]

On the next level and below fruits, comes vegetable diet. This consists of all kinds of vegetables, cereals, pulses, beans, milk, etc. Just as fruit-diet contains all the elements that man needs, so too does vegetarian diet, though the two do not have the same effect. Some of the elements we obtain from food are also to be found

[1] The Vrededorp Municipality had sued for the ejectment of Ah Kai, a Chinese, from Stand 495 on the ground that he was an Asiatic and, at the time, not a *bona-fide* servant of a white. Judgment in this case, described by *Indian Opinion*, 22-3-1913, as "an important test case", was given, with costs, in favour of Ah Kai.

in the air; yet we cannot obtain them from air and do without food. Moreover, all vegetable products lose something of their original nature when cooked and are to that extent robbed of value, and yet most vegetable products cannot be eaten raw. If, even so, one would have cooked food and cannot go without vegetables, it has to be considered what it would be best to take.

Among grains, wheat is the best. Man can live on wheat alone. It contains all the nutritive elements in good proportion. Many preparations can be made of it, and it is also easy to digest. Children's foods available in the market also contain a proportion of wheat. In the same category with wheat are millets and maize, from all of which *rotli*[1] or *roti*[2] can be prepared, though these cereals cannot compare with wheat. It is important to understand what the best way of taking wheat is. White flour, which we know as mill-flour, is absolutely worthless, devoid of all nutritional value. Dr. Alinson says that a dog he kept exclusively on such a diet succumbed as a result, but another flourished on bread from a different variety of flour. White flour is entirely devoid of bran, which is the source of the taste and energy-giving property of wheat. White bread is in such demand because, eaten with it, other tasty things are most enjoyed. For instance, those who eat cheese derive energy from it but they eat it, and can eat it, only as an adjunct to bread. *Rotli*, too, made of such flour is bad; it is tough and offers neither taste nor nutrition. *The best flour is that which is obtained by grinding clean wheat at home* and if, in addition, it is ground by hand in a quern, it is considered to be the very best. If, however, one cannot secure a quern, one can purchase at a low cost a hand-mill to be kept in the home and grind wheat for personal use. Or one can buy unsifted Boer-meal and use it. The flour should be used as it is, unsifted. The *roti* made of this flour is tasty and nourishing and the flour is more economical to use than *maida*, since, being nutritious, it cannot be consumed in the same quantity as *maida*.

It should be borne in mind that ready-made bread is quite worthless. Whether white or brown, it is adulterated. Moreover, it is prepared from flour fermented with yeast. This is a great drawback. It is the opinion of many experienced people that bread made of such flour is harmful. Then again, during preparation, the loaf is covered with *tandul* or fat; hence it should be unacceptable both to Hindus and Muslims. *To eat shop bread in place of roti prepared at home is nothing but a mark of laziness.*

[1] & [2] Unleavened bread

Another easy and pleasant way of eating wheat is to grind it coarse and make porridge from it. Porridge, if well cooked in water and taken with milk or sugar, tastes delicious and is much superior to other kinds of food.

Rice seems to contain no nutriment and it is doubtful whether man could live on it alone, unless pulses, ghee and milk are added to it. Wheat, on the other hand, cooked in water alone is enough to maintain one in good health.

Vegetables are eaten mainly for their taste. They have a laxative effect and thus help purify the blood. However, as they are of the nature of grass, they are difficult to digest and give excessive work to the stomach. Everyone must have noticed that those who are given to consuming vegetables in excessive quantities are of a delicate constitution and are called *pepchidas*[1]. They frequently suffer from dyspepsia and are always swallowing medicines for indigestion. That some varieties of vegetable are a form of grass is plain enough to us. Vegetables, therefore, should certainly be eaten but, be it remembered, only in small quantities.

Pulses—beans, *val*,[2] *tuwar*,[3] vetches, tare, lentil—are regarded as good tonic foods. They are difficult to digest as they require much heat in the stomach. The fact that a person who has eaten a quantity of pulses frequently passes wind only means that he has not been able to carry it. It is for this reason that pulses are regarded as causing *vayu* [excess of wind]. One characteristic of pulses is that they keep one going for a fairly long time. A person who has to undertake much physical labour can tolerate pulses more easily and even derive some benefit from them. We, however, who do limited physical work generally cannot afford to eat an excess of pulses. Those who loll in cushioned seats cannot eat the same type or quantity of food as labourers.

A famous writer in England named Dr. Haig has proved with numerous experiments that pulses are a very unwholesome food. They produce an excess of a particular acid in the body which causes many ailments and brings on premature old age. He has given many reasons to explain why this happens, which there is no need to consider here. My personal experience, at any rate, indicates that it is harmful to eat pulses. Those, however, who cannot master their palate may eat them, but with care.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-3-1913

[1] Gujarati colloquial expression meaning "milksop"

[2] & [3] Varieties of pulses

371. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
March 24, 1913

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

DEAR SIR,

There are two matters of urgency in which I feel that I should now write asking for information. Being aware of the illness of the Hon'ble the Minister of the Interior from which I hope Mr. Fischer is recovering, I have been reluctant to trouble the Minister acting for Mr. Fischer. But as I have been pressed by inquirers I venture to ask for information on the following:

Some considerable time ago the Registrar of Asiatics wrote to me saying that he forwarded to the Hon'ble the Minister the correspondence regarding permits for educated British Indian entrants for the past year, in terms of the provisional settlement. The Registrar has rejected two out of the six names of entrants submitted by me after consultation with passive resisters and the British Indian Association.[2] I have requested that the names might be restored as it is, I respectfully submit, part of the compromise that the names of entrants should be submitted by those in whose name and for whose sake the settlement was arrived at. I shall therefore be glad to learn that the Hon'ble the Minister has directed the Registrar to include among the entrants the two omitted names.

And may I know whether the proposed Immigration Bill embodying the terms of the provisional settlement will be brought forward during the present session of the parliament?

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5746

[1] For the reply to this, *vide* Appendix XXV.

[2] This letter to the Registrar of Asiatics listing the entrants' names is not available.

372. THE MARRIAGE QUESTION[1]

We dwelt at some length last week upon the momentous decision given by the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court on the question of the validity of non-Christian marriages among Indians. This week we publish valuable information regarding the action of the Master of the Natal Provincial Division. This officer has questioned the validity of a Mahomedan marriage for the purpose of assessing succession duty.[2] We need not go into the particulars about the difference in the duty chargeable. But the great issue raised by the Master, so far as we are concerned, is that of the validity of marriages performed according to the tenets of the great faiths of India. It might be here remarked that this totally unexpected calamity—it is nothing less—has overtaken us not because of any new law but because of the new interpretation that is being placed upon an old law. Ever since the settlement of Indians in South Africa, Indian marriages, celebrated according to Indian religious custom, have been recognized. The issues of such marriages have inherited considerable properties as lawful heirs of their deceased parents. It is the new spirit of the Union breathed upon the officers administering old laws that has brought about the present intolerable situation. Indeed, the logical result of the new interpretation is that even past acts might be impugned and heirs in possession of the inheritances might be dispossessed. Indian society has suddenly been plunged into confusion from which it can extricate itself only by a mighty effort. For, if the policy of the Government, as foreshadowed in the cases we have published from time to time, is continued, they will be able without resorting to new legislation either to exterminate us or to paralyse us as a progressive community, unless we are prepared to offer stubborn opposition.

We may now, perhaps, understand the reason for the very cautious reply[3] made by Lord Emmott to Lord Ampthill. These

[1] *Vide* also "Hindus and Mahomedans Beware", p. 496 and "Attack on Indian Religions", pp. 497-8.

[2] In Natal, a Mahomedan had left by his will his entire property to his surviving wife. For assessing the succession duty, the Master of the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court had called for proof apart from the husband's statement and suggested that the parties concerned should get the Supreme Court's ruling on the point. *Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1913.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 495.

cases explain his Lordship's reticence, but they cannot be allowed to excuse it. If he knew that the Union Government were to remain unbending, and if he had any regard for us, he should have, when Lord Ampthill gave him the opportunity, strongly disapproved of the attitude of the local Government.

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

373. INDIAN MARRIAGES

Last week we dwelt upon the marriage case in Cape Town. Another case of the same nature, regarding one Bai Janubie, has come to our knowledge. This lady is a widow, whose husband has left her his property by a will. The Master of the Supreme Court, however, refuses to execute the will. He states that Bai Janubie's marriage cannot be recognized as valid.[1] The marriage question, thus, is assuming a serious aspect day by day and we shall find ourselves quite helpless afterwards if we are not vigilant and fail to act in time. The effects will be felt by all Indians. Some people argue, we hear, that there can be no satyagraha in a matter concerning women, for they cannot be asked to go to gaol. We leave aside the question whether or not they can be. Cannot men go to gaol for women's honour and their own? There may be no need whatever for women to go to gaol or to be asked to do so. What is needed is that men should be men enough. Satyagraha, moreover, is far off yet. Where is the question of satyagraha in taking counsel together, parting with a little money, holding meetings and sending petitions? If we take cover behind the argument that there can be no satyagraha and sit back with folded hands, we shall only bring ridicule upon ourselves and our womenfolk.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

[1] *Vide* also footnote 2 on the opposite page.

374. LICENCE CASE IN ESTCOURT

When licensing officers do not harass us, we find white traders waiting to do so. On the Licensing Officer issuing a licence to Mr. Khamisa Ibrahim, the white traders of the locality appealed to the Licensing Board. Since the members of the Board had expressed views hostile to Indian traders, Mr. Khamisa's lawyer raised an objection against them. This was ruled out and the Board, reversing the decision of the Licensing Officer, rejected Mr. Khamisa's application for a licence. We assume that Mr. Khamisa will take the case further. All such cases should also be forwarded to Lord Ampthill's Committee so that redress may be obtained from the Imperial Government on the issues involved.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

375. ARE SYRIANS ASIATICS?

The Registrar refused to register a piece of land[1] in Johannesburg in the name of a Syrian, arguing that, since Syria was a state in Asia, Syrians were Asiatics and the Asiatic Law of 1885 should apply to them. The Syrian has thereupon moved the Supreme Court for an order that the land be registered in his name. He has argued as follows:

> True, I was born in Asia. But I am a Christian. My skin is white. The framers of the laws of this country could never have intended that the law of 1885 should apply to me, a white Christian from Asia. If it applies to me, it should also apply to white Jews from Asia. But in fact the law has never been applied to Jews. If, again, the law of 1885 is applicable to me, I should be subject also to the Registration Act of 1907. If it should be held that I am, there would follow a result which could never have been contemplated by the framers of the law.

The Judge before whom the case was heard has reserved judgment, holding that this was an important case, which no doubt it is.

[1] Two Stands in Wolhuter Township

Indians will await the judgment eagerly. If the Judge confines himself to the letter of the law alone, Asiatic Syrians will be placed on par with us, even if they are Christians or whites.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

376. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XIII]

We shall now consider what vegetables should be avoided. In almost every part of India, it is customary to use chillies together with spices such as coriander seed, black pepper, etc. The practice does not obtain in other parts of the world to the same extent. If we offer any of our spicy dishes to the Negroes here, they also will hesitate to eat them as they do not care for their taste. Many whites who are unused to spices are totally unable to eat our pungent food and, if they force themselves to eat it, their digestion suffers and the mouth gets inflamed. I have witnessed this myself in the case of some whites. We may conclude, therefore, that spices are not themselves appetizing but that, having become accustomed to them by long use, we like their smell and taste. We have already recognized, however, that eating anything for the sake of its taste is harmful to health.

Let us then examine why people eat spices. They do so, it will be readily admitted, in order to be able to eat more and digest more. Chillies, coriander seed, cummin, etc., produce heat in the stomach and in consequence we seem to feel more hungry. If, however, we imagine from this that the food we have thus consumed is all digested and transformed into pure blood, we shall be sadly mistaken. Many people indulge in over-spicy food. Their stomachs become very weak in the long run and some even get attacks of sprue. A certain man used to eat large amounts of chillies, a habit which he could not overcome, and he died in his youth after a long illness which kept him in bed for six months. It is imperative that we eliminate spices from our diet altogether.

This stricture applies equally to salt. No one will like this idea and some may even be aghast at it, but its truth has, nevertheless, been proved by experience. An association has been started in England whose creed is that salt is even more injurious than most spices. Our diet supplies salt to us in organic forms, and that is all that we really need. Sea-salt and rock-salt, on the other hand, are superfluous and when consumed are expelled again through perspiration and otherwise. This means that salt has no specific utility

for the body. One book goes so far as to say that consumption of salt has a toxic effect on the blood and that one who has abstained from salt for many years and has otherwise kept his body clean has his blood stream so pure that even snake-bite will do him no harm; for the blood of such a person develops a resistance to the venom. We cannot ascertain the truth of this statement but from experience I can at least say that ailments such as cough, piles, asthma, bleeding, etc., respond immediately to a saltless diet. A certain Indian had long suffered from asthma and cough. These were cured by the adoption of a saltless diet together with the use of the usual remedies. I have not come across any undesirable results from giving up salt. I myself gave it up over two years ago and have felt no ill effect; on the contrary, I observe some beneficial effects. I need less water and feel less lethargic. The incident which occasioned my giving up salt was somewhat unusual, too. The person[1] whose ailment was responsible for my doing so has had her illness under control ever since. I am confident, too, that had the patient been able to give up salt completely, her malady would have been entirely eradicated. I have observed during numerous experiments that people find it difficult to give up green vegetables and pulses together with salt, but this has to be done. I think these articles prove hard to digest without the addition of salt. This does not mean that salt stimulates digestion; on the contrary, just as chillies merely give the illusion of aiding the digestive process and are found to be harmful in the long run, so it is with salt. It follows, therefore, that those who adopt a saltless diet must give up green vegetables and pulses as well. Anyone can make this experiment and watch the effect on himself. Just as an opium addict who tries to rid himself of his habit feels out of sorts and weak at first, so is the case with one who refrains from salt. One should not, however, lose heart on this account. If the person who gives up salt is patient enough, he will be rewarded by and by.

The writer has been bold enough to assert that even milk is among the articles to be avoided. One basis for this opinion is his own experience, but that should be kept out of consideration. We entertain so strong a superstition as to the value of milk that it would be a vain effort to combat it. The writer does not expect that his readers will agree with all the opinions he expresses in these articles, nor does he expect either that all those who approve of

[1] Kasturba Gandhi; *vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXIX.

them will put them into practice; his object is only to present his ideas, leaving it to others to accept whatever they will. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in his writing even about milk. Many doctors have stated that milk is the cause of typhoid. Pamphlets have been published on this subject. Milk gets easily contaminated with airborne germs and those which are inimical to health multiply rapidly in it. We have to take a great deal of trouble to keep it in good condition. In South Africa there are special laws for [the protection of] consumers of milk. Very many recommendations are made for the preservation and storage of milk and cleaning of utensils. It seems reasonable to question whether it is worth while using an article which needs so much care to keep and which, if not so guarded, may do harm.

Moreover, the goodness or otherwise of milk depends on the condition of the cow and what she eats. Doctors cite instances of persons drinking the milk of a tuberculous cow and themselves developing tuberculosis. It is difficult to find a perfectly healthy cow, and the milk of a diseased cow is unwholesome. It is well known that a sick mother's milk makes the baby also sick. When a baby which has not yet been weaned falls ill, *vaids* treat the mother, so that through her milk the medicine may act on the baby. What is true of woman's milk applies also to cow's milk. In this way, the food and the health of the giver of milk have an intimate bearing on its consumer. Would not the right course be to avoid this milk, the consumption of which demands so much trouble and carries so much risk? The strength-giving property of milk is to be found in other substances as well. Olive oil is a good substitute for milk in many ways. A preparation of sweet almonds made by soaking them in hot water, peeling and grinding them to a fine paste and mixing this thoroughly with water, will have all the beneficial properties of milk and none of its risks. Finally, let us consider the law of Nature: a calf gives up sucking after a few months and, as soon as its teeth are developed, it turns to food which requires their use; this should be the rule with human beings, too. We are meant to take milk only so long as we are infants. We, too, should, when our teeth are grown, employ them in chewing fresh fruit such as apples and dry fruit such as almonds, or *rotli*. This is not the place to calculate how much money and time can be saved by anyone who has shaken off his slavery to milk, but each one will be able to find out for himself. Milk-products, too, are unnecessary. The acid content of whey is available from lemon and its other nutrients from almonds, etc. As to ghee, thousands of Indians consume oil instead.

Let us now turn for a while to the third type of diet. It is a mixture of vegetarian and non-vegetarian elements. This diet is adopted by a large number of people, of whom many suffer from various ailments and many others are found to be healthy. That we are not meant to be meat-eaters, each one of our organs and the constitution of our bodies make evident. Dr. Kingsford and Dr. Haig have vividly described the ill effects of a non-vegetarian diet on the body. They have proved that the acid produced by consumption of pulses is also produced by that of meat. Meat-eating damages the teeth and causes rheumatism. It makes a man more prone to anger, and therefore a sick man. According to our definition of health, one who is quick to get angry cannot be counted a healthy person.

Those who eat the fourth and last type of diet, that is, who subsist exclusively on flesh, need not detain us here. Their state is so vile that the very thought of them should be enough to put us off meat-eating. They are not healthy in any sense of the term. As soon as they come up a little and get some knowledge, they tend to accept a vegetarian diet.

What all this adds up to is that very few people will be found ready for an exclusively fruit diet, but that a diet of dry and fresh fruit, wheat and olive oil is worth a trial, it being possible to maintain sound health on it. Among fruits, bananas occupy the first place. Besides, dates, plums and figs are strength-giving fruits. Fresh grapes improve the blood. Oranges, lemons and apples can be mixed with bananas and eaten with *rotlis*. The addition of olive oil to *rotli* does not impair its taste. Such a diet costs very little trouble or money and does not require salt and chillies, milk or sugar. Plain sugar is an absolutely useless article of food. People who are very fond of sweets lose their teeth early and the sweet food does them no good in any way. Wheat, almonds, peanuts, walnuts, fresh fruits—from every one of these a number of edible preparations can be made.

What we have now to consider is how much food to eat and when; this we shall do in the next chapter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-3-1913

377. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Phagan Vad 7 [March 29, 1913][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your three letters together. You want to have a letter every week but, since I do not have one from you so frequently, I do not know how I can meet your wishes. However, I shall try to write oftener.

After the stipulated period of six months is over, you need not persist in saltless diet. It is not intended that in clinging to it one should sacrifice one's life. We have adopted diet without salt and sugar in the belief that we should be healthier without them. If that does not happen, we are not bound to give up either. For us, a saltless diet is not, like vegetarianism, a matter of ethical principle. When we come to think of it as such, we will not eat salt. About milk, I do feel that way. Speaking for myself, I seem to do very well without salt, sugar, vegetables, pulses, etc.

I am rather unhappy that you cannot have sour lime, etc., there. I can see many defects in your experiments. You are not in the least to blame, though. Not being conversant with the thing, you have not been able to make any changes. Moreover, you cannot make your own independent experiments. If, therefore, you are still going on with the saltless diet, etc., and if it does not suit you, do please give up the practice.

To enable you to preserve my letters, I shall try to use paper of uniform size when writing to you. Some of the letters may possibly deserve being read a second time. Moreover, as you are very eager to know my views, in case you do not get a letter from me in any week, you can re-read instead the latest ones received in preceding weeks.

Do not hesitate to ask me any questions in any words.

Let it not worry you that you went [to India] against my advice. My only concern in trying to stop you was that you, all by yourself, would not be able to strengthen your ideas. But when I observed your keen desire to serve Khushalbhai[2] and Devbhabhi,[3] the other thought appeared of secondary importance

[1] Judging from the contents this letter appears to have been written after Jamnadas Gandhi left South Africa for India on Dedember 14, 1912.

[2] & [3] Parents of the addressee

beside this desire. It was therefore all to the good that you went. Moreover, the bitter experience you are getting is also a kind of training for you, for your ideas are noble, all of them, and you aspire to raise yourself up.

Our use of Urdu words like *madari jaban*[1] is perfectly in order. If we would preserve Gujarati as simply a branch of Sanskrit, Parsis and Muslims should not be regarded as Gujaratis. This is not possible even if we wish it to be so. Gujarati has, and will continue to have, a number of Urdu and Persian words in use. The language used in the *Opinion* must be such as will find favour with both Hindus and Muslims. In making it so, we may use Allah[2] and *Parameshwar*[3] both, as occasion may require. If any Englishmen settle in Gujarat, we may even introduce some English words into our language. The English words being taken over at present are just so much ostentation, ignorance or flattery. Behind this borrowing there is no thought of developing the language.

If the Hindus are faced with anything similar to the Turkish War, they too should raise a row. Italy and the Balkan States are both in the wrong in this war and we do nothing amiss in pointing to the fact of their being so. There is no ill will towards Italy in this. Many of the journal's readers being Muslims, it is our duty to give them as much news of the invasion as possible. We claim the *Opinion* to be a medium of moral education, but how could it serve that purpose if there were no readers? By giving the news about the war, we humour readers in a harmless fashion. Moreover, readers ought to keep themselves informed about the war and to that extent the issue involves a moral principle. Finally, though morals and publicity to our hardships are its chief concerns, it is not the intention that the paper should carry no news at all. Maybe, you have more racial discrimination there, but it does not affect the masses. Here it is they who are specially affected.

The reason why in the sacred centres of pilgrimage oil is forbidden and ghee is regarded as pure can be explained by the conjecture which I have made. At one time, India was entirely a meat-eating country but, when someone converted the land to vegetarianism, ghee came to be considered specially sacred. And so we use unlimited quantities of ghee in our diet. The more ghee there is in any preparation, the more highly we value it.

[1] Mother tongue

[2] A Muslim name for God

[3] A Hindu name for God

Can there be a greater instance of ignorance than this! And yet this is what people believe. In consequence, ghee is assigned a high place in holy centres of pilgrimage as well. The reformer must have imagined that if people consumed plenty of ghee they would not miss meat very much. With this same object, in England, too, vegetarians take eggs in excess in the absence of meat, and even fall ill. There are hardly any preparations of theirs in which eggs are not used. They have assigned almost a sacred place to eggs.

It would have been very good if you had undertaken to teach the *bania*. You would have been partly cured of your restlessness and the earnings would have been some help.

Do not take my going there as in any way certain. There is a possibility that satyagraha may be revived on issues affecting wives and minors. In that case, I think I shall have to stay on. Should satyagraha be revived, how could you join it now? I do not think it will be right for you to come away from there. Your purpose in going away was service to your parents. With that as your chief concern, do whatever is best. For this same reason, you cannot go to Baroda or elsewhere to learn weaving.

I knew the verse you have quoted about controlling the palate. My criticism applies all the same. One verse can make no difference. They attached no importance to this subject. Had they done so, there would have been no feeding on delicacies in the *havelis*[1] and other places on every pretext and no gifting of provisions with ghee and jaggery on every sacred occasion, nor the feasting of Brahmins either. These days, even *rishis* and *sadhus* do not master their palate, but are found to have been mastered by it. This is a long story. If we said these things by way of fault-finding, we would incur sin. When, however, our chief object is our own and others' welfare, it is our duty to take into account whatever imperfections we observe even in the most respected personages.

This closes the reply to one of your letters. As to the other letters, I shall try to answer them later, that is, next week, so that I may have something to write to you every week.

Here, so many things happen which it is impossible to write about. I do not have so much time. But some of the things will find their way in as I deal with the questions you have asked.

Manilal is fully engrossed in his studies. I leave him not an hour free, so that it is in vain to expect him to write to you.

[1] Vaishnava temples

He may possibly answer your letters. Jeki, too, is busy; but, apart from this, she is disinclined to write letters and does not quite know how to. Do not, therefore, put much hope in her either.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5643. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CAPE TOWN,
April 11, 1911

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

With reference to your visit here this afternoon, regarding the Immigration Bill, I regret to inform you that at the present time General Smuts is not in a position to be able to give you any information as to the bill or to any modification that may be made to it before it is again brought before Parliament. The whole matter is still under consideration and is likely to be so until towards the end of the week. Under these circumstances I am afraid that we cannot give you any outline which you could use in your cable, and I can only suggest your cabling that you are in touch with the department and that when they are able to communicate anything definite you will again cable to India.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
ERNEST F. C. LANE

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 5451

APPENDIX II

LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CAPE TOWN,
April 21, 1911

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 19th and 20th April, in regard to the draft Immigration Bill, and have submitted them both to the Minister.

General Smuts has asked me to say to you that he regrets that, in view of the probable prorogation of Parliament early next week, it will not be possible for the Government to proceed with Immigration legislation in any form this session.

The Government are keenly desirous of arriving at a solution of this vexed question and in the recess they will go into the matter again and see what can be done to secure a settlement.

In the meantime, General Smuts feels that the passive resistance movement, which has caused and still continues to cause considerable suffering, might now well be brought to a close. Its continuance only tends unnecessarily to complicate the situation, and when the Government are endeavouring to fix a satisfactory solution of the question of Indian immigration the Indian community should not embarrass matters by maintaining their campaign.

General Smuts notes that Mrs. Sodha's appeal comes up at Bloemfontein on Saturday next, and requests me to say that your representations on her behalf are receiving his favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
ERNEST F. C. LANE
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 5491; also *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1911

APPENDIX III

UNION GOVERNMENT'S REASONS FOR DROPPING IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL (1911)

A

PARAPHRASE OF GLADSTONE'S TELEGRAM TO HARCOURT

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL *April 12, 1911*

URGENT

Immigration Bill. J. C. Smuts tells me this morning that Gandhi says that passive resistance in Transvaal must continue if selected immigrants are not admitted into Orange Free State. He wants J. C. Smuts to drop the Bill and substitute another applying immigration proposals to Transvaal only. He says exclusion by Orange Free State is absolutely inadmissible and that in addition the Bill causes new and serious trouble in Cape of Good Hope and Natal.

J. C. Smuts says that he cannot shake Orange Free State members who are now backed by a resolution of the Provincial Council. He says a new Bill in the last days of the session is impossible and that in any case it is impossible to differentiate Transvaal from Union and to set up new immigration machinery along its borders.

In these circumstances J. C. Smuts thinks best course is to drop the Bill and endeavour to bring in a more acceptable measure next year. He thinks passive resistance is almost at an end and that he could arrange a truce with Gandhi till fresh Bill was introduced. At the same time he feels bound to proceed if you insist but he thinks Indian Government dislike present Bill

so much that they are not likely to object to the course which he proposes. But he would like to [have?] your views.

I greatly regret delay involved but I cannot see any alternative course open to less objection.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 551/10

B

PARAPHRASE OF HARCOURT'S REPLY

Reference your private and personal telegram of April 12th Indian Government are being consulted and I am anxious to learn their opinion before expressing my views.

J. C. Smuts is, I presume, satisfied that he can prevent a renewal of agitation by Gandhi and that there is no likelihood of his action in dropping the Bill in deference to Gandhi's opposition leading to greater trouble in the future by enhancing Gandhi's prestige and his belief that he can dictate terms to the Union Government. Is J. C. Smuts in a position to foresee that he could next year introduce a Bill which would be more acceptable to Gandhi, as regards the two matters now objected to, than the present one? Please let me know by what date you must receive an expression of my views.

HARCOURT

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/10

C

BOTHA'S MINUTE FOR IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

. . .[1] Ministers had framed a measure which, while subjecting all immigrants to an equal statutory test, gave large powers to the Immigration Officers similar to those existing in Australia at the present time, under which all but a few selected Asiatics—principally professional men—could be excluded from the Union. A difficulty then arose in regard to the right of such Asiatics to enter the Orange Free State after landing in the Union, and unanimous objection was made by all members of Parliament representing Orange Free State constituencies to any educated Indians being allowed to enter that Province. A strong resolution protesting against any modification of the Orange Free State laws regarding Asiatics was also passed by the Orange Free State Provincial Council.

The Indian community, on the other hand, stated that they accepted the draft law as it stood, but that they would be compelled to continue their agitation in order to secure that all educated Asiatics admitted in terms

[1] The preceding paragraphs of this minute are not available.

thereof should enjoy the same freedom in the Orange Free State as was contemplated that they should enjoy in all other Provinces of the Union.

Ministers felt that as an alternative a Bill which referred only to the Transvaal might be passed, but constitutional questions arose, and when it was, moreover, seen that the main object of the Bill, namely, a settlement of the Indian immigration question, would not be achieved, Ministers considered that the only course was to drop the matter for the present and to endeavour during the recess to devise some solution which would prove of a durable nature.

Ministers accordingly informed the leaders of the Indian community of the position of affairs, and have some reason for hoping that the passive resistance movement will be temporarily suspended pending the introduction of Immigration legislation during the next session of Parliament.

Ministers desire to inform His Excellency, in conclusion, that it is with great regret that they have been obliged to postpone the matter; but in view of the objections to the proposed law which reached the Government from many quarters, they felt that further consideration was essential, so that a settlement agreeable to all parties might be arrived at.

LOUIS BOTHA

Cd. 6283

D

SMUTS' SPEECH IN UNION PARLIAMENT

General Smuts said that before the Speaker left the chair he would like to say a few words. He was sorry that this Bill, which was one of the most important and one of the most valuable that had come before the House this session, would not be put on the Statute-book; but hon. members would see that, owing to so much time having been taken up with other very important and necessary legislation, it would not be possible for them to go on with the Bill, and the matter of immigration would have to stand over to be dealt with by legislation next year. When he introduced the second reading of this Bill he stated that the Government had two objects in view. The first was to secure uniformity in regard to the immigration laws of South Africa, and the second was to effect some settlement of the Indian question, which had been one of considerable anxiety and difficulty for some years past, and he laid on the table the correspondence which had passed between the British Government and the Union Government in reference to the possibility of an early solution of those difficulties. Although it was not possible to pass this Bill into law this session, and to carry into effect the solution which was practically agreed upon between the British Government and the Union Government, he was fairly hopeful, even apart from this legislation, of putting a stop to passive resistance for the following twelve months, and

of securing some peace on this question in South Africa until Parliament had a chance of dealing with it next session. That being so, there was no immediate necessity to deal with the question, and it could very well stand over for mature consideration, and for more careful thought in South Africa generally. The subject was a very important one. It dealt not only with Indian immigration, but with all white immigration, and the delay in proceeding with the Bill would probably tend to facilitate its passage through Parliament, because more mature consideration would be given to it. He therefore moved that the order be discharged and the Bill withdrawn.

Cape Times, 26-4-1911

APPENDIX IV

LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CAPE TOWN,
April 22, 1911

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd of April, which was written in reply to my letter of the 21st instant.

I have shown your letter to General Smuts and he has asked me to say that he quite appreciates the spirit in which you write, and he has every hope that by approaching this question in a conciliatory way a temporary solution may be arrived at which will leave all concerned free to devote their energies to securing a more lasting one.

I am authorized to say that the Minister intends introducing legislation during the next session of Parliament to repeal Act 2 of 1907, subject to the reservation of the rights of minor children. In devising such legislation the Minister intends to introduce provisions giving legal equality for all immigrants, with, however, differential treatment of an administrative as distinct from a statutory character.

In regard to the second point you raised, I am to say that in such proposed legislation power will be taken to register all passive resisters who, but for their present resistance, would have been entitled to register had they done so at the proper time, nothing in Act No. 36 of 1908 withstanding.

Power will also be taken to regularize the issue at the present time of temporary certificates, which the Minister is prepared to grant to the educated passive resisters who are now in the Transvaal, but who are not registrable under the existing Asiatic Acts. Their number is, I understand, not more than five or six at the outside. These certificates would entitle the holders to remain in the Transvaal in anticipation of the forthcoming legislation.

In conclusion, I am to say that if an assurance is given by you to the effect that the community will suspend their passive resistance movement, the Minister will ask His Excellency the Governor-General to consider favourably the question of releasing passive resistance prisoners who are now undergoing sentence for contravening the existing Asiatic legislation.

I hope that, after consultation with the Indian community, you will be able to inform General Smuts on his return to Pretoria of the cessation of the passive resistance, so that he may be able to assure His Majesty's Government that the leaders of the Indian community intend to co-operate with the Government with a view to arriving at a definite solution of this question.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
ERNEST F. C. LANE
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 5500; also *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1911

APPENDIX V

E. M. GORGES' LETTER TO GANDHIJI

PRETORIA,
May 19, 1911

SIR,

With further reference to your letter of the 4th instant, I am directed by the Hon. the Minister to inform you

(a) That Asiatics who were deported subsequent to the 1st January, 1908, under Act 2/07 or 36/08, and who have valid claims to registration under such Acts, but who have not yet applied owing to the passive resistance movement will be permitted to make their applications not later than the 31st December next, subject of course to the provisions of the Acts and Regulations.

(b) That Asiatics who, although not deported, left South Africa without applying for registration owing to the passive resistance movement, and who can prove that they have valid claims to registration, will also be permitted to make their applications for registration in accordance with the provisions of Act 2/07 or Act 36/08 and the Regulations made thereunder, on or before the 31st December next, provided applications under (a) and (b) do not exceed 30 in number.

(c) With regard to the fifth paragraph of your letter, it is understood there are 180 Indians and Chinese in South Africa, who

were refused registration under the voluntary system, and who have not yet made their applications under Acts 2/07 or 36/08. In their respect I am to inform you that provided a list of their names is furnished without unreasonable delay opportunity will be afforded to them of making their applications not later than the 31st December next, subject to the provisions of the Acts named.

(d) That the seven educated Indians now in the Transvaal and named by you will receive temporary authorization to remain here pending alteration of the law, when permanent documents will be issued to them authorizing their residence in the Transvaal. Similar authority will also be given as a special case to three educated Mahomedans. The proposed number of six educated Indians per annum, whose immigration was previously agreed to, will be adhered to in the future, the increase of the number to ten during the current year being only due to the special circumstances of the case.

The Minister trusts that the acceptance of the requests now made will be regarded by the Asiatic community as a final settlement of the questions involved. On hearing from you to this effect the Department of Justice will be communicated with, with the object of procuring the release of passive resisters at present undergoing confinement for contravention of the Asiatic Registration Acts.

Prisoners sentenced in connection with the possession of forged certificates or for the use of certificates not issued to them cannot be released.

I have, etc.,
E. M. Gorges
Acting Secretary for the Interior

From a photostat of the original: S. N. 5533; also *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911

APPENDIX VI

TELEGRAM TO GANDHIJI FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

Pretoria,
May 20, 1911

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR LETTER YESTERDAY AS CORRECTED BY TELEPHONE TODAY THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO INCLUSION AMONGST 180 ASIATICS DESCRIBED PARAGRAPH C OF MY LETTER OF 19TH OF THOSE NOW IN SOUTH AFRICA WHO FAILED TO APPLY WITHIN PROPER PERIOD FOR REGISTRATION ON GROUNDS THREE YEARS PRE-WAR RESIDENCE IN TRANSVAAL. REGARDING QUESTION NUMBER ONE OF YOUR LETTER

29TH APRIL WHILE IT IS NOT PROPOSED TO TAKE AWAY ACTUALLY EXISTING RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS THE POSITIONS IN THE VARIOUS PROVINCES WILL NO DOUBT BE AFFECTED BY ANY LAW WHICH IS INTENDED TO BE GENERAL AND UNIFORM FOR THE WHOLE UNION. QUESTION TWO DEALT WITH ABOVE. QUESTIONS THREE AND FOUR WERE DEALT WITH IN A AND B OF MY LETTER YESTERDAY. QUESTION FIVE DEALT WITH PARAGRAPH D MY LETTER YESTERDAY. QUESTION SIX NO FIXED STANDARD OF EDUCATION. QUESTION SEVEN WELL EDUCATED REGISTERED ASIATICS NEED NOT GIVE FINGER OR THUMB PRINTS WHEN TAKING OUT LICENCES. QUESTION EIGHT WELL KNOWN REGISTERED ASIATICS NEED NOT GIVE FINGER OR THUMB PRINTS WHEN TAKING OUT LICENCES PROVIDED THEY CAN SIGN NAMES CLEARLY IN ENGLISH.

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S. N. 5536; also *Indian Opinion*, 27-5-1911

APPENDIX VII

A

TRANSVAAL DRAFT LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORDINANCE, 1911

EXTRACTS AFFECTING ASIATICS

ASIATIC BAZAARS[1]

66. (1) The council may set apart, maintain, and carry on Bazaars or other areas exclusively for occupation by Asiatics, and control and supervise the same in accordance with by-laws to be made from time to time by the council, and may lease the land and any buildings or other erections thereon to Asiatics upon such terms and at such rents as may be prescribed from time to time by such regulations.

(2) The provisions of sub-sections (4) to (7) inclusive of the last preceding section shall *mutatis mutandis* apply for the purpose of enabling a council to close such Bazaars and areas and lay out other land suitable for the same.

(3) The council shall not set apart, nor close, such Bazaars or other areas reserved exclusively for occupation by Asiatics without the approval and consent

[1] It was in April 1899 that the Kruger regime first decided to relegate Asiatics to Locations and the power to regulate these was vested in the Town Councils; *vide* Vol. III, pp. 66-7. In April 1903, the post-War British Government under Lord Milner, Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, issued the Bazaar Notice; *vide* Vol. III, p. 292. The power to demarcate Bazaars was transferred to Town Councils by Ordinance in 1905; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 24-5. *Vide* also Vol. III, pp. 305-7 & 325-9, Vol. IV, pp. 73-5, Vol. V, pp. 80-1 & 147-8, Vol. VI, p. 46 and Vol. VIII, pp. 201, 250, 255 & 296.

of the Governor-General, nor shall any by-law made under this section be of any force or effect unless and until the approval and consent of the Governor-General shall have been obtained thereto.

67. (1) The council may grant leases of plots in any Native Location or Asiatic Bazaar or township established by the council or under its control, for any term not exceeding thirty-three years, in such form and subject to such conditions as the Governor-General may approve.

(2) Any such lease shall be valid though not executed before a notary public, and any such lease or a cession thereof shall be valid if registered in a register to be kept by the council in accordance with regulations to be made by the Governor-General.

Any transfer duty or stamp duty payable on any such lease or cession thereof under any law relating to transfer duty, or stamp duty, shall be paid in manner prescribed by such regulations and the council shall account to the Minister of Finance for all such duty as is so payable.

SANITATION, ETC.

75. The council may from time to time make, alter and revoke by-laws for all or any of the following purposes, namely:

(12) for licensing and regulating tea-rooms, cafes, restaurants, hotels, eating-, boarding- and lodging-houses, and all purveyors of milk, dairies, milkshops, cow-sheds, bakehouses, butchers' shops, and all factories and places where articles of food or drink are manufactured or prepared for sale or use, or sold;

(13) for licensing and regulating Kaffir eating-houses;

(14) for regulating and licensing pedlars and hawkers; provided that no person, who sells only fresh farm-produce grown on land occupied by him, shall be required to take out a pedlar's or hawker's licence;

(15) for regulating or preventing the washing of clothes on public or private premises, and licensing persons for washing and laundry work.

ASIATIC TEA-ROOMS[1]

88. The council may from time to time make, alter and revoke by-laws for all or any of the following purposes, namely:

(6) for regulating and licensing Asiatic tea-rooms or eating-houses.

LICENCES

91. The council may refuse a licence in respect of any premises as a theatre, music hall, public hall, concert room, or other place of amusement, or any premises where articles of food or drink are sold, used or prepared for human consumption, or any boarding or lodging houses or any premises for washing

[1] It was in 1905 that a law was passed requiring all Indian hotel-keepers to take out licences; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 27 & 80-1, Vol. VI, pp. 319-20 & 327 and Vol. VII, pp. 92 & 329.

or laundry work, or to license hawkers or pedlars on any of the grounds mentioned in the last preceding section, and also on any one or more of the following grounds:

(a) that the applicant has failed to produce satisfactory evidence of good character;

(b) that the premises in respect of which a licence is sought or any adjacent premises owned or occupied by the applicant are frequented by persons of bad character;

(c) that the granting of such a licence is, in respect of the premises for which it is sought, calculated to cause nuisance or annoyance to persons residing in the neighbourhood;

(d) that the granting of such a licence would be contrary to the public interest;

and no appeal shall lie against the refusal of the council to grant any such licence.

92. The council may in respect of a licence which it may grant under its by-laws and which entitles the holders thereof to carry on any trade or business for manufacturing, preparing, selling, or using articles of food and drink for human consumption,

(a) impose conditions prohibiting or restricting the employment of Native, Asiatic, or Coloured labour in the preparation of such articles of food and drink;

(b) impose conditions prohibiting or restricting the employment on premises, where articles of food and drink are sold, of females under the age of sixteen years, or the employment on such premises of females after eight o'clock at night;

provided that the conditions imposed by the council under this section shall be clearly endorsed upon the licence and the licensee shall sign a duplicate of the form of licence containing such conditions. The council shall retain the duplicate so endorsed and signed and the same shall, when produced before any court of law, be *prima facie* evidence of the conditions imposed.

93. Anything to the contrary in this Ordinance notwithstanding, the council may, in its discretion refuse to grant licences to the hauler of any jin-ricksha or to the driver of any road locomotive, tram-car, omnibus, motor-car, cab, trolley, or other vehicle plying for hire.

VOTERS' ROLL[1]

114. Every white person, male or female, being a British subject of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, who occupies and resides in premises within the municipality of the gross annual value of twelve pounds and up-

[1] The section, by omission, denies Indians the right to municipal franchise from which Transvaal Indians were first debarred in 1903; *vide* Vol. III, pp. 331-2, Vol. IV, p. 193 and Vol. IX, pp. 292 & 300.

wards, or who owns immovable property within the municipality in respect of which either erf tax or assessment rate is payable or leviable, shall be entitled to be enrolled on the voters' list for the municipality, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be entitled to be enrolled on the voters' list in respect of the same property.

TRAM-CARS

171. The council may, from time to time, make, alter, and revoke by-laws for all or any of the following purposes:

(a) for regulating the use of any tramways established, acquired, or worked by the council and for making charges in connection with the use of the council's tram-cars;

(b) for regulating the use of the council's tram-cars by Natives and Asiatics and prohibiting or restricting the use of such tram-cars by Natives, Asiatics, and all persons who are not respectably dressed or well conducted;[1]

(c) for regulating the conditions of service and duties of persons employed by the council in working tramways, and for imposing fines (by means of stoppages of pay) on such persons for negligence, dereliction of duty, or other offence prejudicial to the good and proper working of the tramway system.

No such by-law shall be inconsistent with, contrary or repugnant to the provisions of this Ordinance or of any other law in force within the municipality.

Indian Opinion, 10-6-1911

B

PETITION TO TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

JOHANNESBURG,
June 6, 1911

HON'BLE THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE MEMBERS OF
THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE TRANSVAAL

THE PETITION OF A. M. CACHALIA IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

1. Your Petitioner has read the Draft Local Government Ordinance, 1911[2], published in the *Government Gazette* of the 17th May, and observes with

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 186-7, 191-2, 194, 206, 322-3, 333 & 340-1, Vol. VI, p. 499, Vol. VIII, p. 296 and Vol. IX, p. 316

[2] The Transvaal Government had attempted a somewhat similar registration in 1908 but had to drop it. *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 250, 255, 295-6 & 318.

grave misgivings that several of its clauses threaten the lawfully resident British Indians with further serious disabilities.

2. Your Petitioner remarks that Sections 66 and 67 of the Ordinance empower the Council to "set apart, maintain and carry on Bazaars or other areas exclusively for occupation by Asiatics, and control . . . same in accordance with bye-laws to be made from time to time by the Council", and that by subsection (3) of Section 66 the Council may (subject to the approval and consent of the Governor-General) close such "Bazaars" after posting up a notice of their intention to do so, in a conspicuous place. As to this, your Petitioner would observe that, apart from the general question of segregation to which, on principle, your Petitioner takes exception, the powers conferred are capable of being employed most detrimentally to British Indians, especially those of the shop-keeping class who may establish themselves in such Bazaars. The expansion of the towns has been followed almost invariably by the closing of the "Bazaar" previously established and the consequent removal of its occupants to another Bazaar located still further away from the town centres and routes. This uncertainty of tenure militates against business enterprise and prosperity, and constitutes a grave hardship to the British Indians who take up their abode and callings in such "Bazaars".

3. Section 75(12), (13) and (14) and Section 88(6) especially touch Asiatic interests. Councils will, under these Sections continue to control eating-houses, butchers', Asiatic and Kaffir eating-houses, pedlars', hawkers', laundrymen's and laundry licences; and your Petitioner observes that, while provision is made for appeal to a Resident Magistrate against the refusal of Councils to grant other business licences referred to in the measure, Section 91 expressly provides that "no appeal shall lie against the refusal of the Council to grant any of the above licences." The experience of British Indians in other Provinces of the Union where similar uncontrolled power is or was invested in licensing boards or Councils prompts your Petitioner to protest most earnestly against the express exclusion of the right of appeal against arbitrary refusals to a properly constituted judicial tribunal, apart from the fact that such a provision constitutes an infringement of the liberty of the subject.

4. Your Petitioner further draws the attention of this Hon'ble House to the fact that there is now no occasion to provide for licensing Asiatic tea-rooms or eating-houses as none such have existed after the withdrawal of the Chinese indentured labourers. The wants of the small Asiatic community residing in this Province are supplied by private boarding-houses.

5. Section 92 may, by penalizing the employment of Asiatic labour, work serious hardships upon British Indians employed in useful industries, and in some cases may result in the deprivation of their means of livelihood. In the humble opinion of your Petitioner, the discrimination against Asiatics expressed in this Section should be deleted.

6. Your Petitioner further submits that the discretion vested in the Council in regard to the granting or withholding of drivers' licences (Section 93) should be subject to a right of appeal to a judicial tribunal.

7. While your Petitioner's community, bowing to the unhappy prejudice against Asiatics existing in this Province, have not sought the political franchise, they feel keenly the specific disability imposed upon their people by Section 114, whereby they are precluded from being placed upon the Municipal Voters' roll, a disability shared by them with such white persons only as have been convicted of serious criminal offences.

Your Petitioner would venture to remind this Hon'ble House that the Indians are large contributors of Municipal rates, and, as statistics abundantly prove, are among the most law-abiding sections of the population, and, therefore, ventures to except to their being classed with white convicts.

8. Your Petitioner observes that Section 171(b) empowers the prohibition or restriction of the use of tram-cars by "Natives, Asiatics and all persons who are not respectably dressed or well conducted". This restriction is at once humiliating and inconvenient for the Asiatic communities, and, in your Petitioner's humble opinion, totally unwarranted.

9. In conclusion, your Petitioner earnestly calls the attention of this Hon'ble House to the grievances above indicated and prays that the Draft Ordinance will be amended so as to grant relief in the premises. And for this act of justice and mercy your Petitioner shall, as in duty bound, for ever pray, etc.

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From *Indian Opinion*, 10-6-1911; also Colonial Office Records: C.O. 552/22

APPENDIX VIII

S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE'S LETTER TO COLONIAL OFFICE

THANET HOUSE,
231-232, STRAND, W.C.,
June 17, 1911

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 18542/1911 of the 13th instant, inviting me—on behalf of the Secretary of State—to put before him, in writing, any further observations that I may have to make in addition to those already made to him formally by the Transvaal British Indian

Association, of which I have received a copy. As, however, I have been deputed to speak on behalf of the Cape and Natal Indians also, copies of whose memorials have been sent to me, I propose with Mr. Secretary Harcourt's permission, to deal generally with the situation affecting the Indian communities of South Africa.

2. If one feeling more than another predominates in those communities it is one of great unrest and insecurity. The Indians of South Africa realize that, but for the frequent intervention of His Majesty's Government on their behalf, their existence would be scarcely tolerable, and it was with the gravest apprehension that they watched the negotiations which culminated in the passing of the Act of Union. In the Transvaal the Indians feared the extension of the operation of the principles underlying the licensing laws of the Cape and Natal; in these Provinces the Indians dreaded the adoption of the Location Registration and immigration laws of the Transvaal. The tendency, ever since the Peace of Vereeniging, has been to equalize the treatment of Indians through South Africa on the basis of its harshest aspect. The Secretary of State will no doubt remember when, in 1903, Lord Milner issued his Bazaar Notice, Natal hastened to follow suit. The drastic licensing law of Natal was taken over by the Cape, and now attempts are being made to extend its operation to the Transvaal also. It is strongly felt, therefore that if they desire to retain any civil rights and privileges whatever, the Indians of South Africa must oppose a united front to attacks that are being made with increasing frequency in all quarters of the Union upon their vested interests. This was, in fact, one of the main reasons why, in various ways, the Cape and Natal Indians so closely associated themselves with the claims of their Transvaal brethren during the passive resistance struggle that is now suspended.

3. The great fear of the Transvaal Indians has ever been that attempts would be made to render effective the provision of Law 3 of 1885 requiring residence in Locations. In 1903 the Transvaal Supreme Court held that trading licences must be issued to Indians trading outside of Locations, and the Law contains no sanction for non-residence therein, but the Vrededorp Stands Act was the first measure passed with the object of compelling Indians to reside and trade in Locations. The Townships Act and Gold Law have but fulfilled the Indians' worst anticipation. Contracts between Europeans and Indians conferring upon the latter the equitable ownership of fixed property, although its nominal ownership is refused them by another provision of Law 3 of 1885, have been recognized in the Transvaal Courts, as in the case of *Syed Ismail and Another* v. *S. Jacobs, N.O.*, but the new laws will result in the penalizing of European registered owners and of the Indian equitable owners, the former, like myself, being liable to a heavy fine for permitting Indian Coloured persons to reside on their own premises, and the latter to the confiscation of the property which is virtually theirs. The net effect of these several enactments is to shake the security of Indian invest-

ments and the compulsory segregation of Indian traders in Locations where no business can be done, and where they will be unable to hold any relations with their present clientele. Many hundreds of them will be ruined and obliged to leave the country for losses incurred through no fault of their own. Very many of those affected, though sympathizing with and materially assisting the passive resisters, have themselves taken no active part in the struggle, but if these measures become effective, as there is every reason to fear they will, I have very little doubt but that a much more embittered struggle will commence than that which it is hoped is now happily over, for all sections of the community are likely to unite in lively opposition to these attempts to ruin them. The policy that is being pursued is not merely one of pinpricks, but one calculated to oblige lawfully resident Indians, who cannot be removed in any other way, to leave the country, apparently of their own accord, because conditions are no longer bearable for them.

4. Very much the same may be said in regard to the Cape and Natal Indian communities. The Cape Immigration law has been used to diminish the already diminishing numbers of resident Indians. Cases have occurred very recently where advantage has been taken of the over-staying by two or three days of the period of the permit of absence, to exclude Indians who have been long resident in the Province and who, in some cases, still have businesses there. The Cape Law, unlike that of Natal, contains no definition of domicile, and great hardship constantly results from its administration. Indeed, in both these Provinces, it is the belief of the Indian community that immigration administration is most harsh and unsympathetic and that the officials appear to act upon the assumption that it is their duty, upon any colourable pretext, to prevent the re-entry of an Indian already resident therein. The immigration officers frequently act in a most arbitrary manner, and, as Mr. Secretary Harcourt will no doubt see from cables dated the 14th instant, in contempt and defiance of orders of the Courts, but it is not every Indian sufferer who can afford to seek the protection of the Provincial Courts, and there is no doubt that great hardship has been inflicted upon many inoffensive people by the high-handed methods of the immigration officers both of the Cape and Natal. The Cape Indians suggest that provision should be made in any alteration of the Provincial immigration laws for the creation of Immigration Boards superior to the immigration officials, and that Indians should have effective representation thereon.

5. The licensing laws continue to bear most heavily upon Indian traders and hawkers. Licensing officers in the Coast Provinces have adopted the policy of "weeding out" Indian traders for a variety of amazing reasons, and sometimes for no reason at all. At the Cape hundreds of Indian hawkers have been ruined and many Indian firms employing them have had to close down. In Natal, the amending law of 1909, whilst it has undoubtedly been of great service to the Indian community in preventing, to some extent, the flagrant

injustice of the past, has induced the licensing authorities to seek other means of depriving licensing-holders [*sic*] of their means of livelihood. Where the Indian trader has entered into a compromise with his creditors, though the only method by which he could satisfy them was by continuing his trade, he has been refused the re-issue of his licence. If he has desired to transfer his business to other premises, he has been refused the necessary endorsement upon his licence. If he has wished to take a partner the partnership has been prohibited by the licensing officer. If he has desired his son to take over the business this has been denied to him and attempts have been made to confine the duration of a licence to the lifetime of a holder, so that a son may not succeed his father. Transfers of licences, even to Colonial-born Indians, are almost impossible. It is difficult, indeed, to know what is to be the future of the Colonial-born Indians, if they are to have one avenue of advancement after another closed to them, as is threatened. In view of the fact that the resident Indian community is not likely to be added to in the future, it is held by the Cape and Natal Indians that these restrictions upon Indian trade should be removed at an early date; but as against this, avowedly with the object of punishing the Indian trading community for the part that they are supposed to have taken in the stoppage of indentured labour supplies by the Government of India, Mr. G. H. Hulett, recently procured the passing of the resolution, in the Natal Provincial Council, asking for the transfer of licensing matters to the cognizance of the Council instead of the Union Parliament, which can alone, at present, legislate thereon. The Natal Indians have strongly protested against any such procedure, basing their protest upon the effective provisions of Section 147 of the South Africa Act. I have the honour to enclose herewith, for Mr. Secretary Harcourt's further information, a copy of the transactions of the Natal Indian Congress thereon.

6. A very bitter feeling has spread throughout the Indian community of South Africa by reason of the £3 annual tax imposed upon ex-indentured Indian men, women and children, the tax upon women and children being especially resented by, and offending the feelings of, the Indian community, who urge that these, at least, should be exempt from taxation, and protected from the evil results that are admitted to flow from such imposts. The amending act of 1910 has but slightly improved the situation. Whilst some magistrates occasionally grant a complete exemption to particular individuals, others grant temporary exemptions for a limited period, whilst others, again, grant no exemption at all, but give very brief periods of grace for payment, and in default thereof, sentence the unfortunate women to imprisonment with hard labour. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to dwell upon the economic and social evils that must naturally ensue from this enforced payment.

7. The Cape and Natal Indians were much gratified to peruse the despatches addressed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, in which the Secretary of State declared that, in a

settlement of the Transvaal controversy, Cape and Natal Indians' rights and privileges should not be diminished. Unfortunately, the Bill presented to Parliament in the last session materially affected, to their disadvantage, Indian interests, and it is very gravely feared that the Bill that it is proposed to introduce next year will not contain all the safeguards that are necessary. It is urged that statutory domicile should be defined as in the present Natal law, that the existing tests should not be made more severe, and that Indian traders should retain the right that they already possess to procure necessary clerical and other confidential assistance from India. I am specially instructed and authorized to request that the Secretary of State will most carefully examine any proposed immigration legislation in order to avoid the infliction of grave injury and injustice upon Indian residents in these Provinces.

8. South African Indians have two serious general causes of complaint. The first is that attempts are being made, by legislation, virtually anti-Asiatic, but couched in language that would make it appear to be of general application, to defeat the purpose of the safeguards contained in Section 147 of the South Africa Act. The second is that, whilst the legislation itself may be acceptable, the regulations framed thereunder, and which very seldom come before Parliament for sanction, not infrequently contain provisions of a highly objectionable racial character.

9. I very much fear that I have to a great extent reiterated what has already been said on the subject of the South African Indian grievances, but I have thought it better, in view of the nearness of the debate upon the treatment of Indians resident in the self-governing dominions, at the Imperial Conference, and of the fact that I shall be unable to discuss the situation personally with the Secretary of State, to err on the side of repetition rather than that any matter referred to herein should not be sufficiently elaborated. Should there be any information that I may be able to furnish him with, in addition to whatever is already in the possession of Mr. Secretary Harcourt, I shall be most happy to place myself at his disposal.

I have, etc.,
Your most obedient servant,
H. S. L. POLAK

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/22

APPENDIX IX

SUMMARY OF THE PROTECTOR'S REPORT

The Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for the year 1910 shows that considerably more than double the number of men, women and children were introduced into Natal under the indenture system during 1910 than in the previous year, the figures being 5,858 and 2,487 respectively. There were sixteen deaths during the voyage, which, says the Protector, "is considerably above the average, and was largely occasioned by the number (eight) who died on the s.s. *Umhloti*'s sixth voyage from Madras." It will be remembered that the *Umhloti* was the boat on which the outbreak of "spotted fever" occurred. Some light may be thrown on the outbreak when we read what the Protector says: "The Surgeon-Superintendent informed me that several of the children were embarked in a very weak state, and this had to be, or a considerable number of Indians would have had to be kept back." So we see that the agents were so anxious to get off a large shipment that they were prepared to run the risk of sickness and death on the voyage, and, as it happened, an outbreak of a serious disease. We are also informed that there were several deaths among the Indians of this shipment after landing including eight from cerebro-spinal meningitis or "spotted fever". There were 14 deaths during the year from this disease. We venture to think that the Protector's reply to our enquiries at the time, that "there was no need for any alarm", that "a few had died" and that "it was expected that the disease had run its course", was hardly a sufficient one in view of the above facts.[1]

[1] Some deaths due to "spotted fever" were reported among a batch of indentured Indians (intended especially for Sir Liege Hulett's estate) on board s.s. *Umhloti* which reached Durban in September, 1910. Official information being unavailable, *Indian Opinion* wrote on September 22 to the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Polkinghorne, seeking confirmation of the report. Replying on September 24, Polkinghorne admitted that "a few" deaths had occurred but assured that there was "no need for any alarm". The Editor wrote again enquiring about the number of those dead, affected or detained owing to the disease. In reply, Polkinghorne referred him to a *Natal Mercury* news report. *Indian Opinion* of October 1 commented strongly on this reply, at which the Protector declined to give any further information to the Editor. On October 26, the Natal Indian Congress wrote to Polkinghorne who said he would supply the desired information provided they did not publish it in *Indian Opinion*. The Congress wrote to him on October 31 saying that, as the matter was a public one, they would certainly hand over Polkinghorne's reply to the Press and that *Indian Opinion* could not be prevented from taking a "copy from the local dailies"; *vide* Vol. X, p. 327 and *Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1910, 15-10-1910 & 19-11-1910.

There were 1,955 deaths during the year, being an increase of 268 on the previous year. The chief causes of death were diarrhoea 249, tuberculosis of the lungs 189, bronchitis 133, and pneumonia 283. There were 24 suicides, being a decrease of 10 on the previous year. Why there should be even 24, which is a very high figure, remains a mystery which the Protector does not enlighten us upon. The high figures for diarrhoea, tuberculosis, and pneumonia call for attention from those in authority. The very high death rate of 22.15 amongst free Indians is explained by the fact that all children of indentured parents are classed as "free". The death rate of Indian children (noted in last year's report as being so exceptionally low, 6.56) has this year risen to 23.33. The weather conditions of the latter half of the year, the Protector thinks, may probably account to some extent for this increase. We are not aware that the weather conditions were so severe as to make [for] such a huge increase in the death rate. Seeing that the heavy death rate among children was "under consideration", we should have thought the Protector would have been able to give some substantial reason for this excessive death rate.

There is a distinct indication that wages are on the increase, says the Protector. This, of course, applies only to re-indentured Indians. There was no indication that the rate of wages of first-indenture men would be increased. Consequently there were applications for 15,114 more men. The Protector anticipates that, owing to the increase in the percentage of those re-indenturing, there will probably be at the end of 1911 as many men under indenture as there have been for the last two years. It is possible that this may be found to be the case, as, apart from the increase in wages offered, the £3 tax still remains as a compelling force upon them to give up their liberty. We are glad to note that, in the opinion of the Protector, "employers generally are now more careful in the management of their Indians, and are more willing to dismiss overseers and sirdars for wrongful conduct towards the Indians, and less inclined to screen them than in years gone by." This is satisfactory as far as it goes, and we have, no doubt, to thank for this very largely the efforts of those who have endeavoured to give publicity to the evils of the indenture system. The question of overwork still remains unsettled to the satisfaction of the Protector. This is due in a measure, he thinks, to the inherent difficulty of settling what is a fair task. He might have added that the task system is altogether unfair. What we have seen is that whilst a strong man or woman cutting cane finishes the set task early in the afternoon, the weaker ones have to work until dark night. And in the work of filling carts, the question of finishing the task depends largely on the number of carts and the distance to travel. Even if every other condition was satisfactory, the task system would make life a burden to many an indentured Indian. It can easily be imagined that those who fail to finish their task fall under the displeasure of the managers and sirdars, and where ill-treatment is complained of, the task system will invariably be found to be the cause.

The Deputy Protector, in his report, says that a number of deserving women have been relieved of the payment of the annual £3 licence under Act 17 of 1895, and he understands that women generally are not unduly pressed for payment. The Protector adds that 485 women have been granted exemption passes by the Magistrates. Surely it must be evident that, whatever this figure represents, women should not be asked to pay it at all. It is bad enough that men should have to pay for the privilege of remaining as free men in a country which they have done so much to build up, but for women and girls over the age of thirteen to be taxed to such an extent is monstrous. We know of several cases in which the Magistrates have refused to grant exemption certificates to Indian women. Why should such a matter be placed at the mercy of a Magistrate? At Verulam, the Magistrate wisely exercises a wide discretion, exempting all women claiming exemption; but at Stanger the Magistrate has scarcely exempted a single poor woman of his district.

This year has seen the stoppage of further supplies of indentured Indians from India, and for this we are thankful. We believe that the resident Indian population will benefit by the action of the Indian Government. *The Natal Mercury* thinks that, now that Indian immigration is stopped, the European population will increase at a greater ratio than the Indian, as in the one case there will be the open door to immigrants, and in the other it will be closed. Whether that will be so or not remains to be seen, but, there will now be no excuse whatever for persecuting the resident Indian population. They are here for good or ill, and it depends very largely on the European community what the future will be. If South Africans act up to the traditions of the British Empire, there is no reason to fear but that all sections will find room in this country. For ourselves we shall not rest until the indenture system is abolished. We believe in freedom for all. We want to see the Indian community of South Africa a free and happy people, and this can never be, so long as there are thousands of men, women and children living in what, even under the best conditions, can only be described as semi-slavery.

Indian Opinion, 11-11-1911

APPENDIX X

CORDES'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

[ADYAR,
November 12, 1911]

MY DEAR GANDHI,

I send you the trust deed duly signed and witnessed.

I shall be passing Calcutta on the 16th of December and have written to Natesan to find out whether I can get a chance of a handshake with you on

old *Aryavartha*'s soil. I hope you will be as pleased as I was personally. We are the best of friends. And from man to man be it said that I have not met your equal as regards outward virtues. I know that young Krishnaji is your equal, in fact he surpasses you in *sweetness* already but I spoke of grown-ups. You are a mystic & those I am privileged to know & love now are occultists who see & are not content to go on without it. My brother, the Doct . . .[1] is like you a true mystic & abhors astral visions, etc. I wish he were as magnanimous as yourself. However we shall see each other at Calcutta ere this meets your eye on your return. If not, it is meant to take the place of a brotherly handshake. Wishing you a merry Xmas at Phœnix near old Kallenbach if possible.

Fraternally yours,
JOHN H. CORDES

[PS.]

Kindest regards to dear Manilal, Ramdas & Devdas, Maganlal & the others, Mrs. Gandhi & the ladies & kiddies.

From a photostat of the original: S. N. 5592

APPENDIX XI

LORD CREWE'S SPEECH ON INDIANS IN DOMINIONS AT IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

LONDON,
June 19, 1911

A

The Imperial Conference met in London on June 19, 1911 with Rt. Hon'ble L. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the chair. Gen. L. Botha (Prime Minister of the Union), F. S. Malan (Minister of Education) and Sir David de Villier Graaff (Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs) attended on behalf of the Union of South Africa. A memorandum about the problem of Indian subjects of the Empire in the Colonies was also circulated.

The agenda for discussion included a resolution by the New Zealand Prime Minister who sought to confine Coloured races to their zones and later changed his resolution to deal with rights of self-governing Colonies "with wider legislative powers" in respect of British and foreign shipping.

The proceedings of the Conference began with some general remarks by the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, on Indians within the Dominions. Extracts from his speech are given below:

. . . if there was any question which seemed to threaten not merely the well being, but the actual existence, of the Empire as an Empire, it was this

[1] Two words illegible here

difficulty between the white races and the Native races, because I ventured to point out, as between the Dominions and the Mother Country there could be no question, whether it was a question of commerce or a question of defence or any other of the questions which we now discuss, which could not be solved by goodwill and by good sense on both sides. . . . I understand that this memorandum which I have before me has been circulated to all the members of the Conference, and those who have read it will recognize that it deals both with the general principles of the question, and also with special instances of difficulty which have arisen in the various Dominions with regard either to the ingress of Indians or to the treatment of Indians when they are there. . . .

Now I desire to say first, that I fully recognize—as His Majesty's Government fully recognize—two facts: the first is, that as the Empire is constituted, the idea that it is possible to have an absolutely free interchange between all individuals who are subjects of the Crown—that is to say, that every subject of the King whoever he may be or wherever he may live has a natural right to travel or still more to settle in any part of the Empire—is a view which we fully admit, and I fully admit, as representing the India Office, to be one which cannot be maintained. As the Empire is constituted it is still impossible that we can have a free coming and going of all the subjects of the King throughout all parts of the Empire. Or to put the thing in another way, nobody can attempt to dispute the right of the self-governing Dominions to decide for themselves whom, in each case, they will admit as citizens of their respective Dominions.

That is one of the facts which on behalf of His Majesty's Government I fully recognize. I also recognize this—that we are or may be easily prone in this country to underrate the difficulties which confront the Dominions in this matter, because we are not troubled to any extent by a similar problem here. It so happens that there never has been any influx of Coloured races into this country on a scale which has awakened any of the difficulties, which, as I well know, confront you gentlemen in the different self-governing Dominions. . . .

. . . Many have now abandoned, for instance, the theory that labour can be regulated simply by the conditions of supply and demand. There are many nowadays, too, who have abandoned the theory that the remuneration of labour need necessarily stand in any very close relation to the value of the work done, and that being so, it is clear that the rivalry of cheap labour such as may be introduced from India seems a greater hardship than it did in the days of a harsher political economy which was generally accepted . . . during the greater part of the nineteenth century . . . we are certainly approaching, if we have not already arrived at, the time when organized labour will seriously object to the importation of any kind of lower paid labour, whatever its colour and whatever its nationality, if it is of a competitive character. This is one of the main difficulties, indeed, which is connected with this question of Indian

immigration. . . . But as to the existence of the colour difficulty in its crudest form there can, of course, be no question whatever.

. . . It is one of those prejudices or beliefs which become stronger as people become more educated and more generally superior, and in this respect it differs from most of the easy and foolish prejudices which are held against the Native races. I am disposed to go so far as to say that in most respects the less a white man has individually to be proud of, the prouder he is apt to be of his whiteness, and the more he considers himself. . . .

. . . among the observations made by Mr. Chamberlain in his address to the Conference in 1897. Those words are, if I may venture to say so, well worth weighing. I will not attempt to enlarge upon or in any way to develop what Mr. Chamberlain there so admirably said. I might, however, venture perhaps to remind you that, on the point of the national claims of Indians grounded on their past history. . . .this at any rate is not a moment when we desire to ignore those considerations. The ceremony of Thursday next, to which we are all looking forward, depends to a great extent for its meaning upon the long line of British sovereigns, through the Stuart, Tudor, and Plantagenet dynasties back to the time of the Norman Conquest and dim ages of the Saxon Monarchy; and yet there are to be found in India those whose pride of descent is no less well founded and no less real than that of the King of England himself. Then, again, as regards history, we must never forget that not merely has India produced a great number of remarkable men both in the public service, and, to go back further, notable in ancient literature, but that she is most closely linked to a great number of the most famous men of our own race—statesmen, soldiers and others. Now, of course, these considerations do not appeal to everybody. . . . If "A man's a man for a' that" is to be our motto, the claim of a large number of Indians is a real and solid claim indeed. Whether we value intellectual culture, whether—apart from questions of creed—we value the religious mind, whether we value that remarkable devotion to and understanding of the things which are not seen which is so exceptionally deep in India and which, I think, appeals to many people in these harder and material days, whether, again, we value simple intellectual force, uncertain in its exercise in some directions I admit, but which in others produces as keen and fine an instrument as you can find in any part of the world—whether we value all of those things or any of them it is undoubtedly the fact that India and Indians can establish a high and real claim for our consideration, apart from all others.

. . . India must admit the main postulates with which I opened these observations, that is to say the undoubted liberty of the self-governing Dominions to lay down the rules of their own citizenship, and I can say cheerfully on behalf of the India Office and the Government of India that we will always do our best to explain to the people of India how the position stands in this

matter. We will not encourage India in any way to develop what, as circumstances are, can only be called extravagant claims for entrance into the self-governing Dominions, and we will do our best to explain to them what the conditions of the Empire really are. . . . all sections and shades of Indian opinion. . . combine when it is a question of Indian disability in any part of the British Empire. It cannot be denied that this difficulty is a very real asset, and a valuable asset, in India to those who are opposed to our rule there. . . . If, they ask, Indians are to suffer from disabilities in various parts of the Empire, what good is the British connection at all? . . . I may point out also that the growing tendency to apply principles of self-government to India adds greatly to the complication and difficulty of the matter, because when a legislative council, as always possibly may happen, takes occasion to make a particular protest against some legislation or some administrative act on the part of the Government of a Dominion, it becomes . . . a far more serious matter than if a mere uninformed grumble . . . is heard.

. . . On the other side, as regards the protection of those who are already domiciled there, some, I may remind you, have been there for a very long time indeed. There is at any rate one of the Dominions in which Orientals have been domiciled for some 200 years.

. . . The difficulty, of course, does not arise, I know very well, from the views or prejudices of Ministers themselves, but it cannot always be easy for them to impress upon their subordinates, quite subordinate officials who are probably imbued with a very strong anti-colour prejudice, the importance which we attach, and which those who have to do with India and know India always attach—to what may seem small matters of this kind. . . . however close the connection and however perfect the understanding between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions, we are not a united Empire unless that understanding spreads to some considerable extent also to that vast part of the Empire of which, of course, India is the most prominent division, but which also includes all the Crown Colonies which are inhabited by the various Native races. . . . it is a distinct misfortune and a derogation from the unity of the Empire if the Mother Country continually finds itself implicated in difficulties between various parts of the Empire.

. . . I do not pretend, as I repeat once more, that the question is really a soluble one in the full sense—I do not think it is—but I am quite certain that if the Dominions will agree all through to show an accommodating and friendly spirit towards India, . . . the best public opinion in India will recognize your efforts. . . .

Indian Opinion, 14-10-1911 & 21-10-1911

B

INDIA OFFICE MEMORANDUM FOR IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

INDIA OFFICE,
June, 1911

The general principles which His Majesty's Government desired to maintain in regard to the relations between His Majesty's Indian subjects and the self-governing Dominions were thus stated by Mr. Chamberlain in the course of his address to the Conference of Colonial Premiers in 1897:

"We quite sympathize with the determination of the white inhabitants of the Colonies which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilization, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influx, moreover, would most seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labour population. An immigration of that kind must, I quite understand, in the interest of the Colonies, be prevented at all hazards, and we shall not offer any opposition to the proposals intended with that object, but we ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of, or against, race and colour; and to exclude, by reason of their colour, or by reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it. Consider what has been brought to your notice during your visit to this country. The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency, that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilized as we are ourselves, who are, if that is anything, better born in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble, such, for instance, as on the occasion of the Indian Mutiny, saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say you, who have seen all this, cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight, which, I think, is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feeling not only of Her Majesty the Queen but of all her people.

What I venture to think you have to deal with is the character of the immigration. It is not because a man is of different colour from ourselves that he is necessarily an undesirable immigrant, but it is because he is dirty, or he is immoral, or he is a pauper, or he has some other objection which can be defined in an Act of Parliament, and by which the exclusion can be managed with regard to all those whom you really desire to exclude. Well, gentlemen, this is a matter,

I am sure, for friendly consultation between us. As I have said, the Colony of Natal has arrived at an arrangement which is absolutely satisfactory to them, I believe, and remember they have, if possible, an even greater interest than you, because they are closer to the immigration which has already begun there on a very large scale, and they adopted legislation which they believe will give them all that they want, and to which the objection I have taken does not apply, which does not come in conflict with this sentiment, I am sure, you share with us; and I hope, therefore, that during your visit it may be possible for us to arrange a form of words which will avoid hurting the feelings of any of Her Majesty's subjects, while at the same time it would amply protect the Australian Colonies against any invasion of the class to which they would justly object."

The position of India in the British Empire was again emphasized by Mr. Asquith at the Colonial Conference of 1907, when he said: "We should never, under any conceivable circumstances, accept here a preference granted to us only in respect of goods carried in ships in which the whole of our fellow subjects in India were not allowed to serve. We could not possibly accede to that, and everybody here would say we would rather have no preference limited by such condition as that."

Particular Difficulties

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the course of events since 1897, but the forms in which Asiatic questions have arisen in the self-governing Colonies may be briefly indicated.

Natal

In Natal, which alone imported Indian labour, the resident Indian population was increased by a large influx of coolies who, at the end of their indentures, remained in the Colony subject to special taxation, and by a small "free" immigration of persons who were able to pass the education test imposed by the Immigration Act. Difficulties arose about traders' licences, municipal franchise, and the education of Indian children, and these were accentuated by the passing in 1908 by the Natal Parliament of two Bills which were reserved and have not come into operation, one to bring to an end the issue of new trading licences to Asiatics, the other to prohibit after a certain time, the holding of trading licences by Asiatics. In 1909, however, the Dealers' Licenses Act of 1897 was so amended as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court on the renewal of existing licences, though not on their transfer or on the issue of new licences.

Transvaal

In the Transvaal, which most of the resident Indians had left during the War, acute difficulties were caused by an influx of Indians after annexation and by doubts as to the exact effect of some of the laws and regulations of the

South African Republic. Under the Peace Preservation Ordinance permits to Asiatics to enter the Colony were granted only to persons who had resided before the War. This provision was stereotyped by the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907, passed immediately after the grant of responsible government, and, although the Immigrants' Restriction Act of the same year was in form modelled on the Natal Act, the effect of the two Acts read together was that no Asiatic, however well educated, could claim as a right to enter the Colony unless he could prove that he was before the War a *bona-fide* resident. This position, which had no parallel in any other part of the Empire, was, with great reluctance, accepted by His Majesty's Government. The stringent provisions for proof of the identity of lawful residents, though declared by the Transvaal Government to be necessitated by the trade in forged documents, gave rise to an acute and bitter controversy, which was allayed only for a few months by an amending Act of 1908. On the one hand the Indians deliberately adopted a policy of passive resistance to the law; on the other hand some of the incidents of imprisonment and deportation of Indians awoke in India itself a feeling of indignation the sincerity and the importance of which were very imperfectly appreciated in South Africa.

Cape of Good Hope and Orange Free State

In Cape Colony, which allowed the entry only of Indians who could pass an education test, and in the Orange Free State, where an Asiatic question had never arisen, nothing had recently happened which calls for notice, except for one or two complaints that old residents who went back to India on a temporary permit were refused readmission to Cape Colony on technical grounds, which caused hardship.

Union of South Africa

Under the Act of Union matters differentially affecting Asiatics were reserved for the Union Government. The Union Government introduced an Immigration Bill in the recent session of Parliament which aimed at a final settlement of the question. The Bill was withdrawn at the end of the session, but it is understood that the subject will again be taken up. Meanwhile, a provisional settlement has been arranged by the Union Government which has led to the abandonment of the passive resistance movement. The stoppage of indentured emigration from India to Natal has now prevented the further recruitment of the uneducated classes of Indians within the Union. Thus, in South Africa, the problem henceforth will practically be that of the government of a resident Asiatic population, considerable in numbers only in Natal. . . .

Questions of Policy

The foregoing summary shows that the question of Indian immigration affects the several Dominions in different ways and in varying degrees. But the question may be said to fall under three heads:

(1) The entry of new immigrants.
(2) The status and condition of Indians who have been allowed to enter.
(3) The employment of Indians on ships in colonial waters.

(1) ENTRY OF IMMIGRANTS

His Majesty's Government fully accept the principle that each of the Dominions must be allowed to decide for itself what elements it desires to accept in its population. The extreme contention urged by some Indians, though not by those who speak with responsibility, that membership of the British Empire shall entitle any British subject to reside where he chooses, is disposed of by acknowledged political facts. At the same time it is of great importance to recognize that subjects of the King, however different in physique, customs, and religion, from the European races, are not aliens. It is not sufficiently realized that, for purely local reasons, the Dominions have adopted a policy which puts Asiatic British subjects on the same footing as alien Asiatics. In fact, for reasons noted above, the Dominion of Canada is more rigorous towards British Indian than towards Japanese immigration. A second important fact, generally overlooked, is that some parts of the British Empire have adopted towards Asiatic British subjects a policy of exclusion which foreign nations have found unnecessary. It is of course the case that the tropical and sub-tropical possessions of European Powers correspond in climate and conditions to the British Crown Colonies, and do not reproduce those local conditions which account for the immigration policy of the Dominions. None the less, it is a striking fact that British Indians are allowed by foreign countries privileges denied to them by the Dominions.

It is useless to attempt to veil the fact that the policy of building up new nations of European blood within the Empire is absolutely incompatible with the idea that every British subject, whatever his race, shall have free right of ingress to any part of the Empire. This being so, all that His Majesty's Government is entitled to ask is that the immigration policy of the Dominions shall be so framed and expressed as to avoid wanton injury to the self-respect of non-European British subjects. The policy of basing exclusion upon an educational, not a racial, criterion, meets this requirement, although, in its application to individual cases, it admits of being administered so as to exclude Indians on racial grounds. Other methods of restricting immigration, without in statutory terms differentiating against a particular race, find place in the Canadian law, which gives power (1) to exclude immigrants deemed unsuited to local climate or requirements, or immigrants of any specified class, occupation, or character; (2) to require immigrants to be in possession of a certain minimum sum of money.

It will not be disputed that each of the Dominions is under the strongest moral obligation to take no isolated action which would involve the Empire in war with a foreign power. But it does not appear to have been thoroughly

considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India. It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realize the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilizations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag, and who have been treated by their British officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as "coolies", and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are, of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire. . . .

. . . The immigration difficulty, however, has on the whole been met by a series of statutes which succeed in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the question were not grave, it would be seen to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect ruling princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty, and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides-de-Camp. It is of course true that no person of such distinguished position would in fact be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time the highest posts in the Imperial services in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this

feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinion. The Government of India, while appreciating the Colonial point of view, cannot, and do not, wish to dissociate themselves from the general feeling of disappointment at the unwillingness of the Dominions to recognize that Indians are entitled to consideration. Many highly educated and well-bred Indians have a natural and laudable desire to see other parts of the Empire, but at present are deterred from visiting the Dominions. It is earnestly hoped by His Majesty's Government that the measures necessary to prevent such an influx of the lower classes of Indians as would modify the population of the Dominions and create grave internal difficulties will not be extended to visitors of good social rank, merchants of sound commercial position who have interests outside India, or students who have attained to University standing.

(2) THE STATUS OF INDIANS RESIDENT IN THE DOMINIONS

It is in South Africa alone that there is any large resident Indian population, and its existence here is in the main due to the deliberate importation by Natal (inaugurated under Crown Colony but continued under Responsible Government) of contract Indian labour. In Canada and Australia Indian immigrants have been comparatively few in number and have come on their own commercial business. But in South Africa—apart from the entry of some representatives of those Indian traders who have for centuries past done business on the east coast of tropical Africa—the Indian element is, in origin, due to the action of Government undertaken at the instance and in the interests of a very important section of the European population of Natal.

So far, then, as an Indian population exists, the Dominions can do much to allay unrest in India by abstaining from any administrative policy which could be represented as showing an intention to expel them, or to reduce them to a position of degradation. In South Africa Indians compete chiefly with European traders—often with a low class of Europeans of alien origin,—while in British Columbia they are in competition with white workmen. It is thus inevitable that from time to time this economic rivalry should lead to friction. But the treatment of Indian traders by municipal authorities in Natal has at times been flagrantly unfair, and even now security for permanence of trading rights is given, by means of Appeal to the Supreme Court against licensing boards, only to individuals who already possess trading licences. The transfer of existing, or the grant of new, licences, is entirely in the hands of

municipal authorities. Certain schemes of legislation in Natal, and of administrative measures in the Transvaal, have caused much apprehension among Indians, and it is to be hoped that, when the Union has satisfied itself that safeguards against unlimited Asiatic immigration have been provided, it will be possible to treat the resident Indians generously.

Any system of generous treatment may be held to involve:

(1) avoidance of any measures calculated to take away the means of livelihood from respectable traders by vexatious regulations;

(2) restriction of sanitary measures to cover real sanitary needs, and regulations adequate to prevent the use of such measures as an indirect means of disturbing Indian residents;

(3) the grant of educational facilities, which, of course, need not lead to the admission of Asiatic and European children into mixed primary schools;

(4) a determination not to utilize immigration laws to banish lawful residents by means of legal quibbles, or to break up domiciled families, or to refuse temporary admission on visiting permit to relatives whose presence is urgently required by resident Indians. (Such an incident as the refusal of a permit to a son to attend the funeral of his father, which is alleged to have occurred in British Columbia, would create very bitter feeling amongst a people who attach supreme importance to funeral rites.)

It is practically certain that there will never be any large Indian population in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, the Dominions in which the aboriginal population is small, and in some cases decreasing, and which will, in the ordinary course of events, be, for all practical purposes, purely European. But in South Africa not only does the Native population so enormously outnumber the whites that unskilled labour will probably always remain in Native hands, but a small Asiatic element has existed for nearly two centuries. Cape Colony has found it possible to govern without friction and to utilize the "Malays" imported by the Dutch East India Company, who are Mahomedan in religion and distinctive in their social habits. They have established a position as fishermen, drivers, and petty agriculturists. It cannot be maintained that South Africa can accommodate only white and black, and has no place for the brown races. For although in a comparatively recently colonized area, such as the territories of the two former republics, this might be argued, Cape Colony affords an example of a large element, consisting not only of the "Malays", but of the "Coloured people", which is intermediate in civilization and habits between the Native Africans and the Europeans. There is no intention to minimize the difficulties caused by the presence of an intermediate element, whether of mixed blood or purely Asiatic. But it is believed that equitable administration can prevent these difficulties from becoming dangers.

(3) THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN SHIPS IN COLONIAL WATERS

It is unnecessary to add to what is said on this point in the historical summary, where the serious disabilities which the New Zealand Shipping Bill of 1910 would impose on Indian seamen are pointed out.

Indian Opinion, 9-9-1911, 16-9-1911, 23-9-1911 & 30-9-1911

APPENDIX XII

UNION MINISTERS' MINUTES ON IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL (1912)

A[1]

In the course of conversation this morning General Smuts referred to the draft Immigration Bill. I asked him what would be the position, under Clause 28, of one of the limited number of educated Indians to be admitted into the Union under the dictation test if he wished to enter the Free State. The Minister said there would be no restriction upon his entry into the Free State or into any other Province, and the only special disabilities to which he would be subjected would be the prohibition to acquire fixed property, or to engage in commerce or farming in the Free State, as set forth in Sub-clause 2 of Clause 28. According to what General Smuts said, there would be nothing to prevent him from establishing himself as a doctor except the absence of a sufficient number of his compatriots to make professional practice lucrative. The rest of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Law Book was not being repealed, but its provisions, with the exception of Articles 7 and 8, would be practically inoperative so far as the Indians admitted under the dictation test were concerned, as their status and rights were protected under the draft Bill. I asked the Minister whether he did not anticipate strong protests from Mr. Gandhi and his followers in regard to the specific retention of Articles 7 and 8. He said that Mr. Gandhi would raise no objection so long as the right of entry into the Free State were secured, as it was under the draft Bill. I did not anticipate such a sanguine reply, but I conclude from the confidence with which General Smuts spoke that he has been in communication with Mr. Gandhi and has satisfied himself on this point. He appeared to be convinced that the Bill, so far as it went, would be acceptable to the Indian community in this country. As regards the attitude of the Orange Free State members, General Smuts recognized that Sub-clause 2 of Clause 28

[1] This is a report by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General based on a discussion he had with Smuts. It was forwarded by Gladstone to the Colonial Office on October 28, 1911.

did not go so far as they would desire. Their wish would be to prevent any Indian from entering their Province, and time would show whether they would prove intractable. He hoped that they would be reasonable enough to appreciate that it would be intolerable if they endeavoured to wreck the Bill because it did not meet all their aspirations in every particular, and he considered that he had a strong argument in his armoury in that there was no absolute bar upon the entry of Indians into the Province under the present law, as the grant or refusal of permission in each case was left to the exercise of ministerial discretion, and there was nothing to prevent a Minister from admitting an unlimited number of Asiatics into the Free State if he saw fit, subject always to the statutory bar in regard to their owning fixed property, or their engaging in commerce or farming. He seemed to think that, if this circumstance were brought home to them, their attitude might not improbably undergo some modification. I may add that I have reason to believe that the draft of Sub-clause 2 was specially submitted to General Hertzog, and that he did not take exception to its terms.

2. I mentioned that I had failed to observe in the draft Bill any provision for giving effect to the Minister's undertaking in his correspondence with Mr. Gandhi that provision should be made for the registration of passive resisters who, but for their passive resistance, would previously have been entitled to registration. This point, it will be remembered, was alluded to in Paragraph 15 of Lord Gladstone's despatch Confidential (2) of the 23rd October. General Smuts replied that it had been found that no special legislation was required for the purpose of carrying out this pledge, and that certificates of registration were now in fact being granted.

3. As regards the dictation test, General Smuts volunteered the statement that he was considering the expediency of adopting the Australian model in its entirety and of providing that the subject of the test should be restricted to European languages. He thought there would be no difficulty in scheduling a list of European languages, and he would be prepared to include Yiddish in the list as the overwhelming majority of white immigrants at present were of the Jewish race.

4. He said that he was very hopeful of passing the Bill into law during the next session, and would use every endeavour in that behalf, as it was of the greatest importance that the immigration question should be regularized and settled. The emphasis with which he spoke is the more satisfactory as a few months ago there were indications suggesting the possibility of some slackening of interest in the subject.

. . .[1] engage in productive industry. It will be noted that his observations on the general question of white immigration differ considerably, both

[1] A page is missing here.

in tone and in intention, from the public utterances of at least one of his colleagues.

6. As regards the Asiatic question in the Transvaal, he expressed himself as gravely concerned by the interpretation placed by the Divisional Court upon Sections 77 and 130 of the Gold Law, to which reference was made in Lord Gladstone's despatch No. 917 of the 23rd instant. He considered that the decision was bad in law but he did not propose to interfere with it. Its effect he understood to be that wherever a right to let Stands to Asiatics had existed in mining areas, outside of townships, prior to the passing of the Act, that right could still be exercised. The result would be that a large number of Asiatic stores would spring up all over the reef, that the white trader would be crowded out, and that a considerable impetus would be given to the illicit traffic in gold and liquor in which Asiatics were prone to indulge. He thought that further legislation might be necessary, and a solution, to which he inclined, both in regard to this particular difficulty and to the general question of Asiatic trading in the Transvaal, might have to be found in the introduction of a licensing system resembling that of Natal. It will be remembered that the contemplation of some such expedient was indicated by Ministers in their Minute No. 1028 of the 2nd September, which was transmitted to the Secretary of State with Lord Gladstone's despatch No. 737 of the 4th idem. The scheme in General Smuts' mind appears to be the introduction of an universal system of licensing of all businesses in the Transvaal by the local authorities, without any explicit discrimination against Asiatics, and subject to the preservation of existing rights and to an appeal to some central authority with a view to obviating the infliction of undue hardship. He has evidently not yet come to a definite conclusion on the subject, and he appreciates that any such proposals would encounter formidable opposition in several quarters. He said, however, that he was strongly impressed with the necessity of taking some action to check what he described as the alarming development of Asiatic trading in this Province; and that, of course, would be the practical effect of the introduction of a licensing system, however free from racial differentiation it might be in form. The white trader, he asserted, could not exist side by side with Asiatic competition. He quite recognized that the business methods of white traders did not entitle them to very much sympathy, as they had taken an unreasonable advantage of their opportunities and were inclined to charge excessive profits. But however that might be, he was not prepared to face the alternative of the whole retail trade of the country falling into Asiatic hands. As between the two evils of the undesirable business methods of white traders on the one hand, and the unlimited extension of Asiatic trading on the other, he could not hesitate to choose the former, unless he wished to stultify his ideal of South Africa as a white man's country. The tone of his remarks left no doubt in my mind that he was giving the question serious attention, not merely as a subject for theoretical consideration, but with a view to

effective action, and it would, I fear, be idle to hope that it will be allowed to remain in abeyance.

H. J. STANLEY

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/14

B

November 28, 1911

1. It is not considered necessary to provide by law for the validation of the settlement of the Transvaal passive resistance controversy.
2. Clause 5(f). Domicile does not necessarily confer the right to reside: e.g., by failure to comply with the Asiatic Registration Laws a domiciled person would lose any right to reside.
3. Clause 5(e) and (g). The point raised by the Secretary of State will be borne in mind.
4. Clause 5(h). It is not anticipated that the use of the term "white" will cause any difficulty. The object of the clause as at present worded is to compel any Government to go to Parliament whenever there is an intention to introduce Coloured or Asiatic labour into the Union from other parts of the world.
5. First Schedule. Although His Majesty's assent was never given to Transvaal Act No. 36 of 1908, it remains on the Statute-book, and legal questions may afterwards arise which it may be advisable to obviate by formally removing it from the list of laws passed by the Transvaal Parliament.
6. Clauses 7 and 28(2). Indians admitted into the Union under the provisions of Section 4 (a) will require no further permission to enter the Orange Free State; but if they do enter that Province they will naturally be subject to the disabilities in respect of trading, farming and ownership of land which are imposed by Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Law Book.

Those clauses although they do not represent a hard and fast agreement with the Indian leaders are, it is believed, most likely to prove satisfactory to them, as they are in accord with representations which have been made to the Government from time to time by the Indian leaders.

7. With regard to the question raised by the Secretary of State for India as to the position of Natal Indians desirous of emigrating to the Cape and *vice versa*, Ministers desire to state that the Provisions of Clause 7 are intended to prevent the Natal Indian population from migrating to the other Provinces. The European inhabitants in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State would resent most strongly the intrusion of Natal Indians and Ministers are not prepared to state that, under the provisions of this Clause, even selected Natal Indians would be allowed to enter the Cape in future.

Ministers desire to point out that the difficulties in connection with the Indian population of South Africa require most careful handling on the part

of the Government and if Cape members of Parliament were to gain the impression that Natal Indians would be allowed into the Cape Province their opposition might possibly prove fatal to the Bill.

LOUIS BOTHA

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/14

C

SECRET

November 30, 1911

Immigration Bill. Reference my telegram of today's date.

I saw J. C. Smuts after receiving Ministers' reply to your questions. He strongly deprecates raising question of validating registration certificates for passive resisters. A separate bill would be necessary. The Government are issuing certificates and their validity could only be challenged by themselves. By issue they will themselves be stopped. It is their intention to safeguard position of passive resisters. I think that it will be best not to press them on this point.

As regards answer 3 of Ministers' minute J. C. Smuts quite recognizes your point. But he says that it is new and to make provision in bill [for ?] fresh immigrants would be dangerous. He prefers to deal with point in Parliament in event of its being raised and then to deal with it as best he can. Gandhi has not raised it.

As regards answer 4 he does not think Gandhi will make difficulty. He thinks that paragraph can be considered from points of view other than differentiation. Attempts now being made to organize entry of Natives from Liberia and he believes elsewhere, and therefore he provides in such cases for necessity for legislation. Whites must be exempted in view of white immigration scheme approved by Government for land and other developments here.

He cannot say that he has an agreed scheme with Gandhi. They are in agreement generally but J. C. Smuts does not wish to incur risk of being charged with breach of faith constructive or otherwise which unforeseen developments might produce.

Owing to opposition in Orange Free State and the Cape, and from Jews, he is doubtful whether he can get the Bill through, and he wishes to avoid its position being prejudiced in advance.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/44

D[1]

January 6, 1912

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's Minutes Nos. 15/234 and 15/235 of the 18th ultimo on the subject of the draft Immigration Bill, Ministers have the honour to state that they have given careful consideration to the further points which have been raised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Secretary of State for India.

With regard to the recent settlement with the passive resisters, Ministers do not anticipate that any difficulty will occur in connection with the validation of certificates which have been issued to Indians in terms of that settlement. The Indian leaders themselves do not ask for such legislation, and in Ministers' opinion no question is likely to arise with any future Government of the Union, as the certificates in question are limited in number which will all have been issued in the space of a short time, and it would be impracticable, even if it were legal and possible, for any Government to recall or to refuse to recognize any such certificate which had been officially issued.

Clause 5(g): Both under the law in South Africa and under the practice in the past polygamous marriages have not been recognized, and Ministers are unable to provide any facilities in the draft Bill which would have the effect of altering the present position in South Africa.

Clause 5(h): The Indian leaders, to whom the draft Bill has been shown, have raised no objection to Clause 5(h) in its present form, but should it appear, during the passage of the measure through Parliament, that opposition exists to the use of the word "white", Ministers will be prepared to consider the question of an amendment.

Clauses 6 and 7: Ministers desire to state that the interpretation placed on these Clauses by the Secretary of State for the Colonies is the correct one.

Clauses 7 and 28(2): The leaders of the Indian community have raised no objection to the reference to Chapter XXXIII, but have, on the contrary, intimated that the Clause as drafted appears to afford a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have been experienced in this matter. Ministers desire, however, to add that the question whether it will be possible to carry the Section as it is at present drafted depends very largely on the attitude of the members of Parliament from the Orange Free State, who are most strongly against any relaxation of the provisions of the Chapter in question.

J. C. SMUTS

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/25

[1] Gandhiji met Lane in Johannesburg on December 22, 1911, and was shown a copy of the new immigration bill; *vide* p. 201. Gandhiji says in his letter to Lane of January 29, 1912, that the bill, as published in the *Government Gazette* had undergone some changes since he had seen it last.

APPENDIX XIII

EXTRACTS FROM IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL (1912) AND ORANGE FREE STATE CONSTITUTION

To consolidate and amend the laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to Restriction upon Immigration thereto, to provide for the establishment of a Union Immigration Department and regulate Immigration into the Union or any Province thereof.

The Governor-General may appoint an immigration board at any such port of entry as may seem to him expedient, and the duty of any such board shall be to advise the Minister as to whether persons alleged to be prohibited immigrants should be permitted to enter the Union, and as to matters incidental to their entrance. (Section 3)(3).

The term "prohibited immigrant" includes:

(a) any person who is unable to pass the dictation test, that is to say—when an immigration officer dictates to him not less than fifty words in the language selected by such an officer, fails to write out those words in that language to the satisfaction of that officer;

(c) any person who, from information received from any Government (whether British or Foreign) through official or diplomatic channels, is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of or visitor to the Union. (Section 4).

The exemption clause includes:

(e) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union;

(f) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person who satisfies an immigration officer that he still is both domiciled and entitled to reside in the Union or any Province, and that during his absence from the Union he has not become such a person as is described in paragraph (c), (d), (e), (f) or (g) of the last preceding section;

(g) subject to the provisions of section seven, any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years;

(i) of any person who by passing the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of the last preceding section has been permitted to enter the Union;

(ii) of any person described in paragraph (f) of this section, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) does not fall within the classes of persons described in paragraphs (c), (d), (e), (f) or (g) of the last preceding section. (Section 5).[1]

[1] *Indian Opinion* adds the following by way of comment: "Paragraphs (d), (e), (f) and (g) refer to persons suffering from certain diseases or convicted of certain crimes."

(1) Every prohibited immigrant who, after the commencement of this Act, enters or is found within the Union, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction

(a) to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months without the option of a fine; and

(b) to be removed at any time by the Minister's warrant from the Union.

(2) Pending the removal, the prohibited immigrant may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation.

(3) The prohibited immigrant may be discharged from the imprisonment or custody aforesaid if security be given to the satisfaction of the Minister that the prohibited immigrant will within one month leave the Union, and not return thereto.

(4) Every such sentence of imprisonment shall terminate as soon as the prohibited immigrant is removed from the Union. (Section 6).

Notwithstanding that a person is domiciled and entitled to reside in any particular Province either at the commencement of this Act or thereafter, nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as authorizing him to enter or reside in any other Province wherein he has not become entitled to reside unless he is able to pass the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of section four, and he may at any time be required to pass that test. For the purposes of this Act every such person shall, unless he has passed the said test, be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the said other Province and the provisions of the last preceding section shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to him. (Section 7).

(1) No prohibited immigrant shall be entitled to obtain a licence to carry on any trade or calling in the Union or (as the case may be) in any Province wherein his residence is unlawful or to acquire therein any interest in land, whether leasehold or freehold, or in any immovable property.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, on conviction of the prohibited immigrant as such, be null and void. (Section 8).

(1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be brought as soon as possible before a magistrate's court to be dealt with according to law. (Section 9).

An immigration officer may require any person entering the Union to make a declaration in the form prescribed by regulation that he, or any person accompanying him, is not a prohibited immigrant and to state in the declaration such further particulars as may be prescribed by regulation, and may require him to fill in and complete in every respect that form and to produce, in support of the declaration, documentary or other evidence.

Every such declaration shall be exempt from any stamp duty ordinarily imposed by law on affidavits or solemn or attested declarations, anything to

the contrary notwithstanding in any law in force in the Union relating to stamp duty.

Any person who fails on demand to comply with any provision of this section or who declares upon the form anything as a fact, or produces or gives such evidence as aforesaid which he knows to be false, shall be guilty of an offence. (Section 18).

Any person who

(a) has been convicted, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, of a contravention of any of the provisions enumerated in the second schedule thereto, or of any amendment of those provisions;

(b) having been removed at the expense, either whole or partial, of any Government from the Union, or any part thereof now included in the Union, or being the subject of an order issued under any law to leave the Union or any part thereof now included in the Union, returns thereto without lawful authority or has failed to comply with the terms of any such order;

(c) having been refused by an immigration officer permission to enter the Union or any Province, has entered the Union or that Province;

(d) admits to an immigration officer in a written document that he is a prohibited immigrant either in the Union or in any Province;

may, if not already under detention, be arrested without warrant and removed from the Union or (as the case may be) from the Province, by the Minister's warrant and, pending removal, may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation. (Section 21).

(1) The burden of proving that a person has not entered or remained in the Union or any Province in contravention of this Act or any regulation shall, in any prosecution for or in respect of such a contravention, lie upon the accused person. (Section 23).

(1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained, the Minister may in his discretion issue a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as to period of residence or otherwise as the Minister may in the permit specify.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion issue a permit to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union or any Province and who, desiring to proceed thereout with the intention of returning thereto, for any reason apprehensive that he will be unable to prove on his return that he is not a prohibited immigrant. The permit in this sub-section mentioned shall expressly authorize the person named therein to return, within a period specified in the permit, to the Union or the particular Province (as the case may be), but before issuing the permit the Minister shall require such proof of the said person's identity add such means of identification to be furnished as may be prescribed by regulation (Section 25).

(1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who, by passing the dictation test described in paragraph (a) of section four of this Act has been permitted to enter the Union shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

(2) Any person, being such a person as is described in Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Law Book, who, by passing the said dictation test, has been permitted to enter the Union or, by passing the dictation test in accordance with section seven of this Act, has been permitted to enter the Orange Free State from any other Province, shall be subject in all respects to the provisions of articles seven and eight of the said Chapter 33. (Section 28).

The Immigration Laws of all the Colonies are repealed; as also the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of the Transvaal, No. 2 of 1907,—the whole, except so far as it is applicable to the registration of minors lawfully resident in the Transvaal.

Orange Free State Laws

The following are Sections 7 and 8 of the Orange Free State Constitution, Chapter XXXIII:

7. No such Coloured person as is mentioned in the preceding articles (i.e., Arab, Chinaman, Coolie, or other Asiatic Coloured person) nor the successor in title of any such Coloured person shall, under any circumstances, have the right to have fixed property registered in his name in this State.

8. No such Coloured person as is mentioned in the preceding Articles shall, under any circumstances, be permitted by the State President to settle in this State for the purpose of carrying on a commercial business or farming, either directly or indirectly, and each applicant, before obtaining permission to reside in this State, shall make and sign a sworn declaration before the Landdrost to whom he makes the application, in which he shall declare that he will neither directly nor indirectly carry on a commercial business or do any farming in this State, and each such Coloured person carrying on any other business or trade than the one for which he obtained permission to settle in the country shall be liable to fine or punishment as provided in the following Article. (1st offences, a fine not exceeding £25 sterling or in default of payment imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, and for subsequent offences the fine and punishment shall each time be doubled).

Indian Opinion, 3-2-1912

APPENDIX XIV

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

January 31, 1912

FURTHER TO YOURS YESTERDAY. IN REGARD TO SECTION FIVE, NO LEGAL RIGHTS ARE DISTURBED BECAUSE, IN ANY CASE, A DISCRETION WILL HAVE TO BE LEFT TO THE OFFICER. THAT DISCRETION MAY BE REVISED BY THE BOARD AND, IN THE LAST RESORT, BY THE MINISTER. UNDER SECTION 7, NO EXISTING RIGHTS ARE DISTURBED, AS INTERPROVINCIAL IMMIGRATION WOULD STILL BE A MATTER FOR ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION, BUT, OF COURSE, IT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE SUCH IMMIGRATION WILL BE KEPT WITHIN NARROW LIMITS, AS YOU ARE AWARE THAT WAS THE POLICY CARRIED OUT UNDER EXISTING IMMIGRATION LAWS. IN REGARD TO THE DOMICILE CERTIFICATES IN NATAL, THEIR ISSUE WAS OPTIONAL, AND COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY MADE TO MINISTER THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABUSED. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE ISSUING DOMICILE CERTIFICATES APART FROM SYSTEM OF REGISTRATION AND IDENTIFICATION, AS THOSE CERTIFICATES ARE FREQUENTLY PASSED ON TO OTHERS WHO ARE NOT ENTITLED TO THEM. THE SYSTEM OF PERMITS IN FORCE AT THE CAPE IS NOT BEING ATTENDED ALL OVER THE UNION, AND THE MINISTER IS SURE THAT WITH A REASONABLE ADMINISTRATION IT OUGHT TO GIVE SATISFACTION TO INDIANS WHO WISH FOR LONGER OR SHORTER PERIODS TO VISIT THEIR OWN OR OTHER COUNTRIES. WITH REGARD TO SECTION 28, THE SWORN DECLARATION IS NOT AN IMMIGRATION PROVISION, AND IS ONLY INTENDED TO SAFEGUARD THE ABSTINENCE OF THE PERSON ENTERING FREE STATE FROM CARRYING ON FARMING OR TRADING. THAT BEING SO THE MINISTER DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT POSSIBLE OBJECTION THERE CAN BE TO IT. IF IT IS AGREED TO BE REASONABLE THAT ASIATICS SHOULD NOT TRADE OR FARM IN THAT PROVINCE, SURELY IT IS QUITE REASONABLE TO REQUIRE THEM TO MAKE THE DECLARATION.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 5619

APPENDIX XV

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

February 7, 1912

6/E. REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM 1ST FEBRUARY, THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME MISUNDERSTANDING IN YOUR MIND. NOWHERE IN THE BILL ARE THE LAW COURTS EXCLUDED FROM JURISDICTION, AND IT IS A MISTAKE TO THINK THAT UNDER CLAUSE FIVE OR ANY OTHER CLAUSE AN APPEAL WOULD NOT IN LAST RESORT LIE TO A LAW COURT. WITH REGARD TO THE DOMICILE CERTIFICATE, IT IS QUITE IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE SUCH A SYSTEM INAUGURATED ALL OVER THE UNION. EVEN IN NATAL THERE HAS BEEN A GROSS ABUSE OF THESE CERTIFICATES, AND MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONFISCATED IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT ENTITLED TO THEM. THE QUESTION WHICH ARISES UNDER SECTION 8 OF CHAPTER 33 WITH REGARD TO A DECLARATION BY AN IMMIGRANT, THE O.F.S. RAISES SOME DIFFICULTIES AND THE DEPARTMENT IS TAKING THE OPINION OF THE LAW OFFICES ON IT. IT SEEMS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER AS THE CLAUSE STANDS IN THE BILL THE DECLARATION CAN STILL BE REQUIRED. IT IS HOPED THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL THESE EXPLANATION [*sic*] WILL PROVE ACCEPTABLE, AS ANY OTHER ATTEMPTS TO PASS A GENERAL IMMIGRATION LAW WITHOUT DIFFERENTIAL PROVISIONS WOULD BE VERY UNLIKELY. MINISTER HAS DONE HIS VERY BEST TO COME TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT ON A QUESTION WHICH HAS DEEPLY AGITATED ALL PARTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND HOPES THAT HIS EFFORTS WILL BE SUPPORTED BY THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED, AND VENTURES TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR UNDOUBTED INFLUENCE WITH YOUR COMPATRIOTS TO THIS END. THE BILL CONTAINS NO DIFFERENTIAL PROVISIONS, AND SATISFIES THE POINTS OF HONOUR AND SELF-RESPECT ON WHICH YOU HAVE ALWAYS LAID THE MOST STRESS.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 5619

APPENDIX XVI

LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CAPE TOWN,
May 14, 1912

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am asked by the Minister to refer you to your letter of the 24th February in which you refer to an opinion given you by your Counsel in regard to the proposed Immigration Bill. General Smuts asks me to forward for your information a copy of the new draft sub-section which he proposes to insert in place of sub-section 2 of section 28 of the draft Immigration Bill now before Parliament. You will remember that it was not certain whether under the provisions of the clause as introduced, the declaration required under Section 8 of Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Laws would be required of educated Asiatic immigrants, and that before coming to a definite decision the Department undertook to look into the point.

The matter has been considered and the amendment forwarded under cover of this letter has been drawn up as an alternative to the clause as it stands in the Bill at the present time, the legal advisers being of the opinion that if the provisions of the declaration are included in the Bill the necessity of completing the declaration as set out in schedule 2 of the Chapter is done away with.

With regard to the question of domicile which you raise, I am to say that the Minister intends to insert a clause which, by removing all doubts in the matter, will meet with your support.

I shall be glad if you will let me have an expression of your views on the amendment now before you at an early date as the Minister hopes to bring the Bill forward very shortly in the Assembly.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
ERNEST F. C. LANE

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5650-1

APPENDIX XVII

SMUTS' SPEECH ON I. R. BILL (1912) IN UNION PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN,
May 30, 1912

In the House of Assembly on the 30th ultimo, the Minister of the Interior moved the second reading of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill, and stated that the Tuberculosis Commission had been instructed to report first on such questions as might be of importance in regard to the Bill. The report, he thought, was a valuable one, and parts of the recommendations would probably be adopted by the House before the Bill became law. Although the Bill was not of the most urgent importance from a purely South African point of view, yet it was important and urgent from the wider point of view. The questions that received solution in the measure were of great Imperial importance. The Bill intended to put in force and embody in legislation an understanding come to as far back as 1910 with the British Government regarding Asiatics and the immigration of Asiatics, especially Indians, to South Africa. The Minister added that this was not merely a Bill dealing with white immigration to South Africa, but dealt also with the somewhat different and more complicated subject of Asiatic immigration to South Africa. The Asiatic population, and especially the Indian population, of South Africa had taken up an attitude, in which they were supported by the India Office and the British Government, whereby they claimed, as regarded the laws of South Africa, that there should be no differentiation between them and the whites. They did not object to differential administrative action or difference applied in practice to them; but they objected to and opposed most strenuously any legislative stigma being put on them, so far as the statutes of this country were concerned. In this attitude they were supported by the British Government, and it was now, as members knew, after a great deal of trouble and negotiation on the part of the present Government, that they had acceded to that position, and they had recognized that in the legislation of the country there should be no difference, but the difference would be confined to the administration of the laws which they might pass. The difficulty in working the Immigration Law in this country was considerable, because whilst, on one hand, they were most anxious to foster the immigration of white people, they were equally anxious to keep Asiatics out. (Hear! Hear!) They had therefore to pass a law applying in the same terms to all sections, but aiming at bringing certain people in and keeping others out. It looked almost like a Chinese puzzle. After a great deal of consideration, they had decided to adopt the suggestion of the Colonial Office, supported by the Government of India, to apply the Australian education test. This apparently

was a very stiff test, but it admitted of being applied with rigour in one case and laxity in another, so that whites might be engaged to come to the country, whilst Asiatics would be kept out. That Australian test, as adopted in the Bill, was the principal provision of the Bill, and that was also likely to give rise to the most discussion. It apparently placed enormous powers in the hands of the Government, yet he was prepared to state, on the part of the Government, that in the administration of this law there was not the slightest intention of making it more difficult for white people to come into the country than it was today. The intention was rather the other way. In the past there had been too great a tendency under their existing legislation to lay stress on purely educational qualifications. (Hear! Hear!) A man who wanted to come to this country, and was physically fit and otherwise might be a good citizen, was asked to test his knowledge in some European language. Some of these languages did not concern them in this country in the least. A man who had a very high knowledge of Yiddish did not impress him, and the same applied to Russian and many other languages. What they did want in this country was a certain type of character and physical fitness, and they should not look too much to immigrants' literary attainments or educational qualifications in languages of little use in this country. As for the rest, the Immigration Department would be carried on the same as under existing laws. He was perfectly prepared to state, as he now did, that no test would be applied to white people more difficult in future than was applied in the past. So far as the Indian and Asiatic populations were concerned, he was going to carry out the arrangement with the British Government, and that was that they would permit a small number of educated and professional Asiatics to enter South Africa yearly, but, of course, in limited numbers, but they certainly would provide for others in such a manner that there would not be any influx into this country of Asiatics.

I do not wish to say anything to influence this House. They have seen the Bill, and they are most anxious it should be put on the Statute-book, although they have raised one point in regard to domiciled people which is not in the Bill, but which I want to bring forward as an amendment. The Government of India have also seen the Bill, and agreed to it, and their desire is that it should appear on the Statute-book as soon as possible. Proceeding, Mr. Smuts said the Bill contained the usual provisions as to what were prohibited immigrants and what were not. In this regard he wished to say that, in accordance with the report of the Tuberculosis Commission, they would now have to add another paragraph to this section, by which it would be provided that persons infected with tuberculosis might be permitted into this country under certain conditions. Opinions differed as to whether they should allow people suffering from tuberculosis into this country, but it would, however, be a considerable hardship to close the door to these people without respect to the degree of tuberculosis from which they were suffering, and the Commission had come to the conclusion that these people might be allowed in under certain

conditions, and provided they conformed to certain regulations discussed in the Commission's report. That part of their report he would like to adopt. (Hear! Hear!) They should fight the scourge [of] tuberculosis in this country, for it was rapidly becoming one of the most dangerous diseases in the country. They should make a commencement at their seaboards, so that they should not be further infected with this disease. (Hear! Hear!) He agreed they should not entirely close their doors, but he also thought that if the recommendations provided for were accepted it would be possible to prevent any further infection from abroad. Exceptions were also provided in the Bill—that was to say, certain classes of people would be free to come into this country, and would not fall under the provisions of this Bill at all. The provisions of the Bill of last year in this respect had been somewhat extended, so that now all South Africans would be able to come in from abroad with their wives and children. Some difference of opinion had arisen with the Chamber of Mines in the Transvaal as to one of the paragraphs. Provision was made in Clause 5 that the following persons would not be prohibited immigrants, namely, any person who entered the Union in accordance with any law or convention with a neighbouring Government. This provided for the exemption of all those Native labourers from the East Coast of Africa. The convention referred to here was the Mozambique Convention. The Chamber of Mines had raised several difficulties, and had pointed out that Natives coming from Basutoland might technically under this section be prohibited immigrants. Natives coming from Nyasaland, they pointed out, might also be prohibited immigrants. He thought there was not much force in these objections. With regard to Natives from Basutoland, the provisions of the recruiting law of last year dealt with them. The Chamber also pointed to the case of the Nyasaland Natives. Of course, Natives from Basutoland were not prohibited immigrants, as Natives who came here in accordance with any other law were exempted, but if there was any doubt he was prepared to meet the Chamber of Mines. As regards the Nyasaland Natives, his information was to the effect that they were not recruited in Nyasaland. They usually went into Portuguese territory from where they were recruited by the agents of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, so that they fell under the Mozambique Convention. He, therefore, thought no amendment would be required in regard to these objections. Another important point under this Bill was with regard to the movements of Asiatics in South Africa. It would in future be possible to prevent wholesale immigration into the Union, but the difficult question in regard to interprovincial movements still remained, and this was one of the points which the British Government had impressed upon them. There was practically no immigration of Asiatics allowed into the Transvaal or Free State, but under the laws of the Cape and Natal Provinces it was possible for Indians and Asiatics to comply with the Education test and enter these Provinces, not only from abroad, but from other Provinces. The Natal Indian who wished to go to the Cape need only pass a low test under

the Cape law, and similarly the Transvaal or Cape Asiatic who wished to go to Natal could do so if he passed a test under the Natal law. There was no law in the Cape or Natal as regarded immigration of Asiatics, and therefore, hon. members would understand the difficulty, as Asiatics could not at present go to the Transvaal or Free State. Now the British Government had asked them in the application of this Bill not to make the position of Asiatics worse than it was. Although they did restrict, under the Bill, the interprovincial movements of Asiatics, they had asked so far as the Cape and Natal were concerned not to go further in actual administration than the law allowed to be done. As regards the position in the Transvaal, added the Minister, "We have a free hand, and we can debar their entrance from other parts of the Union to this Province." Whilst it was intended to enforce their law in the interior Provinces, they were prepared to make its administration not more drastic than hitherto under the existing law. The question arose, what would be the actual position in a Province like the Free State if this Bill became law? The position there would be that this limited number of Asiatics who would be admitted annually into the Union under this Act, if they were educated or professional people; and if, also, they were in limited numbers as the Union Government might agree to let in.[1] These people would be admitted into the Union, and it would be free for them to settle if they desired in any Province of the Union, even in the Free State, but the provisions of the existing law in the Free State made it impossible for them to exercise certain trades and professions or to hold ground. All these prohibitions would remain in force, and the disabilities imposed there would remain, even if they chose to go there. If Clause 28 did not appear quite satisfactory, he was prepared to embody an amendment to make it still more explicit that these people, although they could go anywhere in the Union, even in the Free State, should be debarred from exercising any of those rights they were at present debarred from by existing laws in the Free State. The net result in the Free State would be that the position would be safer from the white point of view, because the present Free State law was certainly of the most lax character. The present law of the Free State provided that an Asiatic might come into the Free State, but within two months of his arrival must apply for permission to remain there. If he got permission he remained, but the door was opened. The Asiatic came first to the Free State, and after two months got permission. That was a most unfortunate provision, for if people were to be prevented from entering the Province it was best to prevent them at the border. Once in the Province, it was very difficult to remove them. The result would be that the position in the Free State would be safer. Continuing, the

[1] There appears to be some mistake in the reproduction of the foregoing point. What Smuts seems to mean, however, is that only those Asiatics would be allowed into the Free State that have passed the Union immigration test and no other.

Minister said that a deal of dissatisfaction arose from time to time with regard to the administration of the Immigration Department. Officers of the Department were able and painstaking, but they were also human beings and no doubt sometimes did make mistakes, which produced a certain amount of public commotion. Their decisions created some criticism which he thought avoidable, and he proposed, therefore, to appoint Advisory Boards at certain points. It was impossible to appoint a Board at every port of entry into the Union by rail, as well as by sea, but he thought that at Cape Town and Durban they should have Boards which could consider cases where the Immigration Officer was about to prohibit a man from entering the country. These Boards would be so constituted as to provide for fair and impartial consideration to appeals. Some amendments would be necessary to the Bill, such as that a man domiciled in South Africa should have leave to appeal to the law courts. He moved the second reading of the Bill. (Cheers.)

Indian Opinion, 8-6-1912

APPENDIX XVIII

LORD AMPTHILL ON PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT IN HOUSE OF LORDS

LONDON,
July 17, 1912

MY LORDS,

I am not going to take up your Lordships' time with a speech, but I must say a few words of explanation with regard to the Question which stands in my name. I am obliged to put this Question because there was no opportunity in another place for those interested in this supremely important question of the treatment of British Indians in South Africa to elicit information from the Secretary of State. Your Lordships will remember that the Secretary of State took the members of the House of Commons for a tour round the Crown Colonies, which was so interesting and protracted that there was not opportunity to go further. Those of us who have for some years past been interested in this question are feeling very grave anxiety at the present time. Our anxiety is due to two causes—in the first place, that the settlement which was promised so long ago, promised so definitely and so hopefully by the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, has again been postponed; and, in the second place, that the management of that settlement is now in other hands. General Smuts, who was Minister for the Interior, was personally pledged to carry out a settlement which, as we believe, had been agreed upon as satisfactory, not only by the Indian community in South Africa, but also by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of India. But now, unfortunately, the Bill has been postponed, and the office of Minister of the Interior is in other

hands—in the hands, I believe, of Mr. Fischer, who unfortunately we know to be, I will only put it this way, less amicably disposed towards the British Indian community than was General Smuts. We should like to know most particularly whether the fact that there is a new Minister of the Interior will make any difference as regards the settlement, and also, of course, why exactly it has been found necessary to postpone this settlement.

Your Lordships will remember that more than a year ago we were assured most confidently and hopefully by the noble Marquess, the Leader of the House, who was then Secretary of State, that the settlement was close at hand, that he was really confident it would be brought about. Perhaps I may remind your Lordships what that settlement was. The essence of the settlement was the repeal of the Transvaal Act No. 2 of 1907, which was so hurtful to the feelings of our Indian fellow citizens in South Africa. That Act, which served no useful purpose and only acted as a humiliation and a soreness to the Indians in South Africa, was to be repealed, while the rights of minors were to be safeguarded and the principle of the restriction of Asiatic immigration—to which the Indians themselves assented and which they recognized as inevitable and reasonable even—was to be that there should be no racial bar on the Statutes of the Colony. That was the one thing they had been contending for—that Indians should not be excluded on account of their colour. "If you must exclude us", they said, "let it be by administrative differentiation. Do it because it is a matter of economic convenience, but do not do it on the ostensible ground that you think we belong to an inferior race." We had hoped that the settlement might have been brought about long ago. It has been twice postponed. Therefore the first thing I want to know is what are the exact causes of the postponement, and then I should like to know whether His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the Bill which has recently been before the Union Parliament does actually fulfil those conditions of settlement to which I have referred. I know that there are competent lawyers in South Africa who say that it does not fulfil those simple and plain conditions, but that the racial bar is maintained in another form. What is the opinion of His Majesty's Government on that point? And supposing they are not satisfied, what steps have they taken, are they taking, or are they going to take to set that right?

Then it is also alleged—I speak subject to correction, but it is one of the points on which I am asking the noble Lord for information—that this Bill does deprive Indians in the Coast Provinces of rights which they have hitherto held undisputed. Is that the case or not? His Majesty's Government, in the Despatch of October, 1910, I think it was, said that no settlement of the Transvaal Indian trouble would be acceptable if it diminished the rights of Indians in other provinces. All along it was the profession of the South African Government, long before the Union, that they did not wish to diminish the rights of Indians who were already lawfully resident in that country. Lord Selborne, when he was High Commissioner, made that the keynote of his

statements on the subject. He said he did not wish in any way to treat Indians who were lawfully resident in the country one whit less well than they had been treated before. The only thing he stuck out for was that no more were to be admitted, with the reasonable exception, which has been agreed to now by all parties, that the few educated men who are required for the natural life of the community, as ministers of religion, as doctors, and as lawyers, should be admitted. The number of six per annum was given as a probably reasonable limit to the requirements of the community. I hope it is not the case that, after competent examination, it has been found that this new Bill does actually diminish the existing rights of Indians in the country, because, if that were so, it would be a very grave and unpardonable breach of faith. I trust, therefore, that we shall hear that His Majesty's Government have examined very carefully into that point and have been in friendly communications with the Union Government about it.

But there is one more word which I must say in order to explain the object of my question, and that is, that the spirit of this settlement, which we were told was so near at hand, seems to have been violated during this period of delay. It was because we were allowed to expect that there would be an immediate settlement that the Indian community themselves agreed to drop their passive resistance movement. It was because we were told that a settlement was at hand that friends of the Indian community in this country stayed their hand and have since shown considerable reticence and self-restraint. We have waited most patiently, we have not bothered the Government with Questions and Motions in Parliament, we have treated them with very considerable trust and confidence and have waited patiently for a long time before asking them again what they were doing in regard to this question. I say that advantage has been taken of this delay to violate the spirit of the settlement. The spirit of the settlement was to treat Indians who were lawfully resident in the country as well as possible. I must show what I mean by quoting some instances. In the first place, the Transvaal Supreme Court have taken a very serious course in deciding against the introduction of plural wives married according to the law of Islam, and there has been a notorious case in which it has been decided that the second wife of a Mahomedan cannot be admitted into the Transvaal. It is going further than that. It seems to me to be part of a very deliberate movement, for there is now an attempt to secure a decision against the admission of Mahomedan wives at all into the country on the ground that polygamous marriages are not recognized by the Transvaal law. From there it would only be a step to declare that the offspring of these marriages are illegitimate. I need not enlarge upon that point. I need only appeal to your Lordships' imagination. Your Lordships have only to think for a moment what the consequences would be in India, in Egypt, in every part of the Empire where there are thousands of His Majesty's loyal Mahomedan subjects, if an affront, and insult, of this kind were levelled at the Mahomedan

religion. Surely the whole spirit of rule under the British flag wherever it was flown has been religious toleration. There seems to me absolutely no ground for departure from that principle, and surely, whatever the risk may be, it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to uphold that principle wherever there are British citizens under the British flag. That is a very serious matter. Apart from everything else, a necessary question, if the movement is allowed to continue, is the breaking up of homes, the wives not being allowed to come in or being turned out of the country, the separation of families, the ruin of business, the expulsion of men whose right to be in the country has never been questioned, and consequences which I leave to the imagination of any one of your Lordships who will take the trouble to give the matter a thought. I want to know what His Majesty's Government have done in regard to this decision of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. Have they pointed out how fatal would be the consequences of carrying this movement any further? Have they protested? What has been the nature of their protest, and what answer have they received?

There is another matter, and that is the growing tendency on the part of the immigration officers to exercise arbitrary power. On one case I had occasion to correspond with the Colonial Office, but I got very little satisfaction. That case showed this, that even if an Indian can prove his right to be in the country to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court, it is within the power of the immigration officer to keep him out. That was proved by the decision in that particular case. It is said—I want to know whether it is the case or not—that the present Bill increases the arbitrary powers of the immigration officers. General Smuts, in introducing the Bill, did make some sort of apology for what he regarded as the occasional excesses on the part of the immigration officers. On a par with this action of the immigration officers is the exclusion of children of lawful residents in the country by the Portuguese officials at Mozambique at the instance of the Immigration Department of the Union. What has been the consequence of this? It is a very serious consequence, and I cannot understand for the life of me why more notice has not been taken of it. The result is that the Germans are imitating our example. In German East Africa they are proposing anti-Indian legislation on the ground that we are pursuing the same course. What will be our position as a nation before the people of India if we are obliged to confess that we cannot protest against this exclusion by a foreign country because it is merely what we are doing ourselves? There are other matters which are serious enough, though they are smaller. For instance, the growing tendency to exercise the trade licensing laws in Natal with the apparent object of making it impossible for Indians to have a right to be in Natal, whose right has never been questioned, with the object of compelling them to leave the country. The same is being done, during this period of delay of which I have spoken, with the Townships Act in the Transvaal and the Gold Law. The tendency of the regulations, which seem to be unlawful regulations,

under that Act is to force Indians into Locations. I should have thought that His Majesty's Government, of all people, would instantly object to and resent any attempt to force Indians into Locations. That was the test of Chinese slavery. The one test was that Chinese labourers were obliged to live in Locations. What, then, is the Government answer to and their justification of this deliberate tendency to force Indians into Locations?

I could give scores of instances of the way in which advantage has been taken of this Bill to oppress—there is no other word—the lawful Indian residents in the Transvaal. What I want to know is whether His Majesty's Government have been taking note of these oppressive acts, whether they have done anything to protect His Majesty's subjects, our Indian fellow subjects, who are in South Africa and have every right to be there, whose right has never been questioned. I emphasize that because it is not a case of immigrants who have forced their way in without permission. I do hope the noble Lord who is going to answer me will not give that answer which I have often heard before, and which I dare say the occupants of the Front Bench opposite think good enough for me. It is not good enough for those on whose behalf I speak. It is not good enough for anybody who regards this question from the point of view of common sense and the interests of the Empire as apart from the ordinary devices of political parties in Parliament. That answer is that you cannot interfere with a self-governing Colony. That seems to be satisfying to many people, but it is a rotten answer, a stupid answer. In the first place, there is no question of interference. Let me remind you of the Malecka case. If you can interfere with the Government of a foreign country, over which you cannot possibly exercise any compulsion, in order to secure the reversal of the acts of a Court of Justice on behalf of one single person who was only half British citizen if she was a British citizen at all, then surely you have a right to do something, to say something, to make a bargain, to come to an understanding, about thousands of persons who are wholly British citizens, and to make that understanding with people who are your own national kinsmen, who are under the British flag, who are under the authority of our Sovereign, and with whom—and that is the point—we have absolutely vital interests in common. If you cannot come to an agreement with our kinsmen in our Dominions oversea about matters which concern the whole welfare of the Empire, then I say that the Empire itself cannot have any existence in fact.

I wish to Heaven that I had the power or the knowledge which would enable me to create public opinion and propitiate those wizards of the Press who, for good or for evil, influence our destinies in the same way as opinion was created and the Press were propitiated in regard to the Malecka case. Ten thousand times justification has there been during the last five years in the case of our Indian fellow subjects in the Transvaal; and if the pressure which I refer to in the Malecka case was potent to move the Government in this country to action, to oblige them to interfere with a foreign country over whom

we have no power of control, how much more, had I known the trick, would it have been possible to move them into action in regard to our Indian fellow subjects in the Transvaal? I hope I have made it clear to the noble Lord what are the exact points on which I wish to have an answer.

Indian Opinion, 7-9-1912

APPENDIX XIX

UNION MINISTERS' MINUTES FOR IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT REGARDING TOWNSHIPS AMENDMENT ACT (1908)

A

June 16, 1911

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's minute, of the 12th instant, No. 15/139, transmitting a telegram from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking for Ministers' observations on the petition of the British Indian Association, copy of which was enclosed in His Excellency's minute of 8th May, and on the question raised by the South Africa British Indian Committee in their letter of the 5th May, on the subject of the effect of Section 130 of the Transvaal Gold Law, Ministers desire to state that they do not think that it is necessary to review the situation which has arisen under Law No. 3 of 1885, and subsequent laws dealing with the rights of Asiatics to own or otherwise hold property outside Locations and Bazaars.

The grievance to which attention is particularly drawn in the enclosures to the Governor-General's minute refers to certain police action which has been taken at Klerksdorp under Section 130 of the Precious and Base Metals Act of 1908. The reference by the British Indian Association to the Townships Amendment Act, 1908, is not understood by Ministers, as no provision such as is alleged to exist is contained in that Act.

With regard to the Section of the Precious and Base Metals Act referred to, Ministers wish to point out that that law deals primarily and almost entirely with mineral and mining rights, from which Coloured people have always been excluded under the provisions of the Mining Laws of the Transvaal. No doubt the language of Section 130 is wide enough to cover all rights conferred under the Act of 1908 as well as under previous Gold Law; but there is no intention of interfering with the business or rights of carrying on business which Indians have acquired and exercised previous to the enactment of Act 35 of 1908. Ministers are informed that the Stands at Klerksdorp in reference to which action has been taken were clandestinely acquired for business purposes by Indians subsequent to the passing of the Act, and in contravention of the Section referred to. They understand that action has been taken at the instance of the local

trading community, which is profoundly exercised over the rapid ousting of white traders by the Indians. Ministers are, however, causing further enquiries to be made in order to avoid as far as possible any harsh application of the provisions of Section 130 of the law in question.

J. C. SMUTS

B

December 2, 1911

With reference to His Excellency the Governor-General's Minute No. 15/170, of the 1st September, on the subject of the position of British Indians under the Transvaal Townships Amendment Act of 1908 and the Transvaal Gold Law, Ministers have the honour to state that the Courts by their recent judgment in the Tamblin case[1] seem now to have finally interpreted the meaning and scope of Section 130 of Act (Transvaal) No. 35 of 1908, so far as it affects the right of occupation of Stands by Coloured persons under lease from white holders on proclaimed areas outside townships.

With regard to the position of such persons in townships within mining areas it is, as His Excellency will be aware, one of the conditions attaching to freehold grants in Stand townships and private townships that the land shall not be occupied by Coloured persons. Ministers, however, desire to repeat the assurance they have already given that they do not propose to interfere with vested rights in such townships which were acquired by individuals prior to the date of such grants; but it is impossible for them to allow attempts in the direction of the acquisition of new rights to be made without taking action. In this connection they desire to add that the leaders of the Asiatic community appear to be making an organized attempt to invade townships where Asiatics had no rights before, and public opinion amongst the European community is, consequently, becoming greatly exercised; so much so that Ministers will, in all probability, be compelled to take action under the Townships Act to enforce the conditions contained in the title-deeds.

S. W. SAUER

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1912

[1] At Roodepoort, one Alfred Tamblin was charged under Section 130 of the Gold Law of 1908 for subletting a mining Stand to two Asiatics, Ahmed Khan and Abdulla Khan. His counsel argued that under the old Gold Law, an owner had the right to sublet his Stand to Coloured persons and that under Section 77 of the present Gold Law, Coloured persons were entitled to acquire rights to Stands, but the case was remanded. Subsequently, a Krugersdorp magistrate found Tamblin guilty and sentenced him. On appeal, the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa acquitted Tamblin and ruled that the Asiatics in question were protected by Section 77 of the new Gold Law. *Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1911 & 2-9-1911.

APPENDIX XX

GOKHALE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

THANET HOUSE,
231-2, STRAND,
LONDON, W. C.
July 27, 1912

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I wired to you the day before yesterday to inform you definitely that I have booked my passage by the *Saxon*, which sails from Southampton on 5th Oct[ober]. This means that I shall reach Cape Town on 22nd Oct[ober] and it will give me about 24 days in South Africa, and I must leave Durban for Bombay on 16th Nov[ember]. Last Saturday I had a letter from Lord Crewe, offering me a seat in the proposed Royal Commission on Public Services in India and I have accepted the offer. But the Commission will not begin work till the beginning of January next. So that will not now necessitate my starting for South Africa earlier than 5th Oct[ober]. Miss Polak tells me that she has written to you by the letter going out today about the difficulty I have had in the matter of my booking my passage. This morning, however, I had a letter from Sir Owen Phillipps, Chairman of the Union Castle Company, telling me that things would be put right and that everything would be done to make my travelling comfortable. If Sir Owen's reply had been unsatisfactory, I had meant to write to the papers and several editors—Mr. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. Gardiner of the *Daily News*, Mr. Massingham of the *Nation* and a member on the staff of *The Times* would have vigorously taken up the matter and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had intended asking questions in the House. Mr. Harcourt, too, whom I met at a lunch the other day at the house of the Spenders, was very angry and had asked me to let him know if Sir Owen's reply failed to give me satisfaction. However, I don't think anything should now be done in this matter, though in a way I am sorry to drop it, as the question of principle involved in it remains more or less unsolved.

Miss Polak also tells me that she has written to you to suggest that she should pay a visit to South Africa this autumn so as to be able to deal here with first-hand knowledge with our S. A. problems. I entirely agree with her, & I do hope most earnestly that you will approve her proposal. I have seen what enormous difficulties she has to contend against in this office, & the least that can be done to help her in her work is to give her an opportunity to acquire a first-hand knowledge of South Africa. From every point of view, her idea is the right one. If the question of expense is likely to deter you from approving it, I undertake to raise the hundred pounds which her visit will cost, on my

return to India. Please therefore approve her plan & authorize her by wire to engage her passage.

I leave for the continent on 5th Aug[ust]. Letters received here at the National Liberal Club (Whitehall Place, S. W.) will be forwarded to me wherever I may be.

Yours sincerely,
G. K. GOKHALE

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 5672

APPENDIX XXI

POLAK'S LETTER TO INDIA GOVERNMENT ON GOLD LAW AND TOWNSHIPS ACT (1908)

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY,
SIMLA

April 19, 1912

[SIR,]

In view of the recent publication of the White Paper [Cd. 6087], containing "correspondence relating to the position of British Indians under the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Acts, 1908, of the Transvaal", and especially of paragraph 2 of the Union Government's Minute (Enclosure in No. 9), at page 17 thereof, I have the honour, on behalf of the Indian community of the Province, to offer the following observations.

2. Law 3 of 1885, operating against the Native races of Asia, excludes Indians and other Asiatics from the ownership of landed property, except in Bazaars or Locations.

3. The Transvaal Administration, however, have declined to grant them freehold or long leasehold title of landed property in such Locations, but have permitted them to acquire leases, of 21 years only, of the Stands into which these Locations are divided, and, in Johannesburg, a monthly tenancy is alone allowed.

4. In spite, however, of the legal prohibition against the ownership, by an Indian, of landed property, the custom grew up of the creation of virtual trusts, whereby European friends of Indian traders took nominal transfer of certain properties, which, however, were bought and paid for by the Indian, and virtually owned by them. These properties were acquired, not for speculative purposes, but for the furtherance of legitimate business interests, and the virtual Indian owners, as a rule, built substantial and modern structures thereon, costing many thousands of pounds in the aggregate, as residences for themselves and as business premises.

5. Of the fact that these transactions were not secret means of defeating the law, there is ample evidence.

6. Before Law 3 of 1885 came into force, Messrs Mahomed Ismail, Indian traders of Klerksdorp, bought at public auction certain Stands in the Township, upon the condition of the payment of monthly licences thereon, and the Stands were registered in their name. It became customary amongst the Klerksdorp Stand-holders to pay the Stand licences half-yearly, and Messrs Mahomed Ismail made payment in this way. After some time, an anti-Indian agitation arose, the Republican Government intervened, and summarily confiscated the Stands without compensation to the Indian owners, who strongly protested against this unwarranted act of spoliation. After lengthy negotiations, the Government notified the Indian traders that they would be permitted to resume the ownership of the Stands, upon condition that these were registered in the land registry in the name of some European. The condition was accepted, and the land was so transferred, at the suggestion of the authorities themselves.

7. The late Mr. Aboobaker Amod, the pioneer Indian trader in South Africa, bought, in 1885, a certain Stand, in Church Street, Pretoria, before the law was enforced, but transfer was not granted before that date. The Indian owner died, and transfer was refused direct to the heirs, but granted to certain European nominees on their behalf. The injustice of the situation was realized by the new Transvaal Government, in 1907, who, in Act 2 of that year, endeavoured to provide for transfer to the heirs. The property had meanwhile been registered in my name. On an application to the Supreme Court, however, it was held that the provision of Act 2 had been so worded as to preclude transfer to the heirs, and, in framing Act 36 of 1908, provision was made, in terms, for the transfer to them of the Stand registered in my name, the entire transaction being recorded in a clause of a Transvaal Act of Parliament.

8. In the year 1905, in the appeal case of *Syed Ismail and Another* v. *Jacobs, N.O.*, such virtual trusts were distinctly recognized by the Court. Some months afterwards, when the legality of such transfers was questioned by the Deeds Office, and legal opinion was sought by the Department, it was held that the Supreme Court's decision in this case put the legality of such transactions beyond dispute, and a number of similar ones took place subsequently to that time.

9. In the debate in the House of Lords, on the 19th February last, on Lord Ampthill's questions dealing with the operation of the Townships Amendment Acts of 1908 and 1909, Lord Selborne, late High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal, put the matter of the openness with which those transactions were carried out beyond all doubt. In the Official Report, he is recorded to have said: "A British Indian subject might not own the freehold of land and he might not engage directly in a mining enterprise. I say here, my Lord, what I have said before to a Transvaal audience. I do not think these two restrictions are justifiable. I think they are not only not justifiable, but they are very foolish, *because they are perfectly inoperative.* A British Indian is forbidden

to hold land in freehold, *but he holds it absolutely securely through the medium of a white man with whom he makes an arrangement.*"

10. Whilst, then, it is plain that the law denied Indians the right of ownership of fixed property, it is equally evident that, apart from certain extra incidental expenses, the wealthier members of the Transvaal Indian community suffered little actual hardship from the denial, by reason of the growth of a custom of indirect ownership, recognized both by the Courts and by the Government of the Colony.

11. If the Imperial Government and the Transvaal Indians pressed for the repeal of the prohibition clause of Law 3 of 1885, it was not only for the protection of the less well-endowed members of the community, but for the removal of a racial disability, imposed neither upon the aboriginal Natives nor upon any other Coloured British subjects in the Transvaal.

12. It should be realized that, whilst individual Indians have availed themsevles of the right of indirect ownership of landed property, the right was held prospectively by every single member of the community.

13. In the year 1908, the Townships Amendment Act (No. 34 of 1908, Transvaal) was passed, amending the Townships Act of 1907, and dealing specifically with Stands in a township. This measure, and a subsequent amending Act of 1909, were framed in general terms, i.e., they contained no racial differentiation, and made provision for the conversion, in certain circumstances and on certain conditions, of leasehold titles into freehold titles.

14. Whilst, however, in ordinary circumstances, no leaseholder is obliged to make application for the grant of freehold, in certain circumstances, such an application is rendered compulsory.

15. These Acts provided for the publication of regulations (see Appendix[1] to White Paper [Cd. 6087]), setting forth the conditions upon which the freehold grants are to be made.

16. These conditions were published under Government Notice (Transvaal) No. 640 of 1909, and sub-clause (d) reads as follows: "It (the land granted by the deed of grant) or any portion of it shall not be transferred, leased, or, in any other manner, assigned or disposed of to any Coloured person; and no Coloured person, other than the domestic servants of the registered owner or his tenant shall be permitted to reside thereon or in any other manner occupy the same. *Any breach of the foregoing condition shall entitle the Government of the Transvaal to cancel this grant and resume possession of the land hereby granted, without payment of any compensation in respect of buildings or structures erected on or improvements effected to the said land.*"

17. It should be observed that, though the parent law is couched in non-differential terms, the conditions of the Crown Grant, which form an integral part thereof, impose a serious racial disability, in that they deprive the Indian

[1] Not reproduced here

community of the indirect right, hitherto possessed by them, of holding fixed property. Moreover, in the circumstances alluded to in paragraph 14 hereof, Indians at present owning landed property indirectly may be, at a future date, deprived of their property lawfully acquired without compensation.

18. The Indian community hold that these conditions are *ultra vires* of the law, or, in the alternative, that the law itself is *ultra vires*, and, therefore, unconstitutional. They hold that the tenor of the Townships Amendment Acts of 1908 and 1909 is such as to preclude the framing of differential regulations. On the other hand, the Transvaal Constitution of 1906 provides that differential legislation must be reserved for the expression of the Royal wishes thereon. The Acts of 1908 and 1909, being in general terms, were not reserved, but were assented to immediately by the Governor. The differential regulations framed thereunder were never brought before the cognizance of Parliament, nor were they submitted to the scrutiny of His Majesty's Secretary of State. It is held that the requirements of the Constitution have not been complied with, and that the regulations are of no force or effect.

19. Partly in order to extend his business, and partly to test the validity of the regulations, Mr. Ahmed Moosa Bhyat, in the latter part of last year, in the exercise of the right of indirect ownership of landed property hitherto recognized by the Courts and Government of the Province, purchased the freehold of certain Stands in the Township of Boksburg, which were registered in the name of Mr. Lewis Walter Ritch, Barrister-at-Law, lately the Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee, in England, and presently practising as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa, in Johannesburg.

20. Previously to that date, the white inhabitants of the township had combined to refuse to sell indirectly to Indians any Stands therein, with the object of maintaining Boksburg as a white preserve, confining the Indian residents to the Location. Mr. Bhyat, having been able to find a seller, purchased the aforementioned property, erected, at great expense, suitable premises, and opened a general dealer's business therein, having previously obtained from the Government a licence thereto.

21. The trade jealousy of Mr. Bhyat's European commercial rivals has, however, been aroused, he has been the victim of an organized boycott, and the white residents have induced the Union Government to institute proceedings against Messrs Ritch and Bhyat for the cancellation of the title-deeds, a declaration of forfeiture of the property, ejectment, and damages. In order to defend their position, they are both faced with costly litigation, whilst Mr. Bhyat stands to lose his property and his business, without compensation therefor. It should be added that his stock has been supplied to him by European wholesale firms of Johannesburg, to whom he has been known, as a trader of high integrity, for many years.

22. In bringing these facts to the notice of Government, I am desirous of emphasizing the growing tendency in the Union to legislate by means of regu-

lations of which both the Union Parliament and the Imperial Government are wholly ignorant. I wish also to make it clear that the Indian community are claiming no new right or privilege, but merely the retention of one that existed up to the date of the enforcement of the aforementioned Acts, whilst, nevertheless, not withdrawing the demand for the repeal of the differential provisions of Law 3 of 1885, whose injustice has been the subject of many remonstrances by the Imperial authorities, both before and since the War.

23. I venture, accordingly, to request Government to use their utmost efforts to prevent the imposition of further disabilities upon an already overburdened community, and to secure the preservation to them of a right, actual and potential, always hitherto recognized and justified.

[*Yours, etc.*]
H. S. L. POLAK

Indian Opinion, 6-7-1912

APPENDIX XXII

GLADSTONE'S MINUTE ON MEETING WITH GOKHALE

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PRETORIA,
November 16, 1912

CONFIDENTIAL

SIR,

Mr. Gokhale came to luncheon with me yesterday, and subsequently we discussed the British Indian question.

2. I ascertained from the Prime Minister that some of his Ministers and many persons in the Orange Free State had taken umbrage at what they considered a minatory passage in one of Mr. Gokhale's speeches. But I am satisfied that Mr. Gokhale had no intention of making a threat. He wished to present to his audience the position in India, and the danger which might result from a continued state of friction in South Africa. The danger is all the greater because of inevitable exaggerations, and the efforts of revolutionaries to use the grievances of British Indians in South Africa against the British in India. In one of his speeches at Durban, he made his intention clear. He stated that he is sincerely anxious for the passage of the Immigration Bill, though he is disturbed at Mr. Fischer's apparent wish to substitute a Canadian test for the Australian. Ministers however say that Mr. Fischer's idea is his own and not theirs. Mr. Gokhale appeared to attach much more importance to the licensing question and the £3 tax.

3. As regards the £3 tax, the Prime Minister told me that he thought it would be possible to meet Mr. Gokhale's views, though there might be

strong opposition in Natal. From what Mr. Gokhale said I gathered that the Prime Minister had given him a satisfactory assurance.

4. The licensing question is likely to cause trouble, but for the present I think it is best to concentrate effort on the passage of the Immigration Bill. I am convinced that the Prime Minister and General Smuts are sincerely anxious to put it through, and probably the irritation caused by Mr. Gokhale's somewhat indiscreet language on the position in India will die down.

5. Mr. Gokhale has seen most of the influential members of the Unionist party, including Mr. Alexander, who was the protagonist against the Bill. From all of them he says he has received satisfactory promises of support when the Bill is before Parliament. He had arranged to see Sir Thomas Smartt before sailing from Lourenco Marques on Monday.

6. Last session the Second Reading of the Bill was taken dangerously late. Its fate was sealed by the silence of the Opposition leaders, and the determined opposition of some of the rank and file.

7. I can hardly believe that the Unionist party will again fail next session to support General Botha and his colleagues in their endeavour, in the highest interests of the Empire, to remove grievances in South Africa which are productive of grave mischief and danger in India. If the Opposition leaders do their duty to the Empire next session, and if Ministers fulfil their promise to bring in the Bill at an early date, there seems to be no reason to anticipate another regrettable failure.

8. Mr. Gokhale expressed his gratitude for the courtesy and consideration of the Union Government and all the officials concerned in their arrangements throughout his stay in South Africa for his comfort and convenience.

9. He will present a report to Lord Hardinge as soon as possible after landing in India, which in due course will doubtless be transmitted to you.

I have, etc.

GLADSTONE

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/30

APPENDIX XXIII

GOKHALE'S SPEECH AT BOMBAY[1]

December 14, 1912

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who was received most enthusiastically, then said: "Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot tell you how glad I am to be back again in India and my joy is further intensified by the kind and cordial greetings which this great gathering has extended to me and the generous terms in which, you, Sir, have spoken of my work in South Africa. Your warm welcome joined to the undoubted satisfaction with which our countrymen in South Africa have regarded the visit, is to me ample reward for such strain as the work imposed on me while it lasted. You probably know, what I have publicly stated more than once, that my visit was undertaken in response to an earnest invitation repeatedly pressed on me by our great countryman there, Mr. Gandhi. When I first made up my mind, however, to pay the visit, my idea was to go about the country as quietly as possible, to visit all important Indian centres, to collect such facts as I could concerning the treatment to which our countrymen were subjected there [and] on my return to lay those facts before the Government and the people of this country in the hope of stimulating thereby greater exertion on this side in support of the Indian cause in South Africa. . . . When, however, I reached Cape Town and actually saw how anxious the Union Government was to treat me with every consideration and how arrangements had already been made for my meeting not only my own countrymen at all important centres, but also members of the European community at these centres, the only thing left to me was to enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the arrangements and utilize to the full the opportunities placed within my reach. To have done anything else in these circumstances would have been to betray the cause which I had gone there to serve and to show myself unworthy of the confidence which my countrymen there had chosen to repose in me."

HOW THE TIME WAS SPENT

Mr. Gokhale then described how his four weeks in South Africa were spent in visiting important Indian centres, meeting not only thousands of Indian residents in that country, but also a large number of Europeans, many of them men of note, addressing meetings sometimes composed exclusively of Indians, sometimes of Europeans, but more often mixed gatherings of both Europeans

[1] Gokhale arrived in Bombay from South Africa on December 13, 1912, and this speech was delivered on December 14 at a public meeting convened in the Town Hall by the Sheriff and attended by both Indians and Europeans.

and Indians discussing the several phases of the question in interviews and at conferences with leading men of all shades of opinion and representing various interests. He was already fairly familiar with the Indian side of the question and it did not take him long after his arrival at Cape Town to acquire a firm grasp of the facts of the case so far as the Indians were concerned. And the access that he was enabled to have to the European community gave him exceptional opportunities to acquaint himself with the feelings and opinions of different sections of the European community. After examining the whole question from every point of view, Mr. Gokhale met the Ministers—General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fischer—on 14th November at Pretoria in a long interview lasting for two hours, when they went over the whole ground point by point and there was a full and frank interchange of views, the Ministers promising a careful consideration of the case submitted to them and they on their side explaining what they considered to be the special difficulties of the position. On the following day Mr. Gokhale had an opportunity of laying the whole matter before the Governor-General, H. E. Lord Gladstone, and then he left South Africa, feeling satisfied in his own mind that he had done all that he was capable of and bringing away with him the liveliest recollections of the wealth of affection lavished on him by his countrymen there, of the extreme kindness with which the European community had treated him and of the great consideration and courtesy shown to him by the Union Government.

A Position of Difficulty

Proceeding, Mr. Gokhale said: "Before I attempt to give you an idea of the state of things as I found it there. . . I should like to make one or two observations of a somewhat personal character. The first is about the extreme difficulty of my position in South Africa. Never before in my life, I assure you, had I to walk on such difficult and delicate ground, nor did I ever feel so oppressed with a sense of responsibility as during my four weeks in South Africa. . . .

"My second observation will be about my dear and illustrious friend, Mr. Gandhi. From the moment I landed at Cape Town to the moment I left South Africa and even afterwards during nearly the whole of my visit to East Africa, Mr. Gandhi was with me and we were together nearly every moment of our waking hours. He had taken upon himself the duties of my private secretary, but he was in reality my guide, philosopher and friend. I do not wish to speak on this occasion of the devoted love with which he surrounded me but I feel it to be my duty to pay a brief, though altogether inadequate, tribute to the great work he has done for India in South Africa.

Hero and Martyr

"Ladies and gentlemen, only those who have come in personal contact with Mr. Gandhi as he is now, can realize the wonderful personality of the man. He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are

made. Nay, more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs. During the recent passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal—would you believe it?—twenty-seven hundred sentences of imprisonment were borne by our countrymen there under Mr. Gandhi's guidance to uphold the honour of their country. Some of the men among them were very substantial persons, some were small traders, but the bulk of them were poor and humble individuals, hawkers, working men, and so forth, men without education, men not accustomed in their life to think or talk of their country. And yet these men braved the horrors of gaol-life in the Transvaal and some of them braved them again and again rather than submit to degrading legislation directed against their country. Many homes were broken in the course of that struggle, many families dispersed, some men at one time wealthy, lost their all and became paupers, women and children endured untold hardships. But they were touched by Mr. Gandhi's spirit and that had wrought the transformation, thus illustrating the great power which the spirit of man can exercise over human minds and even over physical surroundings. In all my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does—our great patriarch, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and my late master, Mr. Ranade—men before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy. The Indian cause in South Africa has really been built up by Mr. Gandhi. Without self and without stain, he has fought his great fight for this country during a period now of twenty years and India owes an immense debt of gratitude to him. He has sacrificed himself utterly in the service of the cause. He had a splendid practice at the bar, making as much as five to six thousand pounds a year, which is considered to be a very good income for a lawyer in South Africa. But he has given all that up and he lives now on £3 a month like the poorest man in the street. One most striking fact about him is that though he has waged this great struggle so ceaselessly, his mind is absolutely free from all bitterness against Europeans. And in my tour nothing warmed my heart more than to see the universal esteem in which the European community in South Africa holds Mr. Gandhi. At every gathering, leading Europeans, when they came to know that Mr. Gandhi was there, would immediately gather round him anxious to shake hands with him, making it quite clear that though they fought him hard and tried to crush him in the course of the struggle, they honoured him as a man. To my mind Mr. Gandhi's leadership of the Indian cause in South Africa is the greatest asset of that cause and it was an inestimable privilege to me that he was with me throughout my tour to pilot me safely through my difficulties."

THE POSITION ANALYSED

Proceeding to describe the position of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Gokhale said that the Union of South Africa consisted of four provinces

—Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orangia and in the whole Union there was a total Indian population of about a hundred and fifty thousand persons. Of that, roughly speaking, about a hundred and twenty thousand were in Natal, about twenty thousand were in the Cape and about ten thousand were in the Transvaal. In Orangia there were hardly any Indians, the total number not exceeding a hundred, as some years ago, the Boer Government of that time forcibly expelled from the Republic all Indians except such as were domestic servants. Four fifths of the entire Indian population in South Africa represented indentured labourers, ex-indentured labourers and their descendants. The remainder were free persons who had gone there at their own expense in the wake of the indentured labourers. One peculiarity of the position which the meeting had to realize was that there was no educated class among the Indians in South Africa similar to the educated class of this country—the men who followed, what were called, learned or liberal professions being so few as to be counted on one's fingers. The bulk of the people were either tradesmen or working men and a few were domestic servants. The traders were most of them petty traders, though some were fairly substantial. Speaking roughly, there were about two thousand traders and five to six thousand hawkers in each one of the three provinces mentioned. Of the working men a large proportion were still serving their indentures, while the rest were ex-indentured labourers or their descendants. In the Cape Indians could acquire both the municipal and the political franchise. In Natal they had the municipal franchise but not the political and in the two Dutch provinces they were rigorously excluded from both the municipal and the political franchise. The present immigration law was different for the different provinces. In Cape Colony and Natal Indians could enter only by passing a test in a European language and the average number of such immigrants for the last few years was between 40 and 50 for the two provinces together—a surprisingly small number. In the Transvaal and Orangia new Indians were at present prohibited altogether from entering. The traders' and hawkers' licences in Cape Colony and Natal had to be renewed every year and the grant of new licences lay in the discretion of local authorities manned almost entirely by the European trade rivals of Indian traders. In the Transvaal, on the other hand, licences had to be granted as a matter of course for the mere tender of a licence fee. But there were two laws in force there, known as the Gold Law and the Townships Act, the combined effect of which was to make those licences practically worthless. Wherever an area was declared to be a gold area under those laws, Indians could only reside and trade in special Locations situated as a rule at some distance from the towns. In Cape Colony and Natal, Indians could own land or acquire other immovable property, which they could not do in the Transvaal and Orangia. In addition to these there were several minor disabilities, including many galling social ones of greater or less severity in the different provinces. Finally there was hardly

any provision for the education of Indian children. A few primary schools were to be found here and there mostly maintained by missionary bodies or by the community itself. Throughout South Africa there was no provision of any kind for the secondary, higher or technical education of Indian children.

A Heart-rending Situation

When the speaker arrived in South Africa and took a broad survey of the Indian position as he found it, he confessed his heart for a time sank within him. The position in many ways was truly pitiable and heart-rending. It was well known that the lot of their countrymen in the Transvaal, hard as it was in the days of the Boer Republic, had grown far harder since it became a British Province. But it was not so well known that in Natal and even in the Cape the situation had been steadily getting worse since the Union, the harsh anti-Indian Transvaal spirit gradually infecting the whole Union. Mr. Gokhale found on his arrival that almost every section of the Indian community throughout South Africa was filled with a serious dread about its future, a feeling of insecurity, harassment and oppression prevailing generally such as was bound to demoralize any community. A large proportion of the European population was evidently determined to make things so intolerable for the Indians there that they should of their own accord get out of the country. Not only were some of the laws under which they lived harsh and unjust, but even the administration of other laws, which in themselves were neither harsh nor unjust, was so oppressive as to drive the community well nigh to despair. Thus the Immigration Law in regard to old Indian settlers in the Cape and Natal was being so worked as to fill everyone with the fear that if he left the country temporarily on a visit to India or elsewhere, he might have difficulty in getting back. About the same time that Mr. Gokhale arrived at Cape Town, a case occurred there illustrating what he was saying. At present an Indian settler in that province wishing to be temporarily absent from the country had to take out a permit with him specifying the period within which he should return. And an Indian trader who had thus left with a year's permit on a visit to India, leaving his business in charge of his wife and children, returned one day late, owing to his steamer having been held up four days on the way by a storm. If the steamer had run according to schedule time, he would have arrived at Cape Town three days before the expiry of his permit. And yet on the technical ground that he had not returned within the specified time, he was turned back, his business ruined and his wife and children put under the necessity of leaving the country. Similarly in Natal old settlers were provided with domicile certificates which were supposed to give them the right of going out of the country and coming back whenever they liked, the only provision being that the Immigration Officer should satisfy himself about the genuineness of the certificates. In exercise of that power even holders of certificates 15 or 16 years old were being cross-examined, on their return to Natal after a temporary absence, as to minute

details of where they lived, what they did when they first arrived and so forth. And the smallest discrepancy between the answers unwarily given by the men and the actual recorded facts was deemed sufficient to justify the rejection of the certificates, compelling the holders to return to India absolutely ruined men. Now the speaker would put it to his European friends on the platform how many of them, if they were suddenly asked all sorts of questions as to when they first came into this country, where they lived, what they did and so on, would be able to answer such questions without making any mistake. Again, the question of trading and hawking licences was agitating the Indian mind gravely throughout Cape Colony and Natal. Both provinces had now clearly entered on a policy of granting no new licences to Indians as far as possible and of steadily extinguishing all existing licences as opportunities offered themselves. As those licences were renewable every year, a feeling of the utmost uncertainty as to what would happen to his licence when the time for a renewal came filled the mind of every Indian trader. Businessmen in Bombay would have no difficulty in understanding how ruinous must be the consequences of such a state of things and how much constant anxiety about the future must paralyse and finally destroy all business enterprise among the persons affected. In the Transvaal the steady extension of the gold area condemning Indian traders to trade and reside only in Locations was in itself a frightful hardship.

RELENTLESS OPPRESSION

But some local authorities were carrying the policy of relentless oppression still further by breaking up old Locations if Indians were found to be doing business successfully in them and ordering them to remove to fresh Locations even more disadvantageously situated. The speaker had personally visited several Locations and he could only say that the whole policy involved in them deserved to be denounced in the strongest terms. They would thus see how gravely disturbed and anxious the mind of the Indian trading community in South Africa was. The labouring population in addition to many disabilities laboured under a special grievance of their own which caused them untold suffering, i.e., the £3 Licence Tax. The speaker had no hesitation in saying that a more cruel impost it was impossible to conceive. Under it all ex-indentured Indians in Natal who completed their indentures after 1901 and their descendants were liable to pay annually £3 each, all males above the age of 16 and females above the age of 13 being so liable. And for non-payment they were sent to gaol with hard labour. That under any law a girl of 13 should have to pay £3 a year to the State and should be liable to be sent to gaol with hard labour for non-payment, was a thing too horrible to contemplate. If they took an ordinary family of a father, a mother and two daughters of 13 and 15 with one or two younger children, they would find that the family had to pay £12 a year for the mere permission to live in the colony of Natal—and that after the man and the woman had contributed five years' labour

to the prosperity of the Colony under a system of indenture. Now the average monthly wage of the man might be taken at about 25 shillings and the woman with her two daughters after looking after the household might earn about 16 shillings a month among them—a total income of about £2 a month.

Out of that sum £1 or full one-half had to be given as that miserable Licence Tax. After that there was rent to pay and the cost of food and clothing and all ordinary taxes common to the general community. Need anybody wonder that a prominent member of the Natal Legislature declared openly two years ago that the impost broke up families, drove men into paths of crime and women into lives of shame? One of the most harrowing sights at which Mr. Gokhale had to be present was a meeting in Durban of those who were liable to pay the £3 Tax. About 5,000 persons were present. As man after man and woman after woman came forward and narrated his or her suffering due to the Tax, it was impossible not to feel overwhelmed by feelings of indignation, pity and sorrow. One old woman of 65 was there who had been to gaol six times for inability to pay the tax and Mr. Gokhale could not recall the case even after that interval without emotion. As things stood, unless a fairly satisfactory settlement was soon arrived at it would not take many years for the Indian community of South Africa to be practically harassed out of the country after undergoing great suffering and losses.

POSITION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

That was the position of the Indian community as he found it. He wanted next to describe to them briefly the position of the European community. It was necessary to understand that position clearly, to understand their interests, their difficulties, their view and their sentiments and even their prejudices. They were a handful of people—only about a million and a quarter in all—in the midst of a vast indigenous population at a totally different grade of civilization. And the contact between the two races had already created grave problems—social, political, economic and moral—which were already filling the European mind in that subcontinent with uneasiness, misgiving and even dread. And they found in the midst of their difficult and complicated situation a third element introduced belonging to another civilization and representing other modes of life and thought. It was true that the present number of Indians in South Africa was only a lakh and a half against 12½ lakhs of Europeans. But the Europeans felt that there were 300 millions of people in India and if Indians continued to come freely into South Africa, there was nothing to prevent several millions from going there and swamping the European community and practically making the country another India. The fear was based on an absolute misapprehension, but it was there, deep and strong and general, and no useful purpose would be served by shutting one's eyes to it. In addition to this, there was first the tremendous colour prejudice which existed in that land—a prejudice felt even more by the Dutch

than by the English—and secondly the dread of Indian competition on the part of small European traders, who felt that they could not hold their own against their Indian rivals in a fair field, owing to the Indians' less expensive scale of living. The combined result of all these causes was the present harsh and oppressive policy towards Indians—a policy plainly directed to making the lot of the Indians in that country so hard as practically to compel them to leave the country, or if remain they must, to remain there as a servile, degraded and depressed community.

A Grave Situation

Such was the position—grave, anxious and extremely difficult. What was to be the way out of it? So long as the European mind in South Africa was dominated by the fear of a serious influx of Indians swamping the Europeans, so long there was no chance of securing—leave alone absolute equality—even reasonably just and humane treatment for our countrymen such as would enable them to live in peace and security and steadily advance to the position of a worthy element in a self-governing community. Even the best friends of Indians among the Europeans in South Africa—and there was a small section that could be thus described—were convinced that unless the fear of being swamped was removed from the European mind, they were powerless to urge with any effect the plea of more just and more humane treatment for the Indian community. Another section, a much larger section, that had the sense of fairness to feel heartily ashamed of the present policy pursued towards the Indians, would also then, but not till then, sympathize with the struggle of the Indians against their present treatment. The Indian community of South Africa itself also clearly felt the necessity of removing that fear, groundless more or less though it was, in view of the fact that the average number of free immigrants during the last few years had been only between 40 and 50—a number, however, which the ordinary European there did not accept and could not be pursuaded to accept as correct. For some time past, therefore, the policy of our countrymen in South Africa under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi was, while insisting on maintaining intact their theoretical rights as equal subjects of the Empire in the legislation of the country, to strive for such a modification in practice of the present policy of injustice and oppression as would enable the community to live and prosper in peace and security and steadily advance in status and importance in that land. And even the briefest visit that one could pay to South Africa would satisfy one that that was the only wise, sound, practical, and statesmanlike course for the Indians to adopt in existing circumstances. It was in accordance with that course that in the compromise which was arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts last year, under which the passive resistance movement was suspended, the Union Government agreed not to make any legislative differentiation against Indians in the proposed new immigration law. Mr. Gandhi on his side agreed that in practice the discretion vested in the

executive administering the law might be exercised by the administration as it thought reasonable, subject to a minimum number of Indians being admitted every year to supply the higher needs of the community and replace its wear and tear in certain directions. That minimum was six Indians for the Transvaal where under the existing law no Indian whatever was admitted. For the whole Union a minimum now asked was forty, which was the present number of free immigrants annually on an average of seven years. The essence of the compromise was that by removing legislative inequality the theoretical rights of the Indians as subjects of the Empire should be maintained, while by agreeing to a limitation of new immigrants to the present average number, the fear of an indiscriminate influx which haunted the European mind should be removed. Once that was done, the Indians there could struggle far more effectively than at present for a juster, more equal and more humane treatment in other respects. Mr. Gokhale's own work in South Africa had been done on those lines. He did not ask for an inch either more or less than what the Indian community there had been asking. His one advantage was that he was enabled to have access to the European community as no other Indian had it before him and he was thus enabled to address his appeal for justice and humanity to the very heart and conscience of the European community, speaking to its members face to face.

The Open-door Policy

On his return to India the previous day Mr. Gokhale said he was astonished to learn that the view was expressed in some quarters that the line taken by him in South Africa was wrong, that he should have stood out there for the open door in practice and nothing less and that the surrender of India's rights in the matter already made by Mr. Gandhi had been confirmed by him. All he would say in regard to that criticism was that those who passed it did not show any real grasp of the problem in South Africa. The supreme question of the Indian community there was not to urge a policy of the open door for more Indians to come there, but to secure such an amelioration of the conditions under which they live that their lot might become more bearable and they might have opportunities of growing into an important part of a self-governing community. And the only chance of their securing that was if they approached the whole question in a practical spirit. Mr. Gokhale could easily have stood out for the open door in practice in South Africa. He could have made brave speeches on that subject and could have returned to his country feeling that he had made brave speeches. But the cause of the Indian community in South Africa could not have been served that way. The European community would have been made, if anything, more implacable in their determination to get rid of the Indians at all costs and the eventual expulsion of Indians from that subcontinent would only have been hastened by such a course. As regards the charge brought against Mr. Gandhi, it amounted to an utter travesty of the actual facts. After all, their rights to equal treatment in

the Empire today were largely theoretical. But even to maintain them theoretically intact Mr. Gandhi had been four times to gaol and had inspired hundreds of his countrymen to do the same. Those theoretical rights would no doubt steadily grow more and more into rights enjoyed actually in practice, but that was a matter of slow growth and it depended in a large measure upon the improvement of their position in India itself.

PRESENT OUTLOOK

Concluding, Mr. Gokhale said: "Ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down you may well ask me what is now the outlook in South Africa. Well, the catalogue of our grievances there is so long that as General Botha said to me, in the course of our interview, even the strongest Ministry that could be conceived in South Africa today could not be strong enough to remedy those grievances all at once and if it attempted any such thing it would straightway be hurled from power. The situation is such that though we must keep up the struggle ceaselessly, we must not expect anything else than a slow, though steady, amelioration of our lot. But I think in certain matters relief will be forthcoming almost immediately. In the first place, I fully expect that the provisional settlement, arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts as regards the passive resistance movement which the Government found itself powerless to carry through Parliament last session, will be successfully carried through this year. The actual working of the Immigration law also will, I expect, soon become milder and more considerate. Then that outrageous impost, the three-pound license tax, will, I fully expect, go in the course of this year. In fact, I may mention that Ministers have authorized me to say that they will do their best to remove the grievance as early as possible. In the matter of education also, the position will materially improve and the actual administration of laws such as the Gold Law and Townships Act will tend to become less and less burdensome. In one respect, however, I fear the position will not soon change for the better, and it is even possible that it may even grow worse before it becomes better. And that is in regard to trading licences. Here, however, our community is fighting for bare justice. And it has behind it in the matter the sympathy not only of the Government of India and of the Imperial Government but also of the better mind of the European community in South Africa. And in the struggle, if only we in this country do our duty properly, our countrymen there will win. And this brings me to my concluding observations. Ladies and gentlemen, I strongly feel—many friends of our cause in England and South Africa also feel—that so far India has not done her duty by her children across the seas, struggling to uphold her honour amidst unparalleled difficulties. One man amongst us, it is true, has set a great and glorious example—my friend Mr. Ratan Tata—whose name I assure you is held in the deepest affection and gratitude by the Indian community in South Africa. A committee in Madras has also done some work and the committee here has collected some funds, but all these taken together

amount to but little, considering the issues involved. I hope, however, that whatever may have been our remissness in the past, we shall do better in this respect in the future. I hope we shall all take in the future more interest in what will go on in South Africa, follow the developments more carefully and enable our countrymen there to feel that we stood solid and united behind them. I hope too that we shall collect and send much larger funds in aid of the cause there than we have hitherto done. Remember, the community there is already exhausted financially and otherwise by its long struggle. Remember also, that it requires assistance not only in waging this most unequal struggle, but for providing educational and other facilities for the moral and material well-being of its children. Remember finally that it is no merely the interests of the Indian community in South Africa alone that are involved in the struggle, but our whole future as a nation in this Empire is involved in it. In proportion therefore as we do our duty in this matter, shall we have advanced more and more towards a position in this Empire more worthy of the self-respect of civilized beings. In proportion as we do this duty, shall we have deserved well of our country, of our children and our children's children.

Indian Opinion, 25-1-1913 & 1-2-1913

APPENDIX XXIV

GOKHALE'S ANSWER TO SILBURN AND F. C. HOLLANDER

A

Speaking at Durban on November 11, 1912 at a banquet in Gokhale's honour, Silburn had said among other things, "He had followed Mr. Gokhale's tour through the country, and had noticed that few words of warning had been given him as to what the position really is. Many thought the British and the Boers were hostile to his countrymen, but that was not the case. He, as a politician, did consider that there were grievances under which the Indians were suffering, and that they should be remedied as speedily as possible and personally he should give his assistance in removing the £3 tax. But it had to be remembered that a very difficult native racial problem confronted us, and that the introduction of a third element tended to make it more complex rather than to ease it. Furthermore, the people on the spot here were the people to deal with it, and he asked Mr. Gokhale to go back to India, and to let the Government of India and the Government of England know that this problem was to be dealt with in South Africa, and that no interference either by Great Britain or by India would be tolerated by the British people of this country." To this, Gokhale, in his speech had rejoined, "He knew enough of English history and the traditions of the English race to realize that if anything were to be got from Englishmen it would not be got in these

ways, but by appealing to their sense of fair play or justice. . . . He would be the very last person, then, to do anything to diminish the right of a self-governing dominion. But the position was peculiar. The Indian Government could not approach the South African Government directly; they could only approach them through the Imperial Government, and the Imperial Government was therefore their sole protection in these matters. . . . he asked Major Silburn what he would do if he were in India and in his shoes. He thought that he would do what any Britisher would do, namely, represent his cause to the Imperial Government. . . . "

B

Gokhale, in his speech at Maritzburg on November 7, 1912, had said, "On the one side was a small European community in a vast country scattered among a vast number of Natives . . . the two races were on different grades of civilization, and their contact had already produced difficulties. . . . The European community naturally wished to safeguard its own civilization. . . . Then the Indian factor had been introduced. Their numbers at present were small, but there was a fear in the mind of many Europeans that unless drastic measures were taken their numbers would grow, and they would possibly one day swamp the European community. He had come to think that a large part of the conditions of which the Indians, perhaps rightly, complained, was due to that fear. Then came trade jealousies, the Europeans fearing that, with his simpler standard of living, the Indian would undersell him. That was a question, however, which had two sides. The complaint came from the small trader, who was inconvenienced, not from the community as a whole, which, if it was interested in anything, was interested in buying as cheaply as possible." (*Indian Opinion*, 16-11-1912). On November 8, Hollander[1], in his speech of welcome at the Durban Town Hall selectively recalled only two observations from the above speech and quoted them, saying, "He ventured to refer specially to two utterances in Maritzburg. Mr. Gokhale was reported to have said that he realized that where there were two grades of civilization growing up alongside each other, contact with each other must necessarily bring about serious difficulties. . . . He welcomed these two utterances, because they proved at once that their distinguished visitor was prepared to approach his task in no narrow-minded spirit, that he was prepared to realize . . . there would perhaps be more than one point of view. He was certain in his own mind, also, that Mr. Gokhale had realized since he had been in South Africa that there was another and even more outstanding question, and one which perhaps overshadowed every other question in the country: it was what we called the Native question, and all the questions affecting race

[1] F. C. Hollander, Mayor of Durban

and colour were so intermingled the one with the other that anyone who attempted to approach the solution of one of them must find himself confronted with the greatest difficulty, because of the presence of the other."

From *Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912*

APPENDIX XXV

LETTER FROM SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR TO GANDHIJI

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
April 4, 1913

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 24th ultimo, I am directed by the Minister of the Interior to state that the question raised by you some time ago in reference to the issue of permits to enter the Transvaal in favour of certain selected British Indians has been receiving his attention. Mr. Fischer understands that, in this matter, you are representing that section of the Indian community in the Transvaal, which was known some three or four years back as the "Passive Resisters" and he believes that your recommendations for the issue of permits were confined to persons whose interests are more or less identical with this particular section of the community. The Minister cannot find that it has anywhere been either implied or accepted that, in this matter, you were acting on behalf of the entire Asiatic population of the Transvaal, and this being so, he is somewhat at a loss to understand the attitude you are adopting.

The actual position is that, when the question of allowing a limited number of educated British Indians to enter the Transvaal annually for the benefit of their compatriots settled there was being discussed, the Government gave an undertaking that it would allow six such persons to enter each year; but there was no agreement that all six were to be nominated by you, which is apparently the contention you are now seeking to establish. As you have already been advised in my letter of the 15th January, the different sections of the Asiatic community of the Transvaal submitted the names of twenty-two persons for special exemption from the Immigration Law during 1913, and in order to meet the community as far as possible by giving each section a share in the permits to be issued, Mr. Fischer decided to increase the number of permits from six to ten, and in so doing, accepted four out of the six of your nominations, and granted six out of the sixteen other nominations that had been made to him. In this he was influenced by the knowledge that you were

speaking for a large section of the population; but not, so far as he is aware, for the whole body of British Indians.

It is, however, apparent that there has been a misunderstanding on the subject between yourself and the Government, and the Minister will accordingly raise no further objection on this occasion to the acceptance of the two other names submitted by you; but it must be understood that the Government can in no way bind itself to accept in future without question, the proposals for the introduction of educated British Indians, which may be made by, or on behalf of, one or other of the many Societies and Associations which already exist, and which there is no reason to suppose will not multiply in years to come. The Government has undertaken to allow a certain number of these persons into South Africa every year, and all applications for inclusion in the list will receive the Government's careful consideration; but it is quite clear that unless some definite arrangement is made, such, for example, as a recommendation by the Government of India in each case, or the actual selection by that Government of the persons to be admitted, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the conflicting claims to consideration which are sure to be advanced by these different bodies.

Regarding the second point referred to in your recent communication, I may say that the new Immigration Bill is being published this week. Power is taken in Section 25(1) to exempt any persons from the provisions of Section 4 (which describes the persons who may be treated as prohibited immigrants). Those British Indians, therefore, whose names are included in the annual list of entrants would be exempted, in respect of the Province in which they are authorized to reside, from the requirements of Section 4.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
E. M. GORGES
SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

From a photostat of the original: S. N. 5750

SOURCES

Cape Times: A daily newspaper of Cape Town.

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the Library of the Colonial Office, London; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

The Diamond Fields Advertiser: A daily newspaper of Kimberley.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

Gandhijini Sadhana: Raojibhai Patel; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad; 1939.

Gujarati: A weekly published in Gujarati and English from Bombay.

Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Visit to South Africa, 1912: International Printing Press, Phœnix; 1912.

Indian Opinion (1903-61): Weekly issued on Saturdays; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix. Had English and Gujarati sections and also, initially, Hindi and Tamil.

Letters of Srinivasa Sastri: Asia Publishing House; 1963.

The Natal Mercury (1852-): A daily newspaper of Durban.

Rand Daily Mail: A daily newspaper of Johannesburg.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

The Star: An evening daily of Johannesburg.

The Times of India: A daily newspaper published from Bombay and Delhi.

The Transvaal Leader: A daily newspaper of Johannesburg.

CHRONOLOGY

(*April, 1911 — March, 1913*)

Before *April 1 :* In Klerksdorp, European owners of Stands, as ordered by Public Prosecutor under Gold Law, served notices of eviction on Indian tenants.

April 1 : Government of India issued notification prohibiting recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa with effect from July 1, 1911.

April 2 : Gandhiji attended meeting of Cape British Indian Union held to demand changes in Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill[1] so as to protect Cape rights.

April 5 : In letter to L. W. Ritch, Gandhiji expressed feeling that UIRB would not be passed without the amendment asked for. Wrote to Maud Polak about hardship to Transvaal[2] Indians under the Gold Law and about Klerksdorp persecution.
In Natal Provincial Council, G. H. Hulett moved resolution seeking Union legislation to grant Provincial Council control over issue of trading licences.

April 6 : In Union Parliament, T. L. Schreiner asked for abolition of £3 tax consequent upon the stoppage of indenture. General Smuts, answering, refused to interfere and informed House that attitude in India being discouraging very few indentured Indians might come to Natal before July 1.

April 7 : Gandhiji sent to E. F. C. Lane his alternative proposals for ending TVL struggle: *either* amendment of UIRB to exempt educated immigrants from operation of TVL registration law and Clauses 1 to 6 of Orange Free State[3] Constitution, and protection of existing rights, especially of wives and minors, *or* dropping of UIRB and amendment of Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act[4].

April 8 : Sought confirmation from E. F. C. Lane that six educated Indians a year would be allowed to enter Union or TVL, whichever of his two proposals be adopted.

[1] UIRB henceforth
[2] TVL henceforth
[3] OFS henceforth
[4] TIRA henceforth

April 11 : Deputation of Durban Indian leaders met Mayor to discuss position of Indians during Coronation celebrations.

April 15 : L. W. Ritch commenced legal practice in Gandhiji's Johannesburg office.

April 17 : Joseph Royeppen, Leung Quinn and other passive resisters released.

April 19 : Smuts, in interview, told Gandhiji he would pass UIRB in current or following session; explained why "we do not want Asia to come in" and appealed for peace; asked Gandhiji to agree to the Governor General having power to make regulations regarding education test; assured him Mrs. Sodha would not be arrested should her appeal fail.

In letter to Smuts, Gandhiji urged him to settle the question of the entry of six educated Indians a year so that passive resistance could be suspended.

April 20 : Communicated to E. F. C. Lane unwillingness of Natal Indian Congress, British Indian Association[1] and Cape Indians to cease passive resistance unless TVL problem was settled. Expressed hope that his alternative solution would still be adopted during session and asked for Smuts' decision.

April 21 : E. F. C. Lane informed Gandhiji that Government could not proceed with UIRB during the current session; Government keenly desired solution of "vexed question" and would deliberate over a settlement during the recess; meanwhile Indians should stop passive resistance.

Gandhiji met E. F. C. Lane. Told him passive resistance could be suspended if certain assurances were given. Lane telephoned Smuts who agreed to some assurances being given.

April 22 : Gandhiji, in letter, informed E. F. C. Lane that passive resistance could be suspended provided Smuts gave certain assurances.

Smuts, in reply to above, expressed intention to introduce legislation, during following session, which would: (a) repeal Act 2 of 1907,[2] subject to reservation of rights of minor children; (b) give legal equality for all immigrants; (c) empower registration of passive resisters who, but for their resistance, would have been entitled to it, anything under Act 36 of 1908[3] notwithstanding; (d) empower the regularization of issue of

[1] BIA henceforth
[2] TARA henceforth
[3] TARAA henceforth

temporary certificates to educated passive resisters (not more than five or six) then in TVL. Smuts added that if Gandhiji gave assurance of suspension of passive resistance he would ask Governor General to favourably consider releasing passive resistance prisoners.

Appeal of Rambhabai Sodha dismissed by Court.

April 24 : Gandhiji, speaking at Kimberley meeting of Indians, said they were "nearing a solution of the difficult question".

April 25 : Smuts withdrew UIRB in Union Assembly.

April 26 : Gandhiji returned to Johannesburg.

April 27 : At meeting of Indians in Johannesburg, Gandhiji explained correspondence with Smuts regarding Provisional Settlement and advised acceptance of proposals. Meeting decided: (a) to call off passive resistance if Smuts fulfilled his pledges; (b) to send H. S. L. Polak to England in place of Gandhiji and A. M. Cachalia.

Indian Opinion announced that TVL Chinese had decided to accept proposals for Provisional Settlement.

April 28 : Gandhiji, in interview to *The Star* about Provisional Settlement, announced intention to retire from public life after finalization of Settlement.

April 29 : Gandhiji met E. F. C. Lane.

Gave, in letter to E. F. C. Lane, British Indians' interpretation of the terms of the Settlement and sought Smuts' confirmation; made request for R. M. Sodha being allowed to register, for reinstatement of a government servant, who had been removed for passive resistance, for release of Chinese prisoners, etc.

May 1 : BIA petitioned Secretary of State for Colonies regarding grievances of TVL Indians, including those arising from Law 3 of 1885, the Gold Law and Townships Act.

Gandhiji addressed Vrededorp farewell meeting for Joseph Royeppen.

May 3(?) : Gandhiji met Smuts.

May 4 : Wrote to E. F. C. Lane regarding categories of Indians and Chinese who might apply for voluntary registration.

Wrote to A. E. Chotabhai thanking him for £300 sent for professional services in connection with his son's case and saying he intended to hand over Phœnix to trustees and would use sum for school there.

Before *May 8 :* Harilal Gandhi left home without informing Gandhiji.

May 8 : Gandhiji wrote to H. S. L. Polak giving him estimate of expenses for his visit to England and India and telling him of Smuts' favourable response to demands of passive resisters.

Writing to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, suggested that six Natal satyagrahis be educated in England at Dr. Mehta's expense; mentioned his resolve not to practise law.

May 15 : Natal Indian Congress addressed Memorandum to Secretary of State for Colonies regarding proposed arbitrary education test, curtailment of existing rights in UIRB, and £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians.

Harilal Gandhi returned to Tolstoy Farm from Delagoa Bay.

May 16 : Klerksdorp Indians appealed to Minister of Interior for withdrawal of notices under Gold Law and repeal of the Law.

May 17 : Transvaal Draft Municipal Councils Ordinance[1] (Draft Local Government Ordinance) published in *Government Gazette*.

Before *May 18* : Harilal Gandhi left home finally for India.

May 18 : Gandhiji wrote to Minister of Interior asking for Smuts' answer to his proposals regarding Provisional Settlement contained in his letter of April 29, 1911.

In House of Commons, questions asked regarding Gold Law and Townships Act and resulting hardships to TVL Indians.

May 19 : Smuts informed Gandhiji that:

(a) passive resisters with valid claims to registration, but deported under TARA or TARAA, could apply for registration by December 31, 1911;

(b) Asiatics with valid claims to registration, who left South Africa owing to passive resistance, though not deported, could apply for registration provided both of above categories did not exceed 30;

(c) about 180 Chinese and Indians in South Africa, refused registration under the voluntary system, could apply by December 31, 1911;

(d) the seven educated Indians now in TVL named by Gandhiji would receive temporary authorization for residence pending alteration of law, when permanent documents would be issued.

Smuts also expressed hope Asiatic community would regard acceptance of requests as final settlement and said that on

[1] TDMCO henceforth

hearing from Gandhiji passive resistance prisoners would be released. Gandhiji, in reply to above, said 180 Asiatic passive resisters included also those who could not apply under either the voluntary system or any of the Asiatic laws; construed absence of disclaimer to terms of Provisional Settlement as set forth in his letter of April 29 as endorsement thereof and requested telegraphic reply.

Wrote to Gokhale apprising him of good results secured by passive resistance and of the hardships of Indians in TVL, Natal and the Cape.

May 20 : Smuts in telegram to Gandhiji informed him that:

(a) 180 Asiatics included also those who failed to apply in time on grounds of three years' pre-war residence in TVL;

(b) existing individual rights would not be taken away but various provinces would be affected by future general and uniform legislation;

(c) well-known or educated registered Asiatics need not give thumb or finger-impressions for taking out licences.

Gandhiji, in reply, conveyed acceptance of the Provisional Settlement on behalf of the BIA and gave list of passive resisters to be released.

After *May 20 :* Drafted statement for proposed British Indian Deputation to Smuts.

May 22 : BIA published notice in *Indian Opinion* asking passive resisters eligible to register under the Provisional Settlement to submit their names to Honorary Secretary.

May 23 : Gandhiji, in interview to Reuter, explained Provisional Settlement.

May 26 : Drafted letter to Registrar of Asiatics enclosing list of Chinese entitled to register under Provisional Settlement and also names of three Mahomedans for special certificates.

May 27 : Writing in *Indian Opinion,* expressed satisfaction at Provisional Settlement but warned that passive resistance would be resumed if Smuts did not keep his promise to repeal TARA and amend TIRA or if fresh anti-Asiatic legislation was introduced.

May 30 : In London, H. S. L. Polak spoke on South African Indian problem at meeting of League of Honour.

May 31 : Gandhiji wrote to G. A. Natesan expressing satisfaction with Provisional Settlement and praising Natesan's work.

June 1 : Klerksdorp Indians informed that Minister of Interior could not make any alterations in Gold Law.

June 2 : Gandhiji at Park Station saw off R. M. Sodha, leaving for India.
Five passive resisters released under Provisional Settlement.
South Africa British Indian Committee[1] wrote to Colonial Office regarding operation of Gold Law and Townships Act in TVL and other hardships of Indians.

June 3 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, set forth the achievements of satyagraha to date.

June 5 : Gandhiji and L. W. Ritch addressed gathering at Johannesburg after passive resisters' football match.
BIA sent petition to TVL Administrator and Provincial Council protesting against TDMCO.

June 6 : BIA wrote to Secretary of Interior on behalf of Klerksdorp Indians regarding operation of Gold Law.

June 9 : Gandhiji attended banquet given to William Hosken in Johannesburg.

June 10 : Writing in *Indian Opinion*, criticized TDMCO as being designed to crush Asiatic hawkers.

June 15 : At Roodepoort, Tamblin, a white, charged under Gold Law for sub-letting Stand to Asiatics.

June 16 : Gandhiji spoke at farewell to Sorabji Shapurji in Durban.

June 17 : H. S. L. Polak wrote for SABIC to Colonial Office regarding TVL Indians' grievances, including hardships caused by Gold Law and Townships Act and £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians.

June 19 : Natal Indian leaders informed Town Clerk, Durban, that they could not participate in official Coronation festivities because of racial discrimination shown.
First meeting of Imperial Conference in London under presidentship of Secretary of State for Colonies.

June 19 (?) : India Office Memorandum to Imperial Conference on position of British Indians in Dominions.

June 21 : Gandhiji, along with Natal Indian leaders, met Mayor of Durban regarding Coronation celebrations.

[1] SABIC henceforth

June 22 : Coronation of King George V at Westminster Abbey. In Durban, Indians boycotted celebrations.

June 24 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, affirmed loyalty to the King.

June 27 : Indian Immigration Board deputation discussed with Smuts problem of finding other labour, immigration from India having stopped.
In House of Commons, Sir William Bull asked question regarding operation of TVL Gold Law and Townships Act against Indians.

June 30 : Justice Wessels of TVL Division of Supreme Court in judgment ruled that no Indian could bring more than one wife into the country and "that must be a woman who actually was a wife."

July 1 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, praised H. S. L. Polak's work in England.

After *July 1* : Wrote to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta seeking monetary assistance to the extent of £1,000 for expanding activities at Phœnix.

July 4 : Wrote to Dr. Murison regarding anti-tuberculosis work in Durban.

July 5 : BIA and Hamidia Islamic Society wrote to Secretary for Interior, asking whether Justice Wessels' judgment would affect the existing practice of permitting Mahomedans to bring in more than one wife as sanctioned by their religion.

July 8 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, discussed Justice Wessels' ruling in Bai Rasul's case that an Indian may bring in only one wife; said it was not possible to have in British Dominions laws insulting to any recognized religion.

July 11 : At Roodepoort, Tamblin sentenced by Magistrate to £2 fine or 10 days' imprisonment under Gold Law for subletting Stands to Asiatics.

July 12 : In House of Commons, questions asked regarding TDMCO.

July 20 : Lord Ampthill and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree wrote for SABIC to Colonial Office regarding treatment of Indians in Colonies and attitude of Imperial Conference; requested that General Botha be asked to receive deputation.

Before *July 22* : BIA and Hamidia Islamic Society informed by Smuts that Justice Wessels' ruling regarding immigration of

Mahomedans' wives had been noted and Smuts would consider individual cases of hardship brought to his notice.

About *July 26 :* SABIC wrote to Colonial Office regarding entry of Indian wives into Natal.

July 28 : H. S. L. Polak spoke at Universal Races Congress in London.

July 31 : Farewell address signed by Gandhiji and A. M. Cachalia presented to H. Kallenbach on his departure for Europe.

Anti-Asiatic Conference at Potchefstroom decided to form an organization to protect interests of whites against Asiatics.

August 2 : SABIC wrote to Colonial Office regarding entry of Indian wives into TVL.

August 3 : L. W. Ritch served with notice by Krugersdorp Resident Magistrate against transferring or sub-letting Stands owned by him to Coloured persons and violating Gold Law.

August 5 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion,* advised Natal Indians to help Dr. Murison's campaign against tuberculosis in Durban.

August 12 : Wrote to Secretary for Interior saying he would try to complete by August 21, 1911, list of passive resisters covered by Provisional Settlement.

Writing in *Indian Opinion* on notice served on L. W. Ritch under Gold Law, called on Indians to remain firm.

August 13 : Addressing BIA meeting in Johannesburg, explained that L. W. Ritch was prepared to face imprisonment to protect Indians' rights of equitable ownership in Krugersdorp.

August 14 : *The Times,* London, wrote on UIRB and Provisional Settlement.

August 15 : BIA wrote to Secretary for Interior seeking his intervention in preventing prosecution of L. W. Ritch for having Coloured persons on property registered in his name at Krugersdorp.

August 18 : Amended rules for employment of women and children of indentured Indians published in the Union *Government Gazette.*

August 19 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion,* congratulated L. W. Ritch and TVL Indians on their decision to resist Government's attempts to oust Indian merchants under Gold Law and Townships Act.

August 21 : Forwarded to Registrar of Asiatics revised, though not yet final, list of Indians covered by Provisional Settlement.

August 22 : Union Ministers' minutes to Governor General on £3 tax and TDMCO.

August 28 : Governor General forwarded to Colonial Office Union Ministers' minutes on £3 tax in Natal and TDMCO. TVL Division of Supreme Court upheld appeal by Tamblin against Roodepoort Magistrate's sentence under Gold Law.

September 3 : Gandhiji addressed meeting at Johannesburg held to celebrate Dadabhai Naoroji's birthday.

September 5 : Reuter cable announced famine in Punjab and Rajasthan.

September 6 : SABIC wrote to Colonial Office regarding harassment under Gold Law and Townships Act of Indian equitable owners of property in Krugersdorp, Klerksdorp and Roodepoort.

September 7 : H. S. L. Polak wrote to *Cape Times* regarding anti-Asiatic agitation.

September 9 : Gandhiji, writing to Maganlal Gandhi, declared that money spent by individuals in constructing houses on their share of Phœnix land could not be returned to them.

September 16 : In Durban, Natal Indian leaders formed "The Anti-£3 Tax League".

September 23 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, welcomed decision of Germiston Indians to oppose move by Town Council to prohibit their trading in Georgetown Location.

September 24 : In letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, said he was preparing himself for work in India.

September 27 : Gandhiji, along with Tolstoy Farm's schoolboys, attended football match at Johannesburg.

September 28 : Italy invaded Turkish territory.

September 30 : Wrote in *Indian Opinion* regarding Natal Indian Congress inquiry whether he could preside at the forthcoming session of Indian National Congress, and his conditional willingness.

October 1 : Indians served a month's notice by Germiston Municipality to vacate Stands in Georgetown Location.
"The Germiston Indian Association" formed.

October 2 : Gandhiji attended meeting of Muslims at Johannesburg held to condemn Italy for waging war against Turkey.

October 7 : Wrote in letter to Harilal Gandhi of invitation to preside at the Indian National Congress.

October 9 : BIA wrote to TVL Administrator regarding Town Council notice on Germiston Indians to vacate Georgetown Location.

October 10 : Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta saying it was not clear from whom the invitation to preside at the Indian National Congress had come, but he had accepted it on condition that his presence was really necessary and his freedom was not compromised. Said he would go to India the moment matters were settled in South Africa.

October 22 : Informed Dr. Pranjivan Mehta that cable regarding presidentship of Indian National Congress was inquiry not invitation; that he had cabled that his name be not considered. Also informed him of Manilal Doctor's intention to attend Congress session in India.

October 23 : Spoke at Johannesburg function to celebrate Gujarati New Year's Day.

October 24 : Wrote to Gokhale, requesting help for Manilal Doctor in his efforts against indenture system.

October 30 : Wrote to Gokhale inviting him to visit South Africa; also explained misunderstanding over presidentship of Indian National Congress.

November 6 : A. M. Bhyat opened store in Boksburg in premises registered in name of L. W. Ritch.

November 8 : In Boksburg, mass meeting of whites protested against opening of store by A. M. Bhyat; asked Government to proceed against L. W. Ritch, under Section 131 of Gold Law.

November 11 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, expressed resolve to fight tooth and nail against £3 tax; also called for funds to help the famine-stricken in India.

November 13-15 : At Bloemfontein, South African Agricultural Union Annual Conference passed resolution urging Government to stop issue of trading licences and transfer of land to Asiatics.

November 14 : *Indian Opinion* announced Reuter's news that, Gandhiji having withdrawn, Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar would be elected President of Indian National Congress.

Colonial Office replied to part of H. S. L. Polak's SABIC letter of June 17, saying that Union Ministers' minute of August 22

on the £3 tax correctly represented the facts, that the legislation was passed with full consent of Imperial Government and that it supported Union Ministers' refusal to repeal its provisions.

November 15 : At Indian Women's Association Bazaar in Johannesburg, Gandhiji read out address to Mrs. Vogl.

November 18 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion,* condemned as breach of faith, Natal Government's attempt to realize £3 tax from re-indentured Indians after their circular of April, 1910, granting exemption.

Natal Indian Congress wrote to Minister of Justice requesting him to abide by Government circular of April, 1910, and not realize £3 tax from re-indentured Indians.

November 25 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion,* called on Natal Indians to take steps for abolition of £3 tax.

December 6 : In House of Lords, Lord Lamington moved for production of correspondence between Colonial Office and Union Government regarding position of British Indians in TVL; asked for information on working of TVL Gold Law, Townships Act and TDMCO.

December 7 : Gandhiji, in letter to E. F. C. Lane, suggested that if general legislation could not be passed in the current session of Union Parliament, TIRA should be amended.

December 8 : In letter to Gokhale, renewed invitation to visit South Africa.

December 9 : Writing in *Indian Opinion,* asked Indians to contribute liberally to Famine Relief Fund.

December 20 : Spoke at Chinese rally in Johannesburg to pay homage to Alex Benson.

December 21 : Wire from E. F. C. Lane from Pretoria inviting Gandhiji to meet him and see draft of new Immigration Bill[1].

December 22 : Gandhiji saw draft of UIRB(1912).

On or after *December 26 :* H. S. L. Polak, Chintamani and Sorabji Shapurji spoke at Indian National Congress in Calcutta. Resolutions passed deploring South African Indians' disabilities, demanding retaliatory measures and urging Government to totally stop indenture system. Polak in his speech announced Gokhale's intention to visit South Africa the following year.

[1] UIRB(1912) henceforth

December 30 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, condemned refusal of authorities to allow an Indian boy, Nathalia, entry into Natal and called for matter to be taken to higher courts.

1912

January 1 : Inaugural meeting of African Political Organization held at Johannesburg under presidentship of Dr. Abdurrahman.

January 4 : Labour Conference at Bloemfontein demanded abolition of indenture system.

January 4 (?) : Dr. Porter reported serious outbreak of smallpox in Malay Location, Johannesburg.

January 5 : BIA complained to Secretary for Interior regarding case of an infant below one year for whom Durban immigration authorities had demanded a visitor's pass.

January 6 : *Indian Opinion* reported famine in Bombay Presidency, Kathiawad, Ahmedabad and Kaira.
Writing in *Indian Opinion*, Gandhiji appealed for funds for famine relief in India; commended H. S. L. Polak's work at Indian National Congress, and welcomed decision of Gokhale to visit South Africa as "joyful news".

January 9 : H. S. L. Polak wrote to Government of India regarding £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians.

January 12 : Gandhiji, in letter to Gokhale, welcomed his visit to South Africa; suggested visit on way to London.
L. W. Ritch received legal notice to deliver title-deed and possession of Boksburg Stands to Government in cancellation of his ownership.

January 13 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, warned Indians not to conceal cases of smallpox.

January 15 : Gave interview to *Evening Chronicle* on TDMCO, small-pox, trading licences, etc.

January 16 : Cases of plague discovered in Durban.

January 18 : Durban Indians formed Plague Committee to help Public Health Department.
Gandhiji met M. Chamney.

Before *January 20* : Indian hawkers informed that they would be refused licences to hawk in Kimberley.
Supreme Court dismissed appeal of Indian minor, Mahomed Hassan, against Government's refusal to register him on ground that he was over 16 years of age when he arrived.

January 29 : Gandhiji wrote to E. F. C. Lane saying the gazetted version of UIRB(1912) differed somewhat from the draft he had seen; discussed Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28.

Abdoolla Hajee Adam, founder-president of Natal Indian Congress, died.

January 30 : First reading of UIRB(1912) in Union Assembly.

Gandhiji wired Smuts regarding Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28.

Received reply to above that second reading of Bill was not until February 8 and matters mentioned were being considered.

January 31 : In wire to Gandhiji, Secretary for Interior upheld Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28 of Bill.

February 1: Gandhiji wired E. F. C. Lane expressing dissatisfaction with reply of January 31 and requesting alterations in Sections 7 and 8. Said he was refraining from public action pending reply.

February 3 : Writing in *Indian Opinion* on the Bill, said it did not quite fulfil Smuts' promise. Criticized provisions vesting power in immigration officers to determine domiciliary rights of wives and minors, taking away right of judicial appeal and disturbing existing rights of interprovincial movement of educated persons.

Wired Cape British Indian Union to pass resolutions against these provisions.

In Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion,* translated and commented on important sections of the Bill.

February 4 : Meetings held in Cape and Natal to protest against Bill.

February 7 : Secretary for Interior replied to Gandhiji's wire of February 1, saying the Bill nowhere excluded appeal to law courts; system of domicile certificates all over Union was quite impossible; Section 8 of the Bill regarding sworn declaration required in OFS was being considered. Appealed to Gandhiji to persuade his compatriots to accept Bill.

In reply to above, Gandhiji wired asking for amendment in Bill to secure existing legal rights regarding interprovincial immigration of educated Asiatics; said he would still postpone public action pending reply.

February 8 : Smuts replied that he hoped to give satisfactory assurances regarding above.

Gandhiji wired that nothing short of assurance of retaining existing legal position would do. Reserved right to criticize

Bill regarding other features not covered by Provisional Settlement.

February 9 : Natal Division of Supreme Court confirmed magistrate's decision that N. Mudaly was liable to pay £3 tax in spite of having entered on contract of service on expiry of indenture.

February 10 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, severely criticized UIRB(1912) for its policy of Asiatic exclusion and for interfering with vested rights. Hoped Government would sympathetically consider Indian protests.

February 11 : At Kimberley, mass meeting of Indians held to protest against the Bill.

February 12 : Gandhiji received H. Kallenbach at Krugersdorp on his return from Europe.

February 13 : In TVL Supreme Court, appeal of Fatima Jussat against Barberton magistrate's refusal to allow her entry dismissed by Justice Wessels on ground that a Mahomedan could bring in only one wife.

February 15 : Gandhiji wrote to E. F. C. Lane that he still awaited reply and that he intended to take legal opinion regarding UIRB(1912) in matter of appeal to law courts.

Wrote to R. Gregorowski seeking legal opinion on certain provisions of the Bill.

BIA and Hamidia Islamic Society wired Minister of Interior seeking his intervention in Fatima Jussat's case.

Before *February 17 :* Petition setting forth Cape Indians' objections to UIRB(1912) submitted to the Senate and House of Assembly.

February 17 : Gandhiji commented in *Indian Opinion* on Supreme Court judgment on N. Mudaly's appeal.

February 18 : Sorabji Shapurji arrived from India.

February 19 : In House of Lords, Lord Ampthill raised debate on TVL Indians.

February 21 : Gandhiji telegraphed Registrar of Asiatics regarding visiting permits for Khoja representatives of the Aga Khan.

February 22 : L. W. Ritch and A. M. Bhyat summoned by Supreme Court in connection with the Boksburg Stands.

February 24 : Gandhiji wrote to E. F. C. Lane informing him of Counsel's opinion that UIRB(1912) ousted jurisdiction of law

courts, except by way of *mandamus* and took away certain existing rights; requested that the defects might be remedied.

February 27 : In Imperial Legislative Council, Calcutta, Gokhale asked questions regarding indentured labourers in Natal.

February 29 : BIA wired reminder to Minister of Interior regarding Fatima Jussat's case.

March 2 : BIA informed telegraphically by Minister of Interior that Fatima Jussat's case did not warrant his intervention.

March 4 : At All-India Muslim League session in Calcutta, resolution passed regarding South African Indians; H. S. L. Polak also spoke.
In Imperial Legislative Council, Calcutta, Gokhale's resolution on total abolition of indentured labour for Colonies defeated by 11 votes.

March 5 : BIA wrote to Secretary for Interior again seeking intervention in Fatima Jussat's case.

March 7 : In Imperial Legislative Council, Calcutta, Gokhale asked question on removal of Indians from Vrededorp Township.

March 9 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, deplored refusal of Colonial Office to intervene in the case of Indian minor, Nathalia, who had been refused entry into Natal; also called on Indians to fight against deportation of Fatima Jussat.
At Johannesburg farewell to Pragji Khandubhai Desai and Surendrarai Medh, commended their work as satyagrahis.

March 13 : In letters to BIA and Hamidia Islamic Society Minister refused to reconsider his decision in Fatima Jussat's case.

March 16 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, commended Gokhale's efforts to get resolution on total abolition of indenture passed in the Imperial Legislative Council.

March 26 : Meeting of Indian South African League held in Madras passed resolutions regarding ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, UIRB(1912) and ending of system of indenture.

March ? : White Paper containing correspondence between Union and Imperial Governments regarding position of British Indians under Gold Law and Townships Act published in London.

April 1 : Gandhiji, in public letter to Ratan Tata, gave account of receipts and expenditure of Passive Resistance funds.

April 2 : At Pretoria, White League Congress pledged itself to preventing equality between whites and Coloured persons.

April 4 : Gandhiji, writing to E. F. C. Lane, enquired whether UIRB(1912) would come up that session or be abandoned.

April 11 : Writing to E. F. C. Lane, drew attention to remark of Acting Secretary for Interior and hoped this would not mean exclusion of educated persons from OFS.

April 15 : The *Titanic* sank in the Atlantic.

April 19 : H. S. L. Polak wrote to Government of India regarding rights of Indian owners of property in South Africa, specially in Boksburg, and regarding entry of Mahomedan wives into South Africa.

April 24 : Magistrate Jordan at Johannesburg, in case of Hassin Mahomed's wife, declared that her marriage could not be considered valid and she had no right to be in TVL.

April 27 : H. S. L. Polak wrote to Government of India regarding Germiston Location.

April 28 : Gandhiji, A. M. Cachalia, L. W. Ritch, Sorabji Shapurji, Thambi Naidoo and others spoke at meeting held in Germiston Location.

April 29 : In House of Commons, question asked regarding Nathalia's case.

Before *May 4* : In letter to *Sporting Star* Gandhiji opposed division of Asiatics into higher and lower classes for purposes of admission to the Wanderers Ground.

Re-elected patron of the Natal Indian Football Association.

May 11 : Writing in *Indian Opinion*, condemned Magistrate Jordan's decision disallowing wives of polygamous marriages from entering TVL.

May 14 : Letter from E. F. C. Lane enclosing proposed change in Section 28 of UIRB(1912) concerning sworn declaration required in OFS and informing Gandhiji of Smuts' intention to settle the question of domicile.

May 16 : Gandhiji criticized TVL Provincial Council's decision to refuse separate school for Indians at Johannesburg.

In House of Commons, question asked regarding quit notice served on Germiston Indians; Colonial Secretary expressed inability to interfere.

May 21 : Gandhiji, replying to E. F. C. Lane, expressed satisfaction that Government were willing to settle the difficulty

about declaration in OFS and about domicile rights under UIRB(1912).

May 30 : Second reading of the Bill moved in Union Assembly.

May 31 : Gandhiji wrote to E. F. C. Lane regarding interprovincial movement of educated Indians under the Bill.

Before *June 1* : Cape British Indian Union's petition regarding trading licences presented in House of Assembly.

June 1 : Writing in *Indian Opinion* on "An Unfortunate Case", Gandhiji described the cruel treatment of an indentured Indian woman by her employer and condemned the whole indenture system.

June 6 : Case against L. W. Ritch and A. M. Bhyat heard in Supreme Court, Pretoria.

June 7 : Gandhiji went to Pretoria and met M. Chamney and E. F. C. Lane.

June 22 : In Union Assembly debate on second reading of UIRB(1912) Smuts expressed Government's keenness to pass measure, if possible, that session.

June 24 : Union Parliament prorogued until September 23, 1912 and Bill shelved.

June 25 : Gandhiji telegraphed Secretary for Interior enquiring about Government's intentions regarding the Bill and future of Provisional Settlement in view of prorogation of Parliament.

June 26 : Gandhiji wired SABIC regarding notices served on European owners of Vrededorp Stands to remove Asiatic occupants within three months.
Spoke at meeting of Tamil Benefit Society on UIRB(1912).

June 27 : Meeting of Cape British Indian Union held to discuss situation arising from shelving of the Bill.

June 28 : Gandhiji and Kasturba left for Durban.

June 29 : Arrived in Durban.
Spoke at Durban farewell to Dawad Mahomed and other Haj pilgrims.

June 30 : Presided at prize-giving ceremony at H. L. Paul's Indian Educational Institute at Durban.

July 3 : Gandhiji saw off Dawad Mahomed who left for Mecca.
H. S. L. Polak wrote to Government of India regarding Indian education in Natal.

July 5 : Gandhiji left Durban for Johannesburg.

Before *July 6* : In case regarding Boksburg Stands, Supreme Court decided against L.W. Ritch and A.M. Bhyat; ordered Ritch to deliver possession of Stands and ejected Bhyat.

July 6 : Gandhiji wrote to E. F. C. Lane enquiring about Government's intentions regarding UIRB(1912) and future of Provisional Settlement.

July 7 : Arrived in Johannesburg from Durban.

July 11 : Met M. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics.

Before *July 13* : Cousins appointed Acting Immigration Officer, Natal.

July 13 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, criticized Dr. Murison's statement that Indians were given to lying.

Condemned the circular issued by the Natal Immigration Officer, Cousins, laying down evidence required for entry of Indian wives.

Advised Natal Indian Congress to fight about stoppage of issue of domicile certificates.

July 16 : Informed by Acting Secretary for Interior that Government would introduce amended measure next session; meanwhile, administration of existing legislation would continue.

July 17 : In reply to Secretary for Interior, said he understood Provisional Settlement would continue pending passage of satisfactory legislation and therefore a certain number of educated Asiatics would be admitted for the year; would submit names on confirmation.

In House of Lords, Lord Ampthill gave instances of violation of spirit of Provisional Settlement; said Abraham Fischer [who had replaced Smuts as Minister of Interior] was less amicable towards Indians than Smuts.

July 19 : Acting Secretary for Interior confirmed that previous year's Provisional Settlement would continue pending passage of legislation and six educated Indians would be admitted for the year.

July 20 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, again criticized Natal Immigration Officer, Cousins, for wanting fresh proof from those returning from India; desired Natal Indian Congress to take up matter.

Advised Indians to render Dr. Murison all help and not conceal cases.

July 21 : Spoke at meeting in Johannesburg held to mourn death of Mrs. Tilak.

July 22 : Wrote to Registrar of Asiatics demanding that waiting accommodation be provided for Indians with business in his office.

Wrote to Secretary for Interior requesting that R. M. Sodha be issued trading licence without being asked to produce registration certificate.

Spoke at Johannesburg farewell party for V. A. Chettiar.

July 23 : Met M. Chamney.

July 25 : Gokhale cabled Gandhiji that he would sail from England for South Africa on October 5.

July 26 : Gandhiji informed by M. Chamney that no accommodation for Indians visiting his office could be provided.

Natal Indian Congress wrote to Secretary for Interior protesting against circular issued by Immigration Officer Cousins requiring proofs of marriage from immigrant Indian wives.

Manilal Doctor left Cape for Fiji.

July 29 : Gandhiji wrote to Registrar of Asiatics again regarding waiting accommodation at his office.

July 30 : Gokhale appointed member of Royal Commission on Indian Public Services.

July 31 : A. O. Hume died.

August 1 : Gandhiji spoke at banquet given by Johannesburg Tamil Community to V. A. Chettiar.

Ratan Tata made a third donation of Rs. 25,000/- towards Passive Resistance Fund.

Bombay public meeting condemned treatment of Indians in Colonies, particularly in South Africa.

August 3 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, advised Germiston Indians not to shift to unhealthy site chosen for new Asiatic Bazaar.

Wrote to Minister of Interior regarding right of educated persons to earn livelihood; asked for decision regarding trading licence for R. M. Sodha.

August 10 : Went to Roodepoort and Krugersdorp with A. M. Cachalia.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, called on Indians to unite in according fitting welcome to Gokhale on his arrival in South Africa.

August 11 : Returned to Tolstoy Farm.

August 16 : Registrar of Asiatics informed Gandhiji that R. M. Sodha and other specially exempted educated Asiatics could not be issued trading licences pending legislation validating their residence.

August 17 : Writing in *Indian Opinion,* drew attention of Indians to report of a second outbreak of smallpox in Johannesburg and called for help to Dr. Porter in fighting the disease.

August 22 : Spoke at Johannesburg Theosophical Lodge.
In interview to *The Transvaal Leader* opposed compulsory segregation of Coloured races as measure to check smallpox.

August 25 : Spoke at BIA meeting held to arrange welcome to Gokhale; announced Aga Khan's intention to visit South Africa and East Africa.

August 30 : Left for Durban with Kasturba and others.

August 31 : Arrived at Durban; proceeded to Phœnix.
Wrote in *Indian Opinion* on the late A. O. Hume.
Commented on the case of five Indians returning to Cape Town, who were refused entry because the ship bringing them had been delayed by bad weather.

September 4 : H. S. L. Polak and Mrs. Polak arrived in Durban from India.

September 7 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion,* commended work done by H. S. L. Polak in India.

September 12 : In Johannesburg Magistrate's court, proceedings commenced to compel whites to eject Coloured tenants from Stands at Vrededorp.

September 14 : Phœnix Trust Deed published in *Indian Opinion.*
Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion,* criticized illegal actions of Natal Immigration Officer, Cousins, regarding Indians seeking entry.
Announced intention to discontinue advertisements in *Indian Opinion.*
Left Durban for Johannesburg.

October 5 : Gokhale left England for South Africa.

October 8 : Montenegro declared war on Turkey.

October 9 : Gandhiji met M. Chamney.

October 16 : In letter to Harilal Gandhi, explained why he chose Sorabji Shapurji rather than him for study of law in England.

October 18 : Left for Cape with H. Kallenbach and others.

October 20 : Arrived in the Cape.

October 21 : Met Cousins.
Gokhale Reception Committee wrote to Botha to suspend £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians in view of Gokhale's approaching visit.

October 22 : Gokhale arrived in Cape Town.
Reception in City Hall; Mayor presided. General address read by Dr. A. H. Gool. Addresses presented by Hindu Association, Konkney Muslim League and Tamil Community. Speeches by Gandhiji, W. P. Schreiner and Dr. Abdurrahman. Speech in reply by Gokhale.
Gandhiji, in interview to *Cape Argus*, said Gokhale would investigate the whole Indian question in South Africa.

October 23 : Gokhale had interviews with W. P. Schreiner and Sir Fredric Smith. Also met Reception Committee; discussed grievances.

October 24 : Interview with John X. Merriman at Civil Service Club.
Left for Kimberley, accompanied by Gandhiji.
Deputation of Indians at Wellington.

October 25 : At De Aar, deputation of Indians. Met Mrs. Cronwright Schreiner (Olive Schreiner).
Special train from Kimberley with 200 Indians met Gokhale's train at Modder River.
Reception at Beaconsfield by Mayor and others.
Reached Kimberley at 5.30 p.m. Received by Mayor and others.
Reception in Town Hall, Mayor presiding. Gandhiji addressed gathering.

October 26 : Visit to the mines.
J. McLaren called to state Bloemfontein Indians' grievances.
Banquet in City Hall at 8.45 p.m., with Mayor of Beaconsfield in chair; Gandhiji spoke.

October 27 : Indian Reception at Constantia Hall.
In evening, Gokhale and Gandhiji left Kimberley at 6 p.m.
Presentation of addresses at Windsorton, Christiana and Bloemhof. Leading Europeans present at all these places.

October 28 : At Klerksdorp, met by special train from Johannesburg carrying over 200 persons. Reception at Exchange Hall at 6.30 a.m., with Mayor presiding. Statement of grievances by British Indians.

Reached Potchefstroom, 8.30 a.m. Reception and addresses at the Town Gardens.

Reached Krugersdorp, 2.00 p.m. Received by Mayor; presentation of addresses at station. Drove to Indian Location, Burghersdorp.

Reached Johannesburg, 4.00 p.m. Received by Mayor at station. Addresses presented by BIA (read out by Gandhiji), by Johannesburg Hindus, Hamidia Islamic Society, Tamil Benefit Society, Patidar Association, Pietersburg Indians and Cradock Indians.

October 29 : Reception to Gokhale at Carlton Hotel by Johannesburg European Committee. Speeches by Patrick Duncan, Drummond Chaplin and William Hosken. Gokhale, in reply, explained the object of his mission to South Africa.

October 30 : Creswell and other M.L.A.'s and Portuguese Consul called on Gokhale.

The Transvaal Leader representative interviewed Gandhiji and Gokhale.

Gokhale received Parsee deputation.

In afternoon, Gokhale and Gandhiji attended conference at William Hosken's house.

October 31 : Banquet at Masonic Hall by BIA, with the Mayor presiding. Speeches by Mayor Ellis, William Hosken, Patrick Duncan, J. J. Doke, L. W. Ritch, Gokhale and Gandhiji.

November 1 : Gokhale entertained by Chinese Association.

Interviewed Pathan Deputation, Essop Mia Deputation, Habib Motan Deputation, Merchant's Deputation.

Reception by TVL Women's Association; address presented by Mrs. Vogl.

Indian meeting at Drill Hall.

November 2 : Gokhale and Gandhiji left for Tolstoy Farm.

November 3 : Gandhiji wrote to Srinivasa Sastri regarding Gokhale's visit and his proposed departure for India.

November 5 : Gokhale, with Gandhiji, returned to Johannesburg after two days' rest at Tolstoy Farm.

Tea at Drummond Chaplin's; met Sir Percy Fitzpatrick.

November 6 : Visited Germiston and Boksburg Locations.

Called on Ellis.

Left for Natal.

November 7 : Addresses presented at Newcastle and Dundee. Received people at Ladysmith.

Arrived in Maritzburg. Reception in Town Hall; Gandhiji spoke.

November 8 : Discussed Indians' grievances at meeting in Indian High School.
Interview with Licensing Officer.
Luncheon at Camden Hotel by Maritzburg Reception Committee; Gandhiji spoke.
In afternoon, left by special train for Durban.
Arrived in Durban. Received at station by Mayor, Chief Magistrate and others. Procession to Mr. Moosa's house.
In evening, Reception at Town Hall, with Mayor presiding. Speeches by Mayor and others. Addresses presented. Gandhiji also spoke.

November 9 : Merchants' Deputation.
Distributed prizes at Childrens' Sports at Albert Park.

November 10 : In morning, heard grievances of £3 tax-payers at meeting at Lord's ground.
In afternoon, went by special train to Isipingo, returning at 5 p.m.
In evening, motored to Phœnix.

November 11 : Left Phœnix in afternoon and returned to Durban.
In evening, banquet in Drill Hall, Sir David Hunter presiding; Gandhiji also spoke.

November 12 : Visited Sydenham College. Met Chamber of Commerce.
Visited Mount Edgecombe; met indentured Indians there.
Attended Reception Committee meeting held to thank Parsee Rustomjee.
Left for Pretoria.

November 13 : On the way, addresses presented at Volksrust, Standerton and Heidelburg.
In evening, reached Pretoria. Received at station by Deputy Mayor, M. Chamney and others.

November 14 : In morning, interview with Ministers—Botha, Smuts and Fischer.
In evening, Reception at Town Hall; Gandhiji also spoke.

November 15 : In morning, motored to Johannesburg to see Wyndham.
Lunch with Governor General.
In afternoon, left for Lawley.

November 16 : Governor General sent to Imperial Government confidential minute regarding his talk with Gokhale.

November 17 : Gokhale and Gandhiji met Sir Thomas Smartt at Chaplin's house.
Called on Chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society, Chairman, Patidar Association and Mr. Phillips.
Left for Lourenco Marques, 8.45 p.m.

November 18 : Banquet at Lourenco Marques; Gandhiji also spoke.
Took steamer for Beira.

November 20 : Arrived in Beira.

November 21 : Address presented at Beira.

November 23 : Left Beira.

November 25 : Arrived in Mozambique. Address in the city.
In afternoon, left Mozambique.

November 26 : On board ship, Gandhiji promised Gokhale he would not leave for India without arranging for work to be carried on in South Africa in his absence; affairs would probably be left in H. S. L. Polak's hands.

November 27 : Arrived in Zanzibar. Visited city. Function in Victoria Gardens.

November 28 : Address presented in city in afternoon.
Gokhale, Gandhiji and H. Kallenbach sailed by s.s. *Præsident.*

November 29 : In morning, reached Tongaat.
In afternoon, parted from Gokhale.
Gandhiji and H. Kallenbach boarded s.s. *Trebora*, travelling deck class.

November 30 : Gandhiji and H. Kallenbach reached Zanzibar.

December 1 : Reached Dar-es-Salaam. Landed. Gandhiji wore Indian dress.

December 3 : Address presented in Dar-es-Salaam.

December 6 : Left Dar-es-Salaam.

December 7 : Arrived in Mozambique.

December 8 : Left Mozambique.

December 13 : Gandhiji arrived in Delagoa Bay. Detained before being permitted to land.
Gokhale reached Bombay.

December 14 : Gandhiji arrived in Johannesburg and went to Lawley.

At Bombay, Gokhale addressed public meeting on position and problems of Indians in South Africa.

December 18 : Gandhiji left for Durban.

December 21 : Interview with Sir John Hulett in Durban.

December 22 : The Dayal brothers, coming from India to the Transvaal along with their wives, disallowed landing at Durban by Immigration Officer, Cousins.

December 28 : Gokhale's resolution demanding total abolition of indenture system passed at Indian National Congress at Bankipore.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, Gandhiji condemned terrorist's attempt at Delhi on Lord Hardinge's life.

December 30 : Agjee and Ameappan, both having remarried, and returning from India, reached Durban. Agjee's wife disallowed to land and Ameappan's wife refused admission.

1913

January 2 : Gandhiji left Durban.

January 3 : Gokhale Reception Committee, Durban, wired Minister of Interior regarding cases of Agjee and Ameappan.

Before *January 4* : Gajjar, a Cape Indian, visiting Durban, declared a prohibited immigrant.

H. S. L. Polak wrote to Secretary to Minister of Interior regarding harassment of the Dayal brothers by Cousins, Natal Immigration Officer; also wrote to *The Natal Mercury* regarding the Dayal brothers and Gajjar.

The Natal Mercury, in editorial, severely condemned Cousins.

January 4 : Gandhiji arrived in Johannesburg.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, commended Gokhale's speeches on South African Indian problem at Bombay and at Indian National Congress at Bankipore.

In another article, discussed changes effected in layout and content of *Indian Opinion*.

Commenced a series of articles on general knowledge about health in Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*.

January 7 : A. M. Cachalia wrote to Secretary to Minister of Interior regarding Dayal brothers.

January 8 : Prosecution of Dayal brothers, detained at Volksrust, ordered by Registrar of Asiatics.

Before *January 11* : Cousins replaced by Harry Smith as Natal Immigration Officer,

January 11 : Contribution of Rs. 2,500 by Nizam of Hyderabad to Passive Resistance funds announced in *Indian Opinion.*

Before *January 18* : Gandhiji and school shifted from Tolstoy Farm to Phœnix.

January 18 : *Indian Opinion* announced Gandhiji's decision to go to India about the middle of the year, if expected Immigration Bill was passed in forthcoming session of Parliament.
Gandhiji wrote in *Indian Opinion* of Government's failure to keep their promise regarding British Indians entitled to residence in TVL or Union and hinted at possibility of a conflagration in the community.

Before *January 24* : H. S. L. Polak met Chief Immigration Officer, Natal, regarding entry of Agjee and Ameappan's wives.

Before *January 25* : Split between Botha and Hertzog during Gokhale's visit to South Africa reported in *The Star.*

January 25 : Report in *The Times of Natal* regarding Government's decision to abolish £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians.
Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion,* welcomed above reported decision.
In another article, discussed provision in proposed Financial Relations Bill granting Provincial Councils power to legislate regarding trading licences; called upon Indians to offer vigorous protest.

January 27 : BIA informed by Under-Secretary for Interior that prosecution against the Dayal brothers would be withdrawn and their registration effected.

January 31 : In Union Assembly, T. Schreiner protested against colour discrimination in Arms and Ammunition Bill.

February 1 : BIA wrote to Ministry of Interior asking that Indians coming from India and claiming rights of residence in TVL be issued visiting passes by Immigration Officers at the coast.

February 7 : In Union Assembly, Minister of Finance stated that repeal of £3 tax on Indians was still under consideration.
Ministry of Interior informed BIA that all enquiries regarding Indians arriving at ports and claiming rights of entry must be made at the port of entry.

Before *February 8* : Minor son of M. A. Kotwal, on return to Durban after temporary absence, disallowed landing despite possession of domicile certificate as his father was not in Natal. Had to obtain Supreme Court interdict to avoid deportation.
Minor son of Moulvi Abdul Vahed of Cape Town, on arrival

aboard the *Markgraf*, detained at Durban and sent away by same ship, unprotected.

February 8 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, criticized "tyrannical powers" vested in immigration officials.

February 11 : In House of Lords, Lord Ampthill asked question regarding outcome of Gokhale's visit to South Africa and moved for Papers. Under-Secretary for Colonies replied the visit was unofficial and he had no Papers to lay before House.

February 13 : BIA again wrote to Ministry of Interior urging that Indians returning from India be granted visiting passes at ports of entry.

February 14 : Gandhiji, in letter to Gokhale, mentioned that, owing to internal troubles in Botha cabinet, the promised legislation would again be postponed; if so, he would not be able to leave for India about the middle of the year. Said ministers were not carrying out their assurances and Immigration Acts were being administered with ever-growing severity.

February 24 : Under-Secretary for Interior informed BIA that arrangements at ports for TVL Indians seeking entry could not be altered.

February 28 : M. A. Goga lost appeal against Licensing Officer's refusal to transfer his trading licence to himself and son.

March 3 : In Union Parliament, Financial Relations Bill, mentioning proposed abolition of £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians, passed second reading.

March 4 : BIA wrote again to Secretary for Interior regarding removal of hardships at ports for TVL Indians already registered or eligible to register.

March 8 : Dawad Mahomed returned to South Africa after tour of Middle East and India.

March 9 : The Johannesburg Indian Literary and Debating Society formed; Gandhiji elected patron.

March 14 : In Cape Supreme Court, Justice Searle rejected Hassan Esop's appeal against deportation of his wife, Bai Miriam, on the ground that she was not Hassan Esop's lawful wife as her marriage had been contracted according to Mahomedan custom.

March 15 : Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, explained procedure and evidence required for entry of minors and wives into TVL.

March 20 : A TVL Syrian appealed to High Court that two Stands in Wolhuter Township be registered in his name on ground that Syrians were exempt from laws applying to Indians and Coloured persons; judgment reserved.

Before *March 22* : Gandhiji, commenting in *Indian Opinion* on case of Ebrahim Cassim's minor son, Hassan Mia, said that Union Government's insistence on production of birth certificates of minors seeking entry showed that it wanted to create difficulties or to stop entry of children altogether.

March 24 : Wrote to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior asking that out of six names of educated British Indians submitted by Gandhiji for entry for the past year, the two rejected by Registrar of Asiatics be restored, in keeping with terms of Provisional Settlement. Enquired whether proposed Immigration Bill embodying Provisional Settlement would be brought up during current session of Parliament.

March 26 : Tamil Benefit Society meeting held at Johannesburg to consider Justice Searle's judgment in Bai Miriam's case.

Before *March 29* : Master of Natal Provincial Division of Supreme Court, in the case of Bai Janubi, a Mahomedan widow, questioned validity of her marriage for assessing succession duty and demanded that Supreme Court ruling be obtained.

March 29 : Gandhiji, commenting in *Indian Opinion* on above case, ascribed this "unexpected calamity" to new interpretation of an old law.

March 30 : Mass meeting of Indians in Hamidia Islamic Society Hall, Johannesburg, called to consider the Searle judgment, expressed distress and requested Government to introduce remedial legislation recognizing validity of marriages solemnized according to Indian religions.

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NOTE. *Names of persons have all been indexed under the last name. The following abbreviations have been used throughout:* BIA=*British Indian Association;* INC=*Indian National Congress;* NDLA=*Natal Dealers' Licenses Act;* NIC=*Natal Indian Congress;* OFS=*Orange Free State;* PPO=*Peace Preservation Ordinance;* PS=*Provisional Settlement;* SA=*South Africa;* SABIC=*South Africa British Indian Committee;* TARA=*Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act;* TARAA=*Transvaal Asiatics' Registration Amendment Act;* TDMCO=*Transvaal Draft Municipal Councils Ordinance;* TIRA=*Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act;* TVL=*Transvaal;* UIRB=*Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill. The Union of South Africa is referred to as* UNION *or* SA.

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176	Footnote 2, line 4	1910-2	1910-20
177	Footnote, line 1	in 1919	from 1919 to 1940
	,, line 6	in 1923	in 1924
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